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The Modern Review

V. 64

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पुस्तकालय

विषय संख्या July to December
पुस्तक संख्या 1938
आगत पंजिका संख्या

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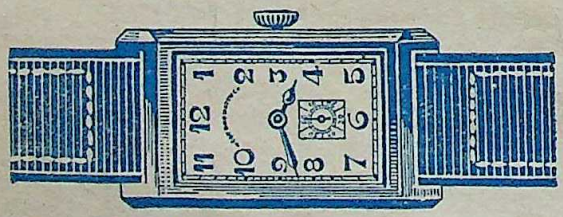

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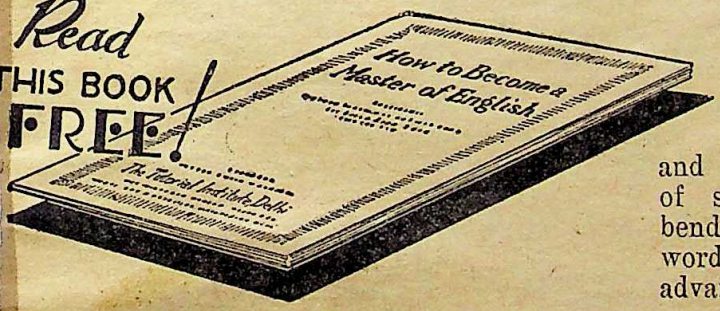

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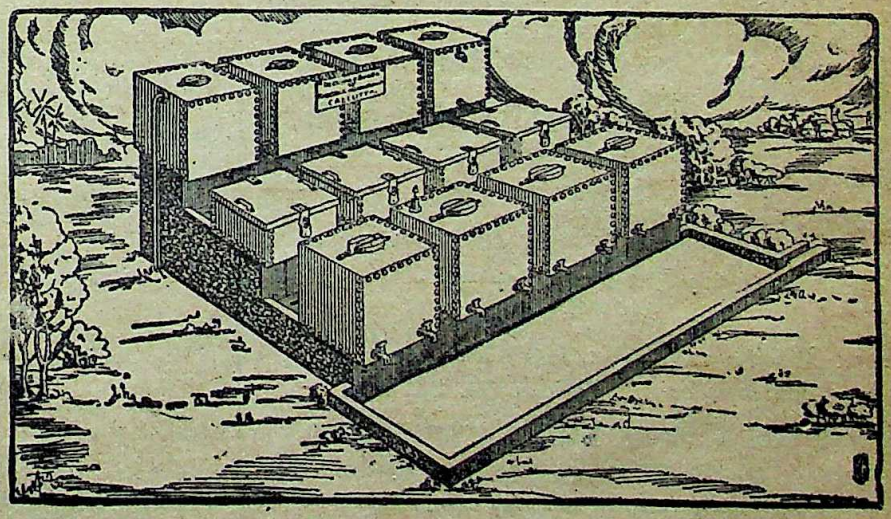

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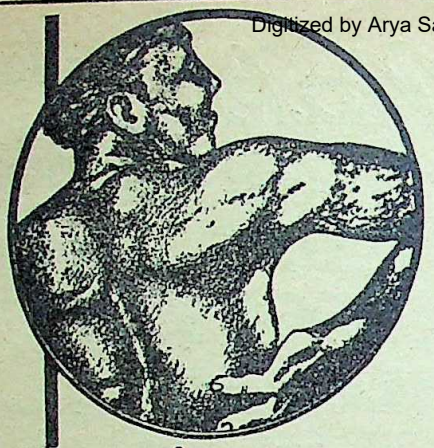

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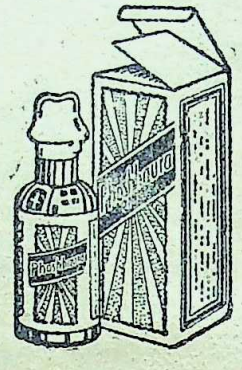

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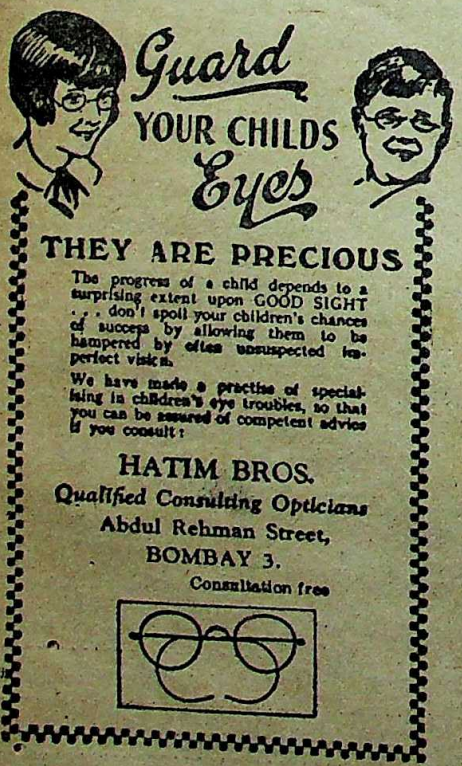

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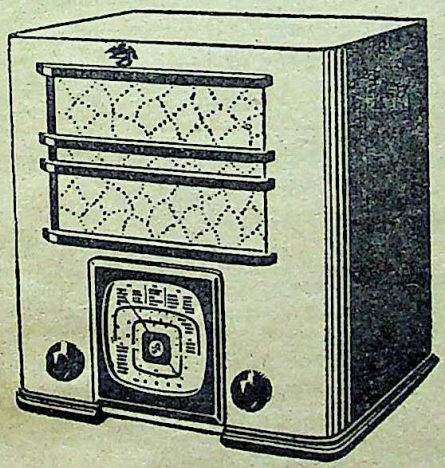

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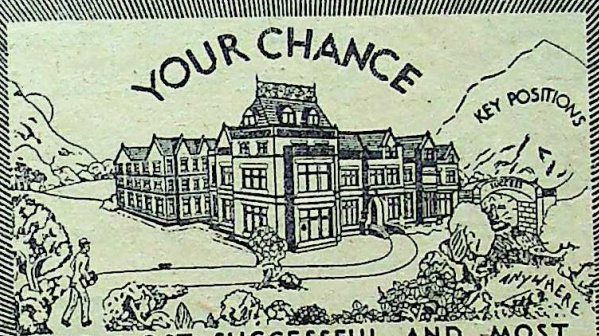

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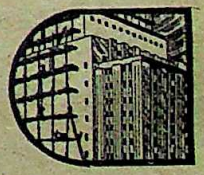

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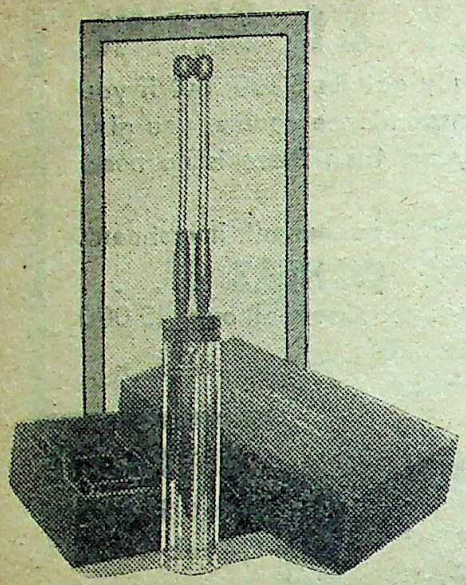

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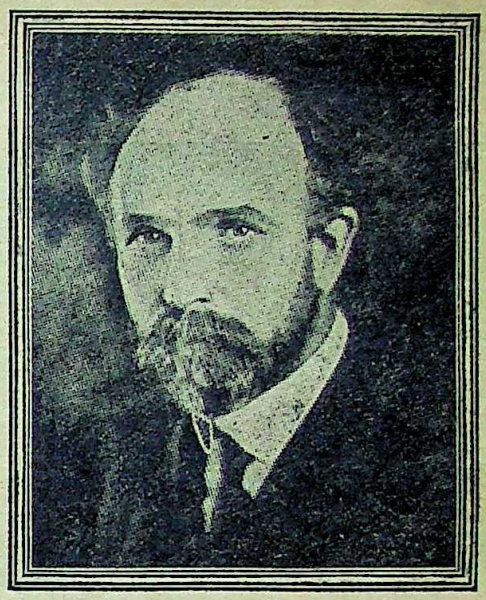

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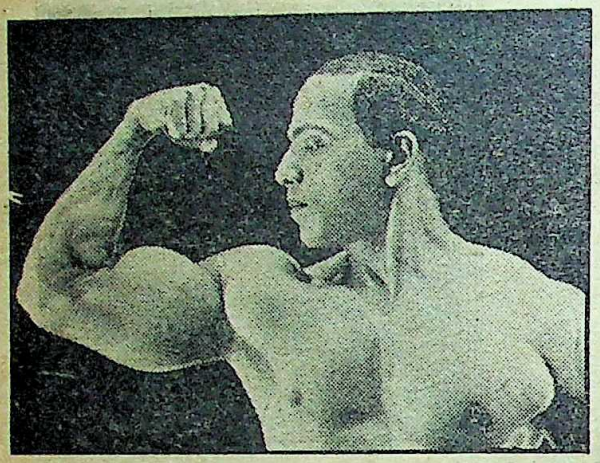

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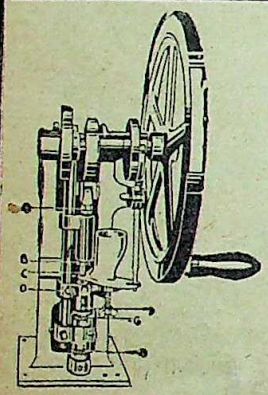

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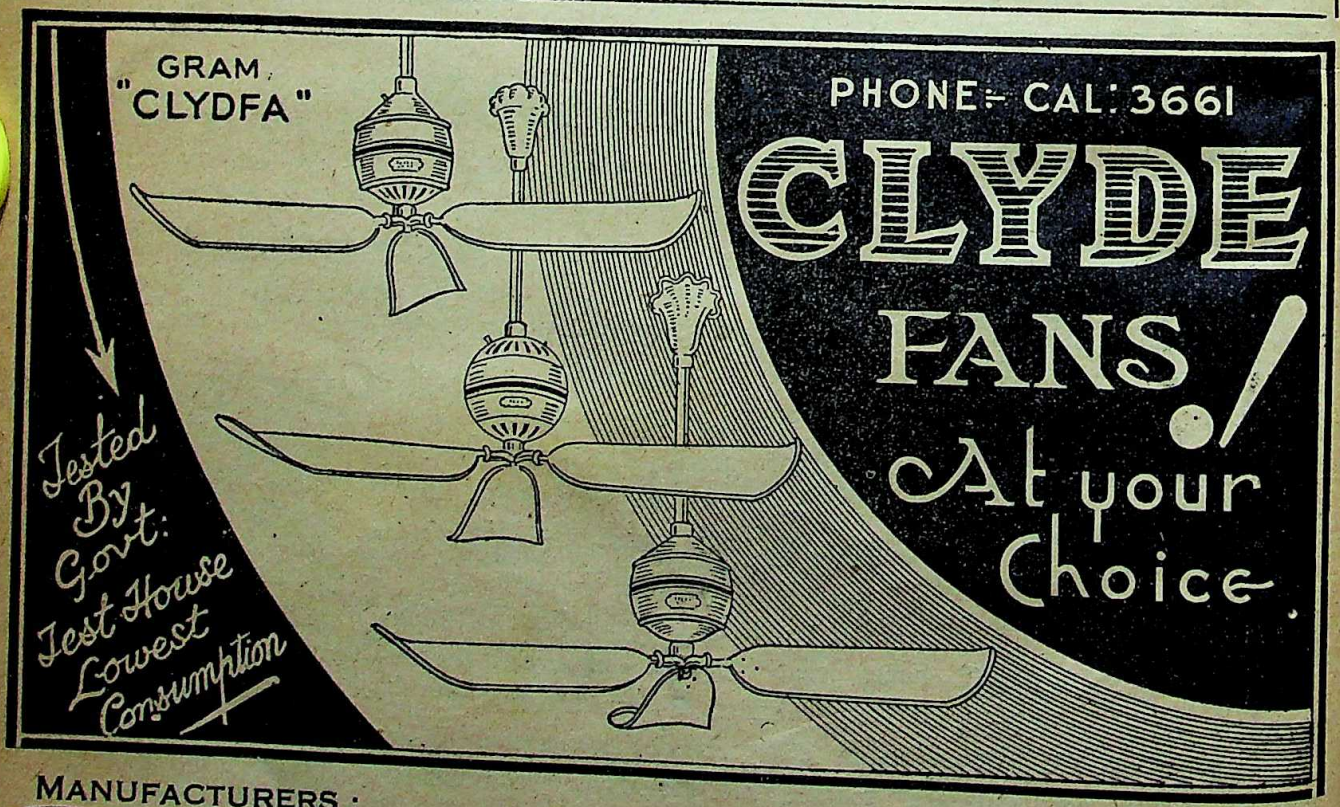

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THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXIV., No. 1 Whole No. 379

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1938

		PAGE
NOTES (*illust.*)		1
THE SHADOW OVER EUROPE	*Major D. Graham Pole*	25
PRESENT TREND OF BRITISH POLICY	*Dr. Taraknath Das*	29
COLLECTIONS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY	*Dr. Kalidas Nag, D. Litt. (Paris)*	36
INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE	*Rammanohar Lohia*	40
A YEAR OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY	*Professor Sri Ram Sharma*	45
GOLD AND ITS FUTURE	*Prof. H. L. Dey, M.A., D.Sc., Econ (London)*	50
THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT TAKES A SERIOUS TURN	*K. Krishnam Raju B.A, LL.B.*	52
HALBI FOLK-SONGS COME NEARER (*illust.*)	*By Devendra Satyarthi*	53
SYSTEM OF WORKING OF THE GHEE SOCIETY	*Abani Nath Sanyal*	60
INDIAN NAVY	*Gaganvihari L. Mehta*	66
PORTUGAL'S NEW CONSTITUTION	*A. C. Fernandez*	70
WHY KARNATAK SHOULD BE SEPARATED (*illust.*)	*V. B. Kulkarni*	75
NEPOTISM	*M. F. Soonawala*	79
INDIA'S SENSE OF HONOUR AND LORD BADEN-POWELL	*V. M. Kaikini, B.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)*	80
BOOK REVIEWS	*D., X., R. C. Majumdar, S. K. De, Amiya Chakravarty, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Bhabatosh Datta, J. M. Datta, Gurmukh N. Singh, Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee, Jitendra Nath Bose, Pulinbihari Sen, Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya, S. K. De, Ananga Mohan Saha, D., P. R. Sen, P. B. Machwe.*	83—90

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CONTENTS---(Contd.)

		PAGE
COMMENT AND CRITICISM		91—94
FUSING OF DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC GROUPS		91
EDITOR'S NOTE		91
MR. J. B. KRIPALANI ON TWO INDIAN MOVEMENTS		91
EDITOR'S NOTE		92
WORLD AFFAIRS	*G. H.*	94
INDIAN PERIODICALS:		
THE CONGRESS IN OFFICE		100
OUR HERITAGE		100
DHARMA RAJYA—FINANCE		101
THE PROBLEM OF NUTRITION IN INDIA		101
A SURVEY OF CHILDHOOD EDUCATION IN INDIA		101
EDUCATION OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS		102
HINDU ASTRONOMY		102
TWO ETCHINGS OF NANDALAL BOSE		102
A FEW FACTS ABOUT POLAND		103
ALDOUS HUXLEY—INTERPRETER OF THE INTELLECTUALS		103
SAINT PATTANATHAR		104

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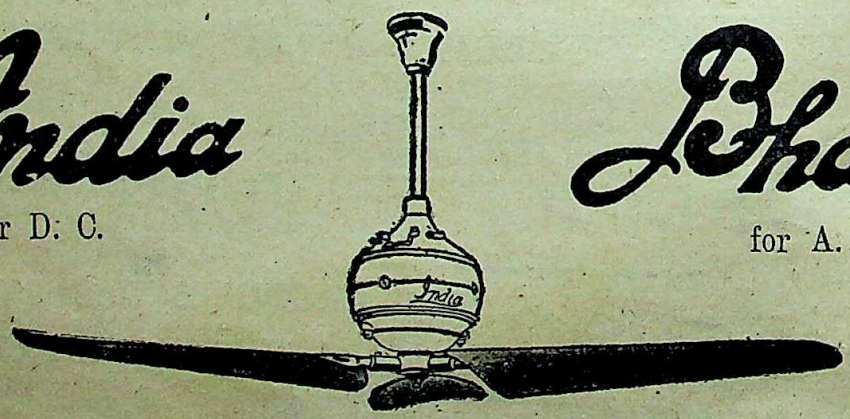

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CONTENTS—(Contd.)

		PAGE
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:		
THANKS TO JAPAN		105
CHINESE ART		105
JAPAN'S FOREIGN TRADE AND INDUSTRY		106
TURKEY AND RELIGION		106
EMIL LUDWIG ON HITLER		106
"NASHEVISM"		107
AN IRISH SEER		107
THE NOVEL OF IDEAS		107
AMERICA'S ORIENTAL-OCCIDENTAL EXPOSITION (*illust.*)	*Carlton Kendall*	108
INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)		113
INDIANS ABROAD (*illust.*)	*G. H., K. A. Neelakandha Aiyer & H. K. Hazaree Singh*	114
WORLD'S WOMEN TAKE TO AIR	*Mrs. Chaman Lal*	120

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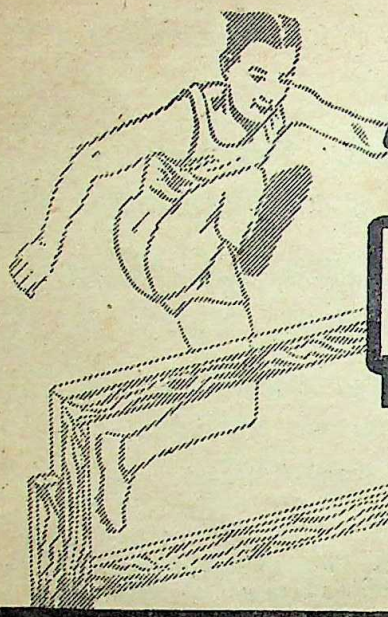

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HAPPINESS
By Jyotirindra Ray

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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THE MODERN REVIEW

JULY 1938

VOL. LXIV, No. 1 WHOLE No. 379

NOTES

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee Centenary

The Bangiya Sahitya Parishat, the principal literary society of Bengal, celebrated the centenary of the birthday of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee in a manner quite worthy of the place which he occupies not only in Bengali literature but also in the national life of Bengal and India. Not a politician himself, he has been the inspirer of political thought and action and the influence of his writings has been felt also in the economic, social and spiritual spheres.

On the first day of the celebrations a public meeting was held at the Senate Hall. Srijut Hirendranath Datta was quite fittingly chosen to preside over this meeting and all subsequent gatherings held in connection with the centenary. The meeting was attended by the leading personalities in the worlds of literature and education and in public life of Bengal who were present in Calcutta that day or could come from mofussil stations, some like the Poet Rabindranath Tagore and the Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose being unaviodably absent. A vast concourse of students and the general public thronged the hall. Some notable non-Bengalis were also present.

The proceedings commenced with the singing of "Bande Mataram". It was followed by Mangalācharanam in Sanskrit by Mahāmahopādhyāya Phanibhushan Tarkavagish, an auspicious introduction in the form of a prayer for the attainment of success at the beginning of all undertakings.

Messages sent by the following persons among others were read at the meeting: Rabindranath Tagore, Subhas Chandra Bose, Amarnath Jha (Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University), Srimati Sophia Wadia, W. C. Wordsworth, Sarat Chandra Bose, Karnatak Sahitya Parishat and Gauhati Sahitya Parishat.

An excellent inaugural address, instinct with fervent patriotic feeling, was delivered by Srijut Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University.

He would like, said Sj. Mookherjee, to conclude his observations with one more remark. The chairman had suggested that the University should take the initiative in founding study circles among the student community for proper appreciation of Bankim's works. The chairman had also suggested that the University should organise a special examination on Bankim literature, at a nominal fee, in the month of Poush or Magh next. Those who would come out successful would receive certificates and he who would occupy the first place would be suitably rewarded. Sj. Mukherjee heartily supported the idea and hoped that there would be no difficulty for the University to accept the suggestion.

In conclusion Sj. Mukherjee prayed that the object of the celebration be crowned with success. Let no Bengalee think that he had paid his due tribute to Bankim's memory by a few days' celebrations. It would not be done until and unless the message of Bankim was preached in every hearth and home of Bengal and the Bengalee chose the proper path and built up his national life fearlessly, inspired by Bankim's message.

"Let Bengalees sink their differences, be united, be full of action and self-reliant without being dependent on any others. Bankim Chandra used to hate the coward Bengalee. If the Bengalee can stand up as a man, disregarding all obstacles, Bankim's blessings would be on Bengal and Bengalees would be able to rehabilitate themselves."—(*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* translation.)

The president, Srijut Hirendranath Datta, then delivered his speech.

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The creator of Bengali literature, observed Sj. Hirendranath Datta in the course of his address, the memory of Bankim would live for ever in the heart of the Bengalee race. Not only a novelist, Bankim Chandra was poet, philosopher, historian, litterateur, archæologist and theologian. In fact his genius, which hardly bore any parallel, embracing a number of spheres, had considerably enriched the Bengali literature.

Today, the speaker went on, Bankim centenary was being celebrated all over the province. It was not impossible that in many cases the celebrations would end with holding of meetings and exhibitions without leaving any lasting effect. But two things which had been undertaken by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishat were expected to be of permanent value. First, the Centenary edition of Bankim Chandra's entire works, of which Kapal Kundala, Ananda Math, Dharmatattva and Vijnan Rahasya had already been published. "Kamala Kanter Daptar" would soon be published. In that connection Sj. Datta referred to the munificent donation of Rs. 10,000 made for this purpose by Kumar Narasinha Malladev of Jhargram. Poet Rabindranath had wholeheartedly approved of the enterprise undertaken by the Sahitya Parishat.—*A. B. Patrika.*

The president also referred to the examination to test and reward knowledge of Bankim Chandra's works, already announced by the Vice-Chancellor. The Sahitya Parishat has come into possession of what at present remains of the great author's family residence in Kānthālpārā, near Naihati railway station. The Parishat will get the residence properly repaired and maintain it in good condition.

The poem which Rabindranath Tagore had specially composed for the occasion was read.

Srijuktā Sarala Devi Chowdhurani related some personal reminiscences of the great author, as she had seen him about 50 years ago.

Srijut Ramananda Chatterjee made a very brief speech on the work done by Bankim Chandra as an editor and journalist.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar read a learned and convincing paper, enlivened with wit and humour, to show that Bankim Chandra was not anti-Moslem.

In the course of an article entitled "Bankim in the eyes of a non-Hindu," Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, M.A., B.L., a noted Bengali publicist, expressed the opinion that Bankim as a man was greater than Bankim as a Hindu.

He had a great love for humanity. He felt for the humblest peasant. Today peasant movement was sweeping over the country. But fifty years ago he had written immortal words supporting their legitimate cause. He had advocated the cause of women. He had raised his voice against tyranny and oppression.

English literature without Shakespeare would dwindle into nothing. Similar was the case with the Bengali literature. Very little would remain if Bankim's contributions were left out. But it must be admitted that Bankim was greater than Shakespeare. Shakespeare did not solve any problems nor did he attempt to set up an ideal before his nation. But there was practically no problem which the great Bengalee had not dealt with. He had set up an ideal before his countrymen which would never fail inspire them.

Accusations might be levelled against him, s Maulvi Reza-ul-Karim, but Bankim was too great those. He never cherished any hatred for the Mus community. That was abundantly proved by the fact th he had never attacked Islam or its Prophet although might have attacked certain Muslim individuals. It wou be absolutely unfair to call it a hatred for the Muslim For instance, his pen-picture of Aurangzeb could not construed as an attack on the religion he followed. Besid that, historians were not unanimous on that point and had not been proved that Bankim's version was wro He had depicted an age when tyranny, injustice a oppression reigned, and if he portrayed the oppressors, was not because they were Muslims, but because th were oppressors.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika's* abridged tra lation.

Srijut Guru Saday Dutt, I.C.S., spoke ne making some telling remarks in his characteri tic manner.

A Hindi poem was read. After the readin of summaries of some papers received from ou side Bengal, the function came to a close f the day.

Reports of the second and third days' cele brations are summarized below from th *Hidusthan Standard.*

Kanthalpara, the birth-place of Bankim Chandra, wa *en fete* on Sunday the 26th June, when a large number literary men from Calcutta paid a visit to the place an held meetings in connection with Bankim Centenar celebrations.

The first batch of literary men, headed by Sj. Hirendra nath Datta and Sir Jadunath Sarkar, reached Naiha station by the Chittagong Mail. Others who joined the later travelled by different local trains.

The visitors took great interest in going round Bankim Chandra's ancestral home and seeing things for themselve associated with his loving memory. Bankim Chandra drawing-room where he composed his "Bande Mataram and used to write for the *Bangadarshana* is located in single-storied building and this became the centre of th greatest attraction on the occasion.

From Naihati station to Kanthalpara the parties pr ceeded singing the "Bande Mataram" song, attracting lar crowds on the way.

At 9 o'clock in the morning a large crowd collect in the compound of the house when a public meeting w held in celebration of the Bankim Centenary. Sj. Hirendra nath Datta presided over the meeting. The speake addressed the meeting at great length on Bank Chandra's invaluable contributions to the cause of Beng language and literature and also to the cause of Indi nationalism.

In the evening an exhibition of the early editions Bankim Chandra's works, interesting documents in h hand-writing etc., was opened at the 'Ramesh Bhaba attached to the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad Hall in th presence of a big gathering.

This was followed by a social gathering at the sam place where recitations from Bankim Chandra's works we given.

Select scenes from Bankim Chandra's 'Kamalakant were also staged on the occasion.

The closing function of the centenary wa marked by inclement weather. But,

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In spite of pouring rain a large gathering was present at Ramesh Bhaban in Upper Circular Road on Monday evening, 27th June, at the closing function of the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations. Sj. Hirendranath Datta presided.

Messages were read from Babu Rajendra Prasad and Hon'ble Mr. N. Qanungo, Minister, Orissa expressing their sympathy with the organisers of the celebrations.

The proceedings commenced with the "Bande Mataram" song sung by Sj. Dilip Kumar Roy and his pupil Miss Uma Bose in a new tune.

This was followed by recitations and readings from Bankim Chandra's works, the singing of a song of Ramprasad's, the singing of a Kirtan composed by Bankim Chandra and of a humorous song by the same author.

Extending his hearty thanks on behalf of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad to all those who had endeavoured to make the Bankim Birthday Centenary Celebrations a success, Sj. Hirendranath Datta hoped that these celebrations would at least result in inducing the young men and women of the country to read more closely Bankim Chandra's works. Bankim Chandra passed away at the age of 56, but during this comparatively short span of life he had succeeded in laying Bengali literature under a deep debt of gratitude to him by his priceless contributions, which had no parallel in the history of the literatures of the world. The speaker had endeavoured to have some knowledge of the principal literatures of the world and he could say this that the literature produced by Bankim Chandra would occupy a prominent place in world literature. He hoped that Bengalis would not deprive themselves of the priceless legacy which had been handed down to them. They would be raising their lives to a higher and nobler plane by reading the literature produced by Bankim Chandra. Bengalis had special reasons to be proud of the fact that they could claim Bankim Chandra as one of those born in their province.

"Bankim Parichaya"

In commemoration of the centenary of the birth of Bankim Chandra the Calcutta University has published a brochure, entitled "Bankim Parichaya", containing selections from the writings of the great Bengali novelist, with the purpose of acquainting the younger generation with the ideals he preached.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee on Bengali Literature

It is not generally known that Bankim Chandra Chatterjee contributed an article on Bengali literature to *The Calcutta Review*, in 1871. Srijut Manmathanath Ghosh, M.A., has enabled the *Hindusthan Standard* to re-publish it in its Bankim Centenary Number. We reproduce the concluding paragraph of the article below. Readers will bear in mind that it was written 67 years ago, and that during this period Bengali literature has made great strides.

But here must end our brief and imperfect sketch of Bengali literature—a literature which, with much that is feeble and base and utterly worthless, yet has within it what may encourage no small degree of hope for the future. Its character is for the most part imitative, but what literature, save that of Greece, has ever been independent and original in its youth? Once and again has a voice from that holy land of beauty and truth awakened the torpid heart and mind of Western Europe. Horace himself, the most spontaneous and genuine of all the Latin poets, entertained no higher idea of originality than to make it consist in the importation of a new form of poetry from Greece. An imitator in those days meant an imitator of Latin authors—the imitation of Greek being almost implied in the excellence of any work. And when Europe woke again from the long sleep which followed on the dissolution of the Roman Empire, it was on the translation and imitation of Greek and Latin authors that its energies were employed. Is there no imitation in Dante himself? It may seem improbable that European ideas will ever really be assimilated by the people of India—that all we can effect here is a superficial varnish of sham intelligence. But everything cannot come in a day, and there was a time when it would have seemed almost equally improbable that the little remnant of intelligence preserved in the Latin Church, and the study of classical antiquity, would have grown into what we now see among the Celtic and Teutonic peoples of the West. The Bengalis may not seem to have the fibre for doing much in the way of real thought any more than of vigorous action; but it was chiefly among the supple and pliant Italians that the revival of learning in Europe began; and it is possible to imagine that the Bengalis—the Italians of Asia, as the *Spectator* has called them—are now doing a great work, by, so to speak, acclimatising European ideas and fitting them for reception hereafter by the hardier and more original races of Northern India.

The "Manchester Guardian" on Indian Federation Problems

The "Manchester Guardian" writes in the course of a leading article :

"Not for the first time there are rumours of some action by the British Government to clear up the obscurities in India's political future. Many of the sanest observers in India believe that there will be an opportunity this summer, such as has not been since the War and may not be again, to settle the relations between India and Britain in a peaceful and profitable manner.

"It is believed that Indian leaders are prepared to negotiate with regard to the Federal side of the Government of India Act, that there are suitable grounds for negotiations and that such negotiations stand a reasonable chance of success.

"This optimism is still tentative. It has received no official encouragement and it has been damped, if not drowned, by Lord Zetland's Bombay Dinner speech. There is a feeling that Lord Zetland was unnecessarily brusque. If Lord Zetland's statement means "take or leave it", India will certainly leave it.

"Lord Zetland and the Viceroy have to decide whether some radically new approach to the problems of Federation—new discussions and new understandings—are not immediately necessary. If they decide that there is no such need the whole Act may crumble and nobody would care to say what the state of things in India will then be.

"There is plenty of evidence from India that it will be worth England's while to reconsider Federation. It may be said that to suggest negotiations now ignores the rights and susceptibilities of the Princes. The future, however unpalatable it may be to some people and however the

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circumstances may be used to avoid admitting it, must be thought of in terms of a self-governing India and immediately that means free and equal discussions of the difficulties."

Perhaps Lord Zetland's brusque tone was adopted deliberately in order that Indian leaders might not demand any radical changes in the government scheme of federation. He seemed just to give a condescending hint that suggestions for slight alterations in it within the framework of the government scheme might be considered. Whatever the real belief of British statesmen may be, they give themselves airs of being complete masters of the situation so far as India is concerned. They would have Indians believe that they (Indians) are completely at their mercy and that the federal scheme may or may not be changed just as suits the convenience of the British people and parliament. But Indians have been seeing Britain bending the knee again and again before non-Indian armed might. It may be that is just because Britain is not yet ready for a big fight. But her possible enemies, too, are not idle. They are keeping pace with Britain or perhaps outstripping her in the race for increased armaments.

Indians and the Government Scheme of Federation

As in the last great war, so in any future one, Britain must depend to a considerable extent on India's help. In the last war India helped Britain depending on the latter's good faith. In and after the hour of victory India found that she had been deceived. She is not going to be deceived again.

But the success of India's plans for winning the kind of federation she wants and freedom through or along with it, does not depend on the breaking out of a war of some great power or powers with Britain. In times of peace and by thoroughly peaceful means India can have her way. Not that Indians are spoiling for a fray, however peaceful, with Britain. They should know—many do—that they must be cautious, not over-confident, and must not indulge in bluff. But their leaders know India's great strength, too. And they will undoubtedly use it at the right time.

In the last resort, India may have recourse to civil disobedience; and it is not unthinkable that, when she does it next, the Indian sections of the services may adopt a helpful attitude, if not one of active participation.

But though we are not in the secrets of the Congress leaders, we have reasons to think that they are not at present thinking of the last resource. If the British Government do not modify their federal scheme in the way the Congress may suggest, the seven Congress cabinets in seven provinces and their adherents in the provincial legislatures may adopt means to make federation impracticable or at least very difficult to work. Such means are to be found in the Government of India Act itself. The Congress party in the remaining four provincial legislatures may co-operate with their fellows in the other seven, as far as they can.

Changes in the Federal Scheme to be Demanded

In the meantime, as early as possible, all parties in the country should formally inform the Secretary of State for India what changes they want in the federal scheme.

Who are the parties who should do it?

There are those who will work or may feel obliged to work—however reluctantly—the federal scheme even if no change in it be made. But that does not certainly mean that they are satisfied with it. So they also should tell Lord Zetland what changes they want.

It will not do to think or say that this has been done repeatedly before. No. Repetition is the soul of agitation. The Secretary of State is not going to turn research scholar or employ research scholars to ransack the files of Indian newspapers or even the files of the India Office to find out what changes in the federal scheme this Indian party or that may have suggested in the past. So they should tell him again what they want.

The Congress or a section of it may have already informally told him through Mr. Bhulabhai Desai. And Congress may say that they are not going to petition the British Government. But it will do, if after consultation with Gandhiji a statement of the changes demanded be published in the press.

The other parties in the country, who will not care if they be accused of pursuing a "mendicant policy," may communicate to the Secretary of State the changes which they want. To name some of them—

The All-India Women's Conference; the Indian National Liberal Federation; the Hindu Mahasabha with its branches; the Sanatan Dharma Mahamandal; the Varnashram Swarajya Sangha; and other Hindu bodies; the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations; the All-India and Provincial Christian Associations; the Siromani Gurudwara Prabandhak Committee and other Sikh organizations, may

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place their suggestions before the Secretary of State. The various commercial, industrial, Labour and Peasants' organizations may similarly make their suggestions known.

The British Government will not accept any suggestion which runs counter to British policy, or unless driven to a corner, as it were. But that is no reason why we should moderate our demands or why the world should not be apprised of any particular demand. Attention is drawn below to a few important probable ones.

The Communal Decision must be scrapped, if Indians are to live as a nation and to govern themselves according to the principles of democratic self-rule. We have repeatedly stated our objections to it from the date of its publication, and notably in our presidential address at the All-India Anti-Communal Award Conference in Bombay, and need not repeat them. Congress has declared it anti-national and anti-democratic, and should feel bound to work for its scrapping if it wants its practice to be in consonance with its profession. It got a very good opportunity for getting it substantially altered, if not altogether scrapped, when it was called upon to consider if it would accept office in the Congress majority provinces. At that time Congress ought to have made the scrapping or substantial alteration of the Communal Decision one of the conditions on which it would be prepared to accept office.

Another opportunity has now come to demand a similar change. Congress should seize it.

It is owing chiefly, if not solely, to the Communal Decision that the political unity of India under British rule has been destroyed to a great extent. The *form* of government in all the provinces may at present be the same, but the spirit is of one kind in some and of the opposite or at least a different kind in the rest. Some are governed, as far as the law permits, according to Congress principles; others according to a different policy.

Therefore, if Congress principles are to triumph in the governance of the whole of at least British India, if all the provinces are to be Congress-ruled provinces, and if the political unification of the whole country is to be completed instead of being destroyed or retarded, Congress ought to work for the scrapping of the Communal Decision. With reference to it, scrapping is the maximum demand. **The minimum is that *provincial* minorities must be given the advantages which *all-India* minorities enjoy under it.**

Some of the other changes which should be made in the British-made federal scheme are that there should be no dyarchy at the Centre, all subjects—including defence, foreign affairs, and the like, being placed under the charge of Ministers; that all items in the Budget should be votable; that the Chapter on Discrimination in the Government of India Act should be deleted; that the representation given to the Indian States should be proportionate to their population; that the members of the federal legislature representing the States should be elected by the people of the States, not nominated by their Rulers; that the Railways and other means of transport should be under the control of the legislature; and that the elections to the federal legislature should be direct but not through the provincial legislature.

Japan Fights China with Narcotics

It was reported some time ago that Japan intended to use poison gas in her war with China, and there were some wordy Occidental protests or rumours of protests, to which Japan was not likely to attach any importance. Meanwhile another kind of poison is being used by Japan in order to unman and dehumanise the Chinese. The following account of it is given by the No-Frontier New Service of America:

London (NNS).

....For many months reports have been coming from China that the narcotics situation in China is becoming steadily worse, due to the sale of poisonous drugs by Japanese and Korean traders protected by extraterritoriality. Muriel Lester, well-known British crusader for peace and social justice, thereupon went to China to investigate a situation which she had previously studied in China. Her report of conditions is, to say the least, alarming.

The Nanking Government had ordered a vigorous fight against the traffickers and users of heroin and morphine by fixing the death penalty for salesmen and incurable addicts. All of this work has now being nullified by the Japanese, apparently for the purpose of demoralizing the Chinese population and making it unfit to fight the Japanese invaders.

The Japanese themselves no longer carry on this trade but have transferred it to Korean agents who operate under Japanese protection. These drug salesmen operate openly through countless "joints" and Muriel Lester encountered no difficulty whatever in purchasing the demoralizing narcotics in a dozen different places.

In Peking many small clinics have been opened by the Japanese which advertise the various diseases which they cure. These are nothing but drug dispensaries which take this way of operating since the "joints" were closed up. At village fairs similar clinics have been set up which promise to cure tuberculosis and other diseases. They dispense nothing but heroin and morphine and when the patient returns feeling worse after his first treatment he is told to persist in the use of the "medicines" sold to him.

Drug pedlars in large numbers follow the Japanese

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armies and go to work on the Chinese population in the conquered territory. A foreign Christian remonstrated with Korean drug runners and asked them: "Why do you come to China?" "We were sent here", was the reply. "Why do you ply this trade?" "That was the part assigned to us", they explained.

Insulting and Humiliating China's Womanhood

Japan has bombed many places in China from the air, killing thousands of women, children and non-combatant men and wounding, maiming and disabling larger numbers of the civilian population. China is a vast and densely populated country. The death of even a few millions will not depopulate it. Yet, massacre is massacre everywhere, and cannot but be felt as a cruel blow.

But worse far than the slaughter of innocents are the outrage and humiliation, worse than death, to which girls and women are being subjected in some areas in China. They are being stripped naked and compelled to expose themselves while being photographed by Japanese cameramen in this condition. We have received photographs from a reliable source, showing girls and women in this condition. They are not fit for reproduction, nor have they been sent to us for that purpose. They were meant to be seen by the Congress President, to whose Calcutta address we sent them on June 11 from Ghatsila in a registered closed cover, containing a covering letter and some appeals for help on behalf of China.

Appeals For Help to China

China stands sorely in need of medical and other help, as the documents sent through us to the Congress President show. Other documents are expected early and will be forwarded to him as soon as received.

Disastrous Floods in China

Coming on top of the destructive war waged by Japan in China, the recent floods have caused a havoc which is staggering in its immensity. More than a hundred thousand have been swept off and many times that huge number have been thrown into dire distress. Chiang Kai-shek and other Chinese leaders remain undaunted in the face of this calamity. If the floods have in any way embarrassed the Japanese armies, they may be considered as a kind of natural help received unexpectedly by the Chinese.

Their patriotism and firm resolve are beyond all praise.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in Spain

As one who has been thrice president of the Indian National Congress and who throughout his political career, whether in office or not, has been enthusiastically active in the cause of India's freedom and independence, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is sure to be accorded a very warm reception by all lovers of liberty wherever he may go. Such has been his reception in Spain. He has been quite close to the front in that country. He has been struck by the calm fortitude of the people and the regular and methodical way in which they have been going about their daily work though exposed to imminent danger. The republican government of Spain appeared to be sure of ultimate victory and he shares their confidence. The Spanish Government, he thinks, has now a better army than at the beginning of the war.

Gandhi-Jinnah Correspondence

The Gandhi-Jinnah correspondence has been published. We have read all the letters, but now know no more of what Mr. Jinnah wants for the Muslim community than we did before we read them. What he wants for himself and the Moslem League, we could guess before reading these letters, and the correspondence confirms that guess. He wants the Moslem League to be considered the sole representative organization of the whole Mussalman community and to be considered equal to the Congress. He wants himself to be recognized as *at least* as great a leader as any other Indian leader.

Gandhiji's letters make distressing reading.

Jinnah-Nehru Correspondence

The letters which have passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in connection with what has come to be known as Unity Talks, have been published in the press. Their publication has been pronounced unauthorized by Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. The News Agency which was responsible for their publication has offered a public apology for their publication and explained how it came about. Mr. Jinnah has characterized it as a breach of confidence. Technically, perhaps, all these three politicians may be right. But we do not see what harm

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has been done by the public coming to know what actually passed between Mr. Jinnah and Pandit Jawaharlal. On the contrary, the correspondence must have led even many Congressmen to wonder why after the receipt of so many non-committal letters from Mr. Jinnah, the Congress High Command continued to cherish any hope of a settlement with the Moslem League, or, what is the same thing, with Mr. Jinnah. Those whose attitude towards the Congress is friendly admire the optimism of the Congress High Command. What critics of the Congress think need not be investigated by us. We have been struck by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's extreme courtesy and his continued effort not only not to give offence to Mr. Jinnah but also to be as forbearing and accommodating as possible. He was also able to suppress the least inclination to take offence even when it would not have been unnatural or unjustifiable to do so.

Mr. Nehru's observations on Mr. Jinnah's fourteen-points are fair, clear and convincing

Sardar Ballabhbhai Patel has expressed the view that the Congress High Command know best when to publish documents of public interest. Certainly, when they are in exclusive possession of such documents, they are the best judges when and how to publish them. But all newspaper editors are not to be presumed to be irresponsible men, not competent to decide what ought or ought not to be published in the public interest. Any correspondence of Congress leaders relating to public matters, not marked confidential, may be published in newspapers without any reference to the Congress High Command, if the editors think such publication to be in the public interest, or at least not likely to affect such interest prejudicially. None of the letters included in the Nehru-Jinnah correspondence was marked confidential.

Many influential and respectable newspapers have published even confidential state documents and have sometimes rendered public service thereby. And sometimes these newspapers have not been very scrupulous as to the means adopted for getting hold of these documents.

The Gandhi-Jinnah and Jinnah-Nehru letters were not state documents and were not marked confidential. Nor were they of a private or personal character.

We think their publication has promoted the interest of the country, though the time and energy spent on them could have been used to better purpose.

A Suggested Preliminary to Unity Talks

In the current number of *Prabasi*, published on the 15th June last, we have suggested that instead of allowing Mr. Jinnah to press the Congress to recognize the Moslem League as the sole Moslem organization representative of the entire Mussalman community, Congress might and should have asked all Moslem representative bodies, including the Moslem League, to settle among themselves first which Moslem body, if any, was to be considered as representative of the whole community. But if they thought that no single body represented the whole community, then the next thing for the Congress to do would have been to ask all these Moslem bodies to choose their representatives—one each, and Congress could have carried on negotiations with these representative Mussalmans.

Mr. Jinnah's and Moslem League's Representative Character

Congress could not have recognized the Moslem League as a body and the only body representing the entire Muhammadan community. Such recognition would have been based on an obvious falsehood, and it would have been suicidal on the part of Congress. It is a national, not a communal, organization. Its recognition of the Moslem League as the sole representative of the entire Muslim community of India would have meant that it had no right to enrol Moslem members and consequently that the Moslem members already on its rolls had no business to be there. This would have gone against the national character of Congress. It would have been reduced to the position of an organization of a somewhat communal character entitled to have only Hindu and other non-Moslem members. But its right to enlist even these latter was subject to Mr. Jinnah's challenge; for he wanted Congress to declare that it was negotiating with him on behalf of the Hindu community.

As a matter of fact many Moslem bodies and many notable Mussalmans have denied the Moslem League's sole representative character.

Equality of Congress and Moslem League

Mr. Jinnah has all along been insisting that Congress should always carry on conversations with the Moslem League on a footing of equality. It can be treated as a just demand if it means that Congress was not to dictate to the Moslem League, that the latter would be perfectly free

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to offer any terms of settlement it liked, and that it would also be perfectly free to accept or reject any terms offered by Congress. But it is not true in the ordinary sense or senses that the Moslem League as an organization is equal to Congress as an organization.

Congress is a national, non-communal organization, drawing its members from all the races and religious communities inhabiting India and from all classes of them. The Moslem League is a communal organization, enrolling only Moslems as members.

Congress can enrol members from the more than 350 million inhabitants of India. The Moslem League can enlist members only from the Indian Muslim community some 80 millions strong.

Congress claims to have more than 30 lakhs of members. The Moslem League has not perhaps as many hundred members, and certainly not as many thousand. It is said the Moslem members of Congress alone number more than a lakh.

Congress has from the very beginning striven for the good of all Indians and for the freedom of the whole of India—of all Indians. Its political goal was for long freedom of the kind enjoyed by the British Dominions, but latterly it has been independence. The Moslem League has only recently verbally accepted India's independence as its goal.

Numerous members of Congress have made great sacrifices and undergone great sufferings, many dying in the process, in order to bring India nearer the goal of independence. The Moslem League has done nothing of the kind.

Congress has set its heart particularly on the economic and other welfare of the masses of India, irrespective of their creed and caste, and the Congress ministries in the seven provinces under their charge have been striving by legislation and other means to further this object. The Moslem League has not identified itself either in word or deed even with the Moslem masses—not to speak of the Indian masses in general.

The difference between Congress and the Moslem League can be further elaborated. But more need not be said to show the utter absurdity of Mr. Jinnah's demand that the Moslem League should be recognized as equal to Congress—except, of course, in the limited sense explained in the first few lines of this note.

No organization which is communal, in any sense, can be treated on a footing of equality by Congress except in that sense.

Mr. Subhas Bose's Reaction to "Manchester Guardian's" Comments

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, said in the course of an interview with a press representative on the 22nd June last in connection with the comments of the *Manchester Guardian* on the problems of Indian Federation:

"India will never accept any ties with Great Britain which may be forced on her against her will. But she may contemplate friendly and cordial relations with the latter through a treaty voluntarily signed by her."

He continued:

"I must say at the very outset that I do not know of any Indian leaders being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act. I had made it clear more than once that mere amendments of the Government of India Act will not meet the demands of the Indian people. What they stand for is the substitution of the Act by a constitution framed by the Indian people through their representatives.

"The framing of such a constitution need not be such a difficult task as some may be disposed to think. To use the words of the *Manchester Guardian*, what is wanted on the British side is a 'radically new approach'—not merely to the problems of federation but to the problem of India as a whole. That radically new approach will consist, as suggested by the *Guardian*, in visualising the future in terms of a self-governing India by which I mean free India. If the British Government can treat the Indian people as a free nation, it should not take more than 24 hours to settle the outstanding differences between India and Great Britain.

"I do not say this in a light-hearted manner. I am fully conscious of the many thorns in the path of Indo-British conciliation, but what I am urging is that once the Indian people acquire the status of a free nation, they or their representatives will not take long to make all adjustments which may be found necessary to establish a lasting peace and good-will between the two countries.

"As I have made it clear before I am not opposed to the idea of federation as such; rather I believe that free India will have a constitution that will be federal in character. But that federation cannot grow out of the present federal scheme. It must be an entirely new constitution to replace the latter."—(*A. P. I.*)

Mr. Bose has said that he does not know of "any Indian leaders (he meant, most probably of the Congress party) being prepared to negotiate with regard to the federal side of the Government of India Act." We cannot pretend to know more. Whether he has come to know of any such leaders during his recent visit to Segaon and Wardha after his East Bengal tour has not yet been published. What we presume is that the resolution passed some time ago by the Madras Assembly suggesting that the Government of India Act should be amended in consultation with Indian leaders to make federation workable, taken with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's recent visit to England, makes it probable that there are leaders who may not be

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unwilling to take part in the kind of negotiations referred to by Mr. Bose.

He has spoken as a thoroughgoing nationalist and independentist. We quite appreciate his point of view. The principles underlying his observations should not be lost sight of. Their repetition is necessary to gain his object. But in practical politics the point of view of those who may be for a temporary compromise with the upholders of imperialism requires also to be taken into consideration. What we mean is that just as there are numerous Congressmen (not to speak of others) who are entirely against the Communal Decision but who have nevertheless acquiesced in its practical temporary acceptance by Congress, and just as there are members of Congress who were and still are opposed in theory to the acceptance of office but who have ceased to oppose it in practice and are directly or indirectly working the provincial part of the Constitution on certain conditions, so there may be those who may agree to the working of the federal part of the constitution for the time being, if certain changes in the Government scheme were made.

This may be "reformism". But as Congress has adopted reformist strategy with regard to so-called "provincial autonomy", it may adopt that sort of tactics with regard to federation also. Gandhiji's declaration that the parliamentary mentality has come to stay, may smack of reformism, but his political goal remains the same as it was when he was an active leader of civil disobedience in practice.

Mr. De Valera followed revolutionary methods when they were practicable. He has been following reformist methods since some time past. But his goal, his ideal, remains unchanged.

The Defence of India

The Guardian of Madras is right in observing:

> At no time in the history of the British connection with India has the defence problem assumed such importance as today. In the past it was assumed that the arm of the British Navy was long enough and strong enough to protect her shores. But in a modern war, as it will be waged, the Navy's strength has been very largely discounted by aircraft. Many Indians are asking the question whether India can defend herself in the event of a war say by Japan against Britain. The answer cannot be doubtful for a moment. She is absolutely helpless and the British Navy will find itself fully occupied in the European waters. Every Indian politician is conscious of this dreadful possibility but thinks that Providence will interfere on her behalf. The Hon. Mr. Srinivasa Sastri had this desperate position of India in mind when in his concluding speech after Mr. F. E. James' platitudes, he reproached Great Britain for her neglect of India's defence. Britain's want of confidence in Indian nationalists is likely to take not only India but herself to the verge of disaster, if not irremediable ruin.

The New-Old Bengal Cabinet

Mr. Fazlul Huq, Bengal's chief minister, wanted to get rid of Mr. Nausher Ali, one of his colleagues, and in this he had the support of his other colleagues. He called upon Mr. Nausher Ali to resign. This the latter refused to do. So the device was adopted of the chief minister and nine of his colleagues resigning in a body. Then Mr. Nausher Ali, too, resigned. The resignations were accepted, and the Governor of Bengal (Lord Brabourne, at present officiating Governor-General) now asked Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet. He, of course, formed it with his faithful nine.

The correspondence between the chief minister and Mr. Nausher Ali has been published in the press. There are also additional statements and counter-statements, and that not by these men alone. We do not want to discuss who was wrong or who was right, or whether all were to blame. It is not necessary in the public interest to do so.

The work of the Bengal Cabinet has not given the least satisfaction to the Bengal public. Mr. Fazlul Huq's outbursts have evoked comments which need not be repeated. In calling upon the same Mr. Fazlul Huq to form a cabinet, Lord Brabourne has shown that he does not care a straw for public opinion. Or perhaps he was nonplussed by the situation and in his hurry to take charge of his new (temporary) office, he had recourse to the easiest device. We cannot, of course, suggest the name of any person whom he might have asked to form a cabinet. But he had an opportunity to at least try to give Bengal a better ministry. He failed to avail himself of it.

Mahatma Gandhi's Suggested Peace Brigade

Mahatma Gandhi has contributed to *Harijan* an article on "A Peace Brigade" whose members would be expected to risk their lives in dealing with riots, especially those of a communal character. His idea is that this brigade should be a substitute for the police and even for the military. "This reads ambitious. The achievement may prove impossible." "Yet," says he, "if the Congress is to succeed in its non-violent struggle, it must develop the power to deal peacefully with such situations."

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Communal riots are engineered by politically-minded men. Many of those who take part in them are under the influence of the latter. Surely it should not be beyond the wit of Congressmen to devise a method or methods of avoiding ugly communal situations by peaceful means.

I say this irrespective of whether there is or there is not a communal pact. It cannot be that any party seeks to force a pact by violent means. Even if such a pact were a possibility, it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written. For, behind such a pact, there will be no common understanding. What is more, even after a pact is arrived at, it would be too much to expect that there would never be any communal riots.

Gandhiji states the qualifications a member of the contemplated Peace Brigade should possess.

(1) He or she must have a living faith in non-violence. This is impossible without a living faith in God. A non-violent man can do nothing save by the power and grace of God. Without it, he will not have the courage to die without anger, without fear, and without retaliation. Such courage comes from the belief that God sits in the hearts of all and that there should be no fear in the presence of God.

The knowledge of the omnipresence of God also means respect for the lives of even those who may be called opponents or *goondas*. This contemplated intervention is a process of stilling the fury of man when the brute in him gets the mastery over him.

(2) This messenger of peace must have equal regard for all the principal religions of the earth. Thus, if he is a Hindu he will respect the other faiths current in India. He must, therefore, possess a knowledge of the general principles of the different faiths professed in the country.

(3) Generally speaking, this work of peace can only be done by local men in their own localities.

(4) The work can be done singly or in groups. Therefore, no one need wait for companions. Nevertheless, one would naturally seek companions in one's own locality and form a local brigade.

(5) This messenger of peace will cultivate through personal service contacts with the people in his locality or chosen circle, so that when he appears to deal with ugly situations he does not descend upon the members of a riotous assembly as an utter stranger liable to be looked upon as a suspect or an unwelcome visitor.

(6) Needless to say, a peace bringer must have a character beyond reproach and must be known for his strict impartiality.

(7) Generally, there are previous warnings of coming storms. If these are known the Peace Brigade will not wait till the anticipated conflagration breaks out.

(8) Whilst, if the movement spreads, it might be well if there are some wholetime workers, it is not absolutely necessary that there should be. The idea is to have as many good and true men and women as possible. These can be had only if volunteers are drawn from those who are engaged in various walks of life but have leisure enough to cultivate friendly relations with the people living in their circle and otherwise possess the qualifications required of a member of the Peace Brigade.

(9) There should be a distinctive dress worn by the members of the contemplated Brigade so that in course of time they will be recognised without the slightest difficulty.

These are Gandhiji's general suggestions. He thinks each centre can work out its own constitution on the basis suggested in the article.

He adds a few words of warning:

Lest false hopes should be raised, I must w workers against entertaining the hope that I can p any active part in the formation of Peace Brigades. have not the health, energy or time for it. I find hard enough to cope with the tasks I dare not shirk can only guide and make suggestions through corresp dence or through these columns. Therefore, let th who appreciate the idea and feel they have the abil take the intiative themselves. I know that the propo Brigade has great possibilities and that the idea behi it is quite capable of being worked out in practice.

Non-violence as a Weapon of Defence

Dr Kalidas Nag on his way back fro Poona to Calcutta last month broke journey Wardha to see Mahatma Gandhi. In the cour of the conversation the question was ask whether non-violence could be used as a weap of defence. Dr. Nag wished some day Gandh could work out the formula of non-violen as a means of defence. Mr. Mahadev Des has given an account of the interview in *Harij* He writes:

"What, for instance, can China do?" he aske I ventured to reply that the answer had already be given. I said he would offer the same advice as he h offered to Abyssinia and that whereas it seemed impos ble for Abyssinia to accept the advice, it should not see impossible in case of China. For China could afford sacrifice a few million people on the altar of non-violen Flood and famine periodically decimate vast tracts China. Why not offer a voluntary sacrifice of millions That would stagger even the violence-ridden humanity.

Mr. Desai has given an extract from wh Gandhiji wrote in *The Cosmopolitan* of Ne York three years ago, concluding with t sentence:

"If one great nation were unconditionally to perfo the supreme act of renunciation, many of us would s in our life-time visible peace established on earth."

With every desire to believe that it possible to have universal peace on earth an freedom for all countries we want light to s whether this supreme act of renunciatio would enable the nation to keep its freedom.

Without knowing what Gandhiji wrote *The Cosmopolitan* we could imagine that it w possible for some great nation to perform th great act of sacrifice. We wrote in our notes the last May number, page 601:

"We can imagine that for the promotion and realiz tion of the ideal of non-violence by nations in th collective capacity, some nation may have to risk i independence and even lose it. But such supreme sac fice, to be genuine and effective, must be made by powerful and brave nation."

The Will to Violence

While Gandhiji has been trying to convinc people that non-violence is desirable an

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possible in all intra-national and international relations and affairs, there are influences and forces in India making for violence.

For example, at a recent conference of political workers in Jessore, so much violence was used that, not to speak of those who sustained more or less serious injuries, a boy of 15 or 16 actually died in hospital in consequence of *lathi*-blows received on his head.

In the *Pioneer* of June 4 last there is a report of the proceedings of a Youth Conference at Unao, U.P. There an ex-Kakori case prisoner, in the course of a speech "condemned the Congress ministries and strongly criticized the policy of non-violence, as he thought that Swarajya could not be attained by that method." We had read in the papers that the Kakori prisoners had been released on the understanding that they had become disbelievers in violence—that in any case they would not preach violence. Is the *Pioneer's* report correct? Here is an extract from that report.

From early morning *kisans* armed with lathies and red flags began to pour into the city in pursuance of the declaration of the conveners of the Conference that prizes would be given for the best lathies.

Inflammatory speeches condemning Congress ministries and criticizing Mahatma Gandhi's policy of non-violence, were delivered.

The report adds that a big procession, in which communist leaders with red flags took the lead, "paraded the streets of the city with slogans," and the slogans were, *lathi zindabad* ("Long live *lathi* or cudgel"), *sircar ka nash ho* ("May Government perish"), etc.

"Progress of the Sino-Japanese Conflict"

The mid-May number of *Foreign Policy Reports* concludes with the following paragraph:

Notwithstanding the possibility of a sudden collapse of organized Chinese resistance, the prospects for a stalemate appear to be increasing. Even if the Chinese Government should be driven back from the coast and from Hankow, it may conceivably succeed in organizing an almost self-sufficient semi-military state in the unconquered interior which would be an important source of resistance to Japan. And whatever the fate of the Chiang Kai-shek regime, Japan's civilian and military leaders openly state that it will be years before Chinese opposition can be completely eradicated from the areas now held by its armies. Meanwhile, the first flush of war enthusiasm in Japan is being displaced by the grim realization that the nation faces a period of extreme economic and political strain. The local incident of July 7, 1937, has thus become the prelude to a fateful war in the Far East.

Muslim Marriage Law

Sadhana of Cocanada writes:

A Bill to consolidate the provisions of the Muslim law relating to suits by married Muslim women for dissolution of marriage and to remove doubts as to the effect of apostacy of a married Muslim woman on her marriage was discussed before the Central Legislative Assembly at the instance of Mr. Kazim whose motion for circulation of the Bill received Government support. But the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sircar, the Law Member of the Government of India, while according his support for the motion for circulation pointed out the serious aspect of the Bill.

He said that the position, if the Bill became law, would be "to enable a Muslim woman to retain the marital tie with her husband. It has been held by High Courts that if a Hindu wife became a Muslim she was entitled to call on her Hindu husband to embace Islam and if he refused, she could get the marriage dissolved. But if she married a Muslim husband and then reconverted herself to Hinduism, then according to the Bill, she had no right to dissolve the marriage with the Muslim husband. The Muslims thus would *have it both ways* and it might be regarded as a hardship by other communities." We hope that if the Bill is to be finally passed into law, it would be relieved of such objectionable features as would be felt as hardships in the practical working of it, by one community or the other.

"Vive la roti" or "Roti Zindabad"

The Living Age for June gives a translation of an article in *Vendredi*, a Paris weekly, on the writings on the walls of the public buildings and subways of Paris. These are written by street urchins, soldiers off duty, etc. A passage is quoted below.

Godfrey and I made a little survey of the Parisian inscriptions. 'What can be the meaning,' Godfrey asked me, stopping before the Pavilion of Flowers, 'of *Vive le roti*, (Long live the roast)? I have read this inscription very often and I must confess that I don't understand this culinary enthusiasm.'

'It is only a *Vive le Roi*, the slogan of the French Royalists, which has been tampered with slightly,' I explained. 'The *i* has been made into *t* and another *i* has been added. Almost all the *Rois* in France have been changed into *Rotis*.

"Roti" in Hindi, "Ruti" in Bengali, means bread. So in our country the hungry masses may adopt the slogan, "Roti Zindabad" or "Long live bread"!

Rabindranath Tagore's Message to China

The following is the full text of Rabindranath Tagore's message to the people of China, which was sent to them through Professor Tan Yuan-Shan, Director of the Sino-Indian Cultural Society, at Visvabharati, and which has been recently handed to Marshal Chiang Kai-shek and broadcast all over China at his desire:

"Your neighbouring nation, which is largely indebted to you for the gift of your cultural wealth and therefore should naturally cultivate your comradeship for its own ultimate benefit, has suddenly developed a virulent infection of imperialistic rapacity imported from the West and turned the great chance of building the bulwark of a noble destiny in the East into a dismal disaster. Its

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loud bluster of power, its ruthless orgy of indiscriminate massacre of life, demolition of education centres, its callous defiance of all civilised codes of humanity, has brought humiliation upon the modern spirit of Asia that is struggling to find its honoured place in the forefront of the modern age. It is all the more unfortunate, because some of the proud powers of the West, tottering under the burden of their bloated prosperity, are timidly condoning the blood-shodden politics of the standard-bearers of their own highly reputed civilization, humbly bending their knees at the altar of indecent success that has blasted some time-honoured citadels of sacred human rights.

"At this desperate age of moral upset it is only natural for us to hope that the Continent which has produced the two greatest men, Buddha and Christ, in the whole course of human events, must still fulfil its responsibility to maintain the purest expression of character in the teeth of the scientific effrontery of the evil genius of man. Has not that expectation already shown its first luminous streak of fulfilment in the person of Gandhi in a historical horizon obscured by centuries of indignity? However, Japan has cynically refused its own great possibility, its noble heritage of 'bushido' and has offered a most painful disillusionment to us in an unholy adventure, which through even some apparent success of hers is sure to bend her down to the dust, loaded with a fatal burden of failure.

"Our only consolation lies in the hope that the deliberate aggression of violence that has assailed your country will bear a sublime meaning in the heroic suffering it causes in a promise of the birth of a new soul of the nation. You are the only great people in the world who never had the snobbishness of extolling the military power as one of the glorious characteristics of national spirit, and when the same brute force of militarism with its hideous efficiency has overtaken your country, we pray with all our heart that you may come out of this trial once again to be able to justify your trust in the true heroism of higher humanity in this cowardly world ready to prove traitor to its own best ideals. Even if a mere physical success be immediately missed by you, yet your moral gain will never be lost and the seeds of victory that are being sown through this terrible struggle in the depth of your being will over and over again prove their deathlessness."—(*United Press.*)

King Farouq To Be Caliph?

Since the overthrow of the Sultanate of Turkey the Islamic world has had no Caliph. The problem of the Caliphate has been revived in Egypt. King Farouq of that country is an aspirant to that high office. It is said that Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Yemen and other Arabian States have no objection to recognize him as Caliph and that Afghanistan and some other Muslim states are to be shortly consulted. We are under the impression that it is only a fully independent and very powerful Mussalman monarch who can be Caliph. If this impression be correct, does the young Egyptian King answer to this description?

Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill

Dr. Deshmukh has given notice of introducing his Hindu Women's Right of Divorce Bill in the Central Legislature. It reads as follows:

Preamble

Whereas it is expedient to give a Right of Divorce Hindu women under certain circumstances, it is enac as follows:—

This Act may be called the Hindu Women's Ri of Divorce Act of 1938.

It shall apply to the whole of India (British). shall come into force on—.

Right of Divorce

Notwithstanding any custom or law to the contr a married Hindu woman shall be entitled to claim Divorce from her husband under the following circu stances:—

If her husband acquires impotency, any time a the marriage, which is incurable;

or, If her husband changes his religion;

or, If her husband marries a woman, while the f marriage is in force;

or, If her husband has deserted her for a contin period of three years.

Aims and Objects

Cases are occurring frequently in India in which married Hindu woman's life is made unbearable un circumstances brought about by her husband. The b aims at removing some of these, recognising that a Hi wife has a human personality.

Some bigamous or polygamous husban may be only too eager to get rid of their fi wife or wives. So, the Bill should provide th until and unless a wife who has obtained divorce under the proposed law actually r marries after divorce, the husband shall rema liable to maintain her according to his pecun ary position.

Hindu Monogamy Bill

Seth Govindlal S. Motilal intends to intr duce the following Bill in the Central Coun of State:

Whereas it is expedient to forbid and declare ille a marriage contracted by a Hindu with another woman the lifetime of his wife, it is hereby enacted as follows

1. (i) This Act may be called the Hindu Monog ous Act of 1938.

(ii) It extends to the whole of British In and shall come into force on such date as it rece the assent of the Governor-General.

2. Notwithstanding any rule of Hindu Law or c tom, contrary to or inconsistent with this Act, a marri contracted by a Hindu with another woman in the l time of his wife, shall be void and the provisions Section 494 and 495 of the Indian Penal Code shall ap to such a marriage.

Provided that this section shall not apply to a ma age contracted by a Hindu, where, by law or custo dissolution of marriage is permissible and has been gra ed by competent authority.

3. The provisions of this Act shall apply to a Hi even after his conversion to another religion.

Statement of Objects and Reasons

Although polygamy has been looked upon with favour by Hindu jurists and society, the Hindu Law d not prevent male persons from marrying any number wives irrespective of their having one or more wives a

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Flagrant cases of the abuse of this liberty given to men under the Hindu Law have come to light during recent years. In order to prevent the growth of such an evil, it is desirable to restrain polygamous marriages among Hindus by law.

Mr. Nehru at British House of Commons

At a reception given to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the House of Commons, London, on June 23, he emphasized that there was a great development in India's interest in foreign affairs, and said that India had come to realize that Indian problems were part of world affairs and much that happened abroad had reactions in India.

The feeling in England two and a half years ago was that the Indian question had been settled. That feeling was based on an erroneous conception, because the Indian question to-day was bigger than it had been at any time in the past. There were at the moment enormous potentialities for good or evil. India was passing through a period in which the forces of conflict were not obvious —there was no civil disobedience, etc.,—but beneath the surface there was great tension and the feeling that great changes must come.

India was not opposed to Federation on principle, but only to the type of Federation envisaged in the Government of India Act.

Replying to questions Mr. Nehru insisted that he was not in England on any special mission.—*Reuter.*

No Peace Yet in Palestine

Palestine is still far from being quiet.

Jerusalem, June 24.

A sudden clash of Jews and Arabs occurred last night on the borders of Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. The official estimate of casualties is that two Arabs were killed and five others wounded. One Jew was dangerously wounded, and three others were seriously injured.

Both sides accuse each other of provocative attack in a busy market. A street fight ensued in which revolvers and daggers were freely used. A Jewish settler was seriously wounded at night time, while helping to defend a Jewish village near Jordan.

Three Jews were kidnapped by a large Arab gang while returning home after hay-making near a village in south Haifa.—*Reuter.*

Congress and the Zamindari System

During his tour in East Bengal one of the questions which Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, had to answer was whether Congress would abolish the zamindari system. He said that no decision to abolish it had been arrived at.

The other day at a meeting of the Congress party of United Provinces Legislature, held at the committee room of the secretariat at Lucknow the same question was raised. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, the Chief Minister, presided. The majority of the members of the party were against the abolition of the zamindari system.

C. P. Government to Restore 60 Per Cent Wage-Cut

The C. P. Government have announced their decision on the recommendations of the C. P. Textile Labour Enquiry Committee.

The Government have accepted the recommendation for a 60 per cent uniform restoration in the wage-cuts of textile workers, which has been in force since 1934 and have commended to the employers and the workers for acceptance of the same.

This recommendation, which the Government has accepted, was made by the majority of the Labour Enquiry Committee.

The Labour Committee was unanimous in recommending that an increase should be introduced with reference to wages earned from May 1 last, except in the case of Empress Mills, Nagpur, the management of which is committed to grant increases with effect from February last.

Labour Strikes in Various Places

While the Labour strike at Cawnpore has received the largest amount of public attention, there are serious strikes in other places in other provinces, too. Everywhere the condition of the workers admits of great improvement. This nobody will deny. To what extent the wages of the labourers can be raised without decreasing the profits of the employers to such an extent as to leave no incentive for investing capital and facing risk of loss, cannot be decided in the lump for all industries in all places. The circumstances relating to each particular industry in different localities must be taken into consideration. As there is no state socialism or any other kind of socialism in the industrial sphere in India, the profit motive cannot be eliminated if the country is to be industrialized.

While capitalists must be prevailed upon or obliged by law to raise the material condition of their employees as much as practicable, the advocates of Labour and the Labourers themselves must bear in mind the comparatively low level of the material condition of the mass of the population in the country. However poor the remuneration of workers in mills and factories, their income is generally higher than that of our peasants, as no doubt it ought to be. So the return of the mill and factory hands to their villages owing to the closing of any mill

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or factory because of strikes cannot lead to any improvement in their material condition but rather to its deterioration.

We do not write in this vein to even indirectly wink at sweating and profiteering, but only to induce in the minds of both capital and labour a reasonable spirit of compromise—of give and take, it being understood that generally speaking it is capital which is in a position to give.

Romain Rolland on India's Role in The World Crisis

About the beginning of this year Mr. Syamaprasad Mukherjee, Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, sent an invitation to M. Romain Rolland on behalf of the University to give a series of lectures in Calcutta under its auspices. Mr. Mukherjee has received the following reply from the great French novelist, idealist and intellectual:

"I am grateful for the honour the University of Calcutta has done by inviting me through you to deliver lectures at Calcutta. I am so very pleased to get the invitation, which means visiting your dear country, which I love and honour. Unfortunately, as my present state of health cannot stand the long voyage and the sudden climatic change, I cannot accept your invitation. I am really very sorry for this.

"In the world crisis, it is in India I repose my absolute faith for the emancipation of the human race, and the thought of her awakening fills me with delight. Please convey to the Syndicate of the University my gratitude and my regret for inability to accept the invitation."

In times past India produced men and women fit to take a leading part in the world's emancipation. Their spirit is still an inspiration to Indians and others who know them. In our times also there have been and still are a few persons who belong to this band of emancipators.

But if India is to effectively play the part which M. Romain Rolland expects her to play, she must herself be emancipated not only politically but also in spirit. Her children must purge themselves of sectarianism, fanaticism and provincial narrowness, as well as of crass materialism and lust of the flesh.

India's Rôle in World Politics

This issue of *The Modern Review* contains an article on "Present Trend of British Foreign Policy" by Dr. Taraknath Das, who is considered an authority on world politics. In the *New York Sun* of March 8, 1938, Mr. Lemuel F. Paston, a well-known American journalist, wrote to the effect that about a year ago Dr. Das prophesied the inevitability of an Anglo-Italian pact. More than a year before the outbreak of the present Sino-Japanese war, Dr. Das, in his article on "Peace or War in the Far East" published in the *Calcutta Review* for January 1937 predicted the possible development of the present unfortunate situation between Japan and China. Now Dr. Das presents a picture of British foreign policy which may surprise many people. Britain is following a policy which would lead to a Russo-Japanese and a Russo-German war, and at the same time Britain is trying to use Italy, Germany and Japan at the present time to further the interests of British Imperialism in Asia, Africa and Europe.

At the present time the duty of Indian statesmen is to establish international friendship with potential rivals of British Imperialism as well as with the States which are equal partners in the British Commonwealth of Nations, if the latter aim is attainable.

One practical (not ideal) issue should be considered by Indian statesmen: If Britain with her might (the largest navy, a powerful air force and army) with her alliance with France and with the support of the United States, feels it to be unwise to court the antagonism of Italy, Germany and Japan, would it be wise for weak nationalist India to antagonise these powers?

Of course we are for China's freedom and also we are for freedom and justice for all peoples. We are opposed to all forms of dictatorships. But should we advocate a policy which will make Russia, Italy, Germany, Japan and other countries enemies of India?

What can India do to check the march of dictatorships all over the world, when the Indian people cannot free themselves in India itself? Any policy that will create opposition to Indian freedom in Italy, Germany, Japan and other lands will be detrimental to Indian interests and strengthen British hold on India. Should Indian statesmen pursue any policy which will bring about comparative isolation of India in world politics? India needs *allies* in world politics. India requires statesmen who will work for a new alignment of Powers in which India will play her part and thus further the cause of Indian freedom and world freedom. Have our leaders any real programme to strengthen India's position in world politics? Are they working to make India a deciding factor in future developments in world politics?—If they are, then what is their programme to increase the (military) power of nationalist India?

X. Y. Z.

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EDITOR'S COMMENT

India ought certainly to try her utmost to enlist the sympathies of freedom-loving persons of all nations. Even in countries which are dominated by militarist and imperialist dictators or by imperialist and militarist parties, there must be at least small groups of persons who sympathize with India's aspirations and the spirit of her culture and civilization. It may not be possible to win the friendship of the whole body of the people of every country; but Indians in general, and particularly Indian leaders, journalists and other publicists, should be on their guard against passing sweeping adverse judgments upon the whole body of the people of even aggressive predatory countries.

It is not possible perhaps not to incur the displeasure of some foreign dictators. But even in their case, only their policies and pronouncements need be criticized. Personalities should be avoided.

As for India pursuing a policy which may win for her allies among foreign nations—whether rivals of Britain or not, unhappily Indian statesmen have at present only very limited powers in provincial affairs alone. Even when the federal part of the constitution comes into operation, Indian leaders and members of the federal legislature will not have any control over foreign affairs—unless, of course, the Government of India Act be suitably amended, which does not seem likely. All that Indian leaders can do is to influence world political thought by means of the spoken and the written word.

As regards increasing India's military power for *National* purposes, Indian leaders can do nothing in the matter. For half a century or more, Indian leaders have carried on agitation for Indianizing the army and making the Indian section of the army more efficient and representative of all the provinces of the country. But the British Government have practically turned a deaf ear to Indian public opinion. British imperialists do not want to have an efficient and all-India army manned and officered by Indians, even on the condition that it is to be completely under the control of the British executive government in India. Hence in India's present political status, the increase of Indian *Nationalist* military strength is out of the question.

Whether India should at all have a land army, a navy and an air force, or bend all her energies to the raising of a Peace Brigade (as Gandhiji suggests), we do not try to discuss here.

Message Sent to Prague P.E.N. Congress By Srimati Sophia Wadia

Srimati Sophia Wadia, who founded the P.E.N. India Centre in 1933 and represented India at the International Congress held in Barcelona and Buenos Aires in 1935 and 1936, respectively, cabled from Ootacamund the following message to the 16th International Congress of the P.E.N. Clubs of the leading writers of the world, meeting in Prague, Czechoslovakia, from the 26th to the 30th of June:—

"May the Congress radiate good will for the healing of the nations and uphold freedom as the inspiration of creative expression."

"Indiana"

The Indian P.E.N. writes :

The Editor of *Indiana*, Sjt. S. C. Guha of Benares, makes a strong point in his March issue for the establishment of "copyright deposit" libraries in India. Even the Imperial Library at Calcutta, he claims, has not a set of all copyright publications. He suggests that if matters cannot be mended at present through official channels, the proposal originally made in 1922 for a "Library of Congress" should be considered. The latter suggestion has much to commend it. That proposal involved the Congress's requesting all printing presses to submit three copies of each new publication to the local Congress office, one to be retained there, one to go to the Provincial Congress office and one to the Central Library of Congress at the A. I. C. C. Office. It ought never to be necessary to go to London to consult the British Museum copy of a publication issued in this country.

We may mention incidentally that *Indiana* itself, a current index to periodicals other than daily papers, represents a valuable bibliographic service of which every Indian library and every Indian scholar should take advantage. We understand that it is published at considerable financial loss to its well-qualified and able editor. It is of considerable present and potentially greater value and a subsidy from some Indian philanthropist to insure its continuance and growth would be a service to Indian education and Indian culture.

We fully support this observation.

President Masaryk on the Ethical Basis of Politics

According to the late President Masaryk, the maker of the Czechoslovakian republic:

"No state or policy can prosper unless the groundwork is moral. The ethical basis of all politics is humanity, and humanity is an international programme. It is a new word for the old love of our fellow-men.

"No state can be managed without recognition of the ethical basis of politics, and no state can long stand if it infringes the broad rules of human morality. The Greeks and Romans declared justice to be the foundation of states; and justice is the arithmetic of love."

No political party or religious community in India is as yet at the helm of the State. But

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Indian political leaders of some party or other are expected at no distant date to guide the destiny of India—humanly speaking. Hence all our political parties and politicians should pay great attention to the ethical basis of politics.

Communal riots and political rowdyism at meetings show that the men responsible for them have no regard for "humanity."

State patronage influenced by communal or provincial considerations show that the dispensers of such patronage have little regard for "justice".

Educational facilities extended or withheld on provincial or communal considerations betray the same lack of a sense of justice.

The relations between the sexes form a notable part of ethics. Unhappily even matters of sexual morals are in India considered from communal or political party points of view. Some rightly condemn abduction, kidnapping and other offences against women, others appear to hold a different kind of opinion. For this reason crimes against women, traffic in women and children and commercialized vice, far from being put a stop to, cannot even be checked.

The party spirit—whether communal or political, betrayed in the C. P. minister's case and the N.-W. F. abductor teacher's case, is a deplorable instance in point.

Coming nearer home, the Calcutta Corporation lady teacher scandal indicates the presence of degraded and degrading party spirit.

A Fallacy of Karl Marx

Professor Gilbert Murray observes in his lectures on "Liberality and Civilization" that "perhaps the greatest and the most infectious of all the fallacies of Karl Marx" is "the theory that all human action, or at any rate all collective action, is based on the pursuit of direct material interest." The Professor gives his reasons for this opinion.

"It is an idea which, like many others widely current at the present day, owes its success not to its truth, not even to its appearance of truth when exposed to criticism, but to two particular plausibilities. In the first place, it fulfils a wish, in the second, it is supported by crowds and crowds of instances in ordinary life. I should compare it with Christian Science or with Anti-Semitism. Christian Science tells us that all illness is imaginary and unreal. Well, we should love to think so, and we all of us have met with people who spend their time worrying over their various complaints, but recover rapidly if they get busy about something else and cease to think of themselves. So much human illness is unr that, by a pleasing jump, one can maintain that it is unreal."

As regards the animosity against Jew the Professor says:—

"The same with Anti-Semitism; attribute all hum ills to the greed and sensuality of the Jews, and sin those faults are common to most of humanity, you w find hundreds of Jews who are good instances of yo theory."

Returning to the point, Dr. Murray says:

"Similarly, all history and all contemporary soc life teems with instances of persons and classes w are influenced, in whole or in part, openly or secret by the desire for their own material advantage. ordinary commercial dealings this is admitted; a m seeks a higher salary or a righer price for his goo without further excuse. But Marx points out, in soc and political matters, when a man wants something th is to his own advantage but cannot get it unless oth people are persuaded to agree with him, he natural has to find some other considerations which are like to move them. He tries to persuade them—and co stantly succeeds in persuading himself—that the acti which happens to increase his profit is only desired b him because it is just, because it is moral or religiou because it is for the good of the country."

"No doubt this dash of humbug occurs extreme often; and it is easy enough to make the jump and say th it occurs always; that people are always actuated by the material economic advantage and that, when they pu forward any other motive, they are lying. Such a doctrin is of enormous convenience to a certain type of politic agitator. Yet it is obviously untrue."

The author proves its obvious untruth fro the life of Karl Marx himself.

"Karl Marx himself showed remarkable indifference his own economic interest when he lived for years in gre poverty writing an immense book for which no publish was likely to pay him. Study his life and you can see th he was moved by all sorts of motives, by vanity, by ambiti by jealousy and ill temper, by intellectual interest, and a magnificent unselfish idealism. Economic consideratio were seldom present to Marx, except when the pinch poverty became really painful and in a burst of irritati he insisted, unreasonably enough, that someone else shou pay for him."

Magnificent unselfish idealism as motiv ting conduct is to be found in the life, not o Marx alone, but in the lives of numerous othe persons.

"Think of any of the great individuals who ha moved mankind during the last century: Darwin, Wilbe force, John Stuart Mill, Einstein; no doubt you will fi in them here and there beliefs or ways of thought due their class or nationality or to mere tradition, but in the main activities you will find scarcely a trace of the econ mic motive. Think of the people we know personally do we not know many who are guided, when occasio arises, to say nothing of worse motives, by a disinteres hatred of injustice and cruelty, by religious and no religious idealism, or by mere goodwill and humanity?

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"And if we turn from individuals to communities, and consider the national passions which are devastating the present world, is it not mere wilful blindness to ignore the motives of revenge, inherited prejudice, national ambition and vanity; to suppose that it is an economic motive which makes Germans prefer guns to butter, or Arabs to hate the Jews whose presence in Palestine has increased their wages and improved the value of their estates?"

"I should be more inclined to think that, as a matter of psychology, we overrate the element of pure material selfishness in determining public policy. All sorts of sentimental elements play their part."

Professor Gilbert Murray explains why he has taken pains to elaborately expose the Marxian fallacy:

"I dwell at some length on the falseness of this delusive Marxian prejudice, not merely because I think it is as a matter of fact untrue, but because if accepted and really believed it would undermine our whole faith in ethical values and the possibility of justice and charity between man and man."

Forgotten Fighters

"Battles once won lose their interest: the result is accepted as a matter of course and the long struggle which led to it forgotten." So says Professor Gilbert Murray. These words of his reminded us of those who had to struggle hard and suffer bitter persecution and calumny to abolish the purdah, win for women the right to receive higher education and raise the age of marriage of girls. Girls and women who at present enjoy the fruits of these struggles do not know, do not care to know, the men and women who fought and suffered for them.

First Peace Brigade in India

Karachi, June 27.

The decision to establish the first peace brigade in India in pursuance of Mr. Gandhi's appeal was taken at a two-hour meeting of the leading citizens, convened by the Mayor this evening at the Municipal Corporation.

The meeting appointed a provisional committee of 24, holding various shades of opinion and including Rev. Thompson.

The Mayor is the Chief of the Brigade with three Secretaries, namely, Dr. Tarachand Lalwani, Moulvi Mohammad Usman and Mr. Bhadrashankar Bhatt.

The speakers, including Mr. M. H. Gazdar and Miss Jethi Sipahimalani, M.L.A.'s, dwelt at length on the horrors of war and communal riots and characterised Mr. Gandhi as an apostle of world peace.

The Mayor observed that the idea occurred to him many years ago while he was travelling by sea in a steamer and saw a victim of the Balkan War.

He concluded: "Let us form a brigade and settle the disputes between nations and communities."—(*A. P.*)

Congress President Appeals for China

The Congress President has fixed July 7, 8 and 9 to be observed as China Fund Days for collecting funds for the Medical Mission of the Congress in China.

In a statement to the *Associated Press* in this connection, Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose said, "I have been informed by the Chinese Consulate in India that the Chinese Government have accepted the offer of the Congress Working Committee to send an ambulance unit to China. It now behoves us to push on with our arrangements and send out the Medical Mission as early as possible.

"All-India China Day was successfully observed throughout the country on the 12th June. I am grateful to the public for their splendid response on that day. It is, however, to be regretted that collections could not be made satisfactorily on that occasion owing to shortness of notice. It has been suggested by friends in different parts of the country that some day or days be fixed in July, exclusively, for collecting funds for our Medical Mission.

"I heartily approve of the idea and fix the 7th, 8th and 9th July as China Fund Days. The dates 7th and 9th July are of great historical importance so far as the Chinese people are concerned. I request Congress organisations all over the country to make an intensive drive on these days, for collecting funds. All sums collected should be sent to the All-India Congress Committee office at Allahabad. Let us not forget that we must collect a sum of Rs. 22,000 on this occasion.

"It would be a token of our regard for the Chinese people and would also help considerably to collect funds if minature Chinese flags are sold on these days. This device should prove useful in the big cities and I hope that wherever possible these three days will also be observed as China Flag Days.

"I do hope that our collection will be enough to keep our Medical Mission at work for at least one year.

"In conclusion, I should like to inform the public that orders have already been placed with Fords for a fully equipped ambulance which will be sent by them straight to Hongkong. The ambulance, together with the medical staff, will be a living emblem of India's sympathy and goodwill for the great Chinese people in the darkest hour in their history. I earnestly hope and trust that the response of the public will be worthy of the Congress and of the Indian nation."

Conference of Manufacturers of Bengal

An appeal for co-ordinated efforts on the part of indigenous industrial units in Bengal was made at the first session of the Indigenous Manufacturers' Conference held on 26th June at Albert Hall under the presidency of Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray. It was organized by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation.

The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved that in consideration of the fact that only a combined and co-ordinated effort of the different indigenous industrial units, handicapped as they are, can withstand foreign and unfair competition and difficulty of marketing, it is decided to organise from time to time conferences and social gatherings to develop mutual acquaintance and intimacy among the manufacturers of the different kinds of indigenous industries and to establish a stronger link among the manufacturers to enable them to protect their interest and to take advantage of corporate and co-ordinated sale-publicity organisations and programmes organised either by the Commercial Museum or any auxiliary organisation under its guidance.

Resolved that the signatories as conveners to the Manufacturers' Conference do form themselves into a

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Committee, with right to co-opt, to co-operate with the Officer-in-charge of the Commercial Museum, to make the Museum more useful and helpful and to foster the interest of the indigenous manufacturers.

Resolved that this Conference request the Government, public bodies and public utility services to use indigenous products.

The Committee deserve all success and ought to receive the full co-operation of the public.

Result of Eleven Months' Ministerial Experience

Bombay, June 5.

"It is not enough that an individual wrong be righted, or that a few laws be changed. Congress seeks to right the national wrong. I can see no prospect of this through the medium of the Congress Ministries functioning under the Government of India Act," stated Mrs. Vijaylaxmi Pandit, Minister for Local Self-Government, United Provinces, in an interview with the *Associated Press.*

She added: "My eleven months' experience as a Minister has confirmed all doubts I had as to the wisdom of the Congress accepting office; the difficulties that I merely imagined have materialised and daily I am confronted with them.

"It is true the Congress ministries have been able to accomplish a measure of good. A certain amount of confidence has been created in the minds of those who had lost all hopes of a fair deal in the past, but the fundamentals have not changed.."—(*A. P.*)

Mansa State Peasants' Successful Satyagraha

The peasantry of Mansa State, both men and women had been engaged in a non-violent struggle, under great sufferings and privations, to better their material condition. They have achieved success.

Ahmedabad, June 18.

A public meeting of the farmers of all twelve villages in Mansa State was held yesterday in Mansa at which Raolji (Prince) Mansa as well as Ahmedabad Congress workers were present. After the settlement reached on the intervention of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was explained Raolji said they had been able to settle amicably their differences. He hoped no such differences would arise in future.—(*A. P.*)

Ahmedabad, June 23.

The peasants of Mansa State have begun paying 35 per cent reduced land revenue in accordance with the settlement brought about by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whom they have invited to attend the 1st session of the Khedut Panchayat to be held next month. Preparations are being made to accord a fitting reception to him by the peasants of Mansa State.—(*A. P.*)

Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee

By the death of Principal Satish Chandra Chatterjee of Barisal the cause of education in Bengal has suffered a great loss. Those who have seen his robust manly frame could never apprehend that he would die at 65. We had not the pleasure of meeting him recently, and so cannot say whether he had latterly aged disti ly. But even a few years back he looked q young for his age. His amiable, cheerful co tenance always gave him a youthful appeara That pleasant exterior concealed a stern, unbe ing spirit, a soul always hopefully devoted to cause of freedom. As a young man, w employed in Brajamohan College as a profes he was an indefatigable and undaunted lieu nant of Aswini Kumar Datta in promoting Swadeshi movement and in the boycott of for salt and cloth, thus furthering the cause of fr dom. He had his reward in being depor under Regulation III of 1818 along with As Kumar Datta, Krishna Kumar Mitra and oth He was very strong both in mind and bo But he always remained non-violent even un grave provocation. So, if any police spy informer had misled the government of th days into imagining that his presence anywh as a free man would provoke a breach of peace, he certainly lied. On being released fr prison, he worked as a professor in Ri College and City College, Calcutta, and fina as principal, Brajamohan College, Barisal.

He was a man of exemplary character a a very efficient teacher. His students co become not only learned, but better men, t morally and spiritually under the inspiration his example—if they had the right stuff and t inclination in them. He was a devout worshipp of God and an attractive speaker. He was a charitable disposition and would help oth —particularly, political sufferers—not only w money but in other ways, too. We rememb on one occasion while staying at his home Barisal a few years ago, he used to be rou from sleep at intervals throughout the night the police patrol, because he had given shel to a political suspect, and the police wanted make sure that the latter had not gone prowling—perhaps with Principal Chatter himself! He had put himself to this indign and trouble, because otherwise the suspec young man would not have been released fr confinement.

80th Death Anniversary of Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jhansi

It is in Gwalior that "the last remains the illustrious Maharani Lakshmi Bai of Jha lie scattered and mixed up in the soil and h last ambition and aspirations are afloat in ether." So this year Gwalior celebrated 80th anniversary of the day of martyrdom the Maharani on the 18th June last.

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"The name and memory of the great Maharani calls ck those stirring days of the latter half of the 19th century en conditions in the country were no doubt unsettled t the spirit of resistance was still alive and the native roism in men and women had not resigned itself to mplete prostration and self-surrender as inevitable. She shed through history without regard for consequences d left behind nothing but an undying name, which for time will ennoble and inspire the lives of posterity for eater deeds and sacrifices."

Present-day Indians cannot follow her xample literally—some because of changed xternal conditions and others because of faith n the spiritual excellence of a different method. But her absolutely heroic spirit and devotion to he motherland should inspire and be imbibed y all. She declared she would never surrender er Jhansi. May we all resolve never to surren- er our Bharatavarsha, all external appearances o the contrary notwithstanding.

Years ago, we used to witness the annual Rām-lilā procession in Allahabad. What an nspiration it was to see the boy dressed as Maharani Lakshmi Bai riding a white horse rawn sword in hand! What enthusiasm it roused!

antiniketan Ashramika Sangha Art xhibition

Some of our colleges annually celebrate their ounder's Day or Foundation Day, when the ld Boys and the present-day alumni meet and ave a good day. Some Women's Colleges, too, ave such celebrations.

The Santiniketan Ashramika Sangha is an ssociation which seeks to bind together all teach- rs and alumni of Santiniketan, past and present, n a homelike fraternity and sorority. It has its eetings like other associations. This year it ttempted something more substantial. It held n exhibition of the works of art produced by eachers and students of Santiniketan. Srijut Kshitish Chandra Ray, sculptor, lent his studio ooms in British Indian Street for the purpose. The works exhibited were considerable in number nd varied in range and character. Some of the rawings of Rabindranath Tagore were there. And then from Nanda Lal Bose downwards many rtists, too numerous to remember or mention, ontributed their quota. We could spend only few minutes at the exhibition, but were im- ressed with the excellence or the promise and he joy-giving power of many a thing of beauty. There was one thing notable about this show— ome of the earliest works of Nanda Lal Bose long with some of his latest were there. Among he latter, we remember the vigour and beauty f one of his Haripura pictures—a village damsel grinding corn. We were not surprised to learn that the exhibition drew larger crowds than the promoters had expected. The Congress President opened it.

The Great Usefulness of "Indiana"

Books are many and of the making of books there is no end. And without bibliographies and accurate and full indexes, scholars, would-be scholars and all other seekers after knowledge cannot take advantage of the treasures hoarded in books. But books are not the only repositories of knowledge. Periodicals, and even newspapers, contain much intellectual wealth which may never be collected in the form of books. It is only a bibliographical periodical which can make these available to students in the most inclusive sense. Srijut Satis Chandra Guha of Benares has undertaken this task in the form of his monthly, *Indiana*. It is literally a selfless task. It can never make him rich; it can never even be barely remunerative or self-sufficing in a country like India. He, not blessed with this world's goods, is in fact losing money over it. It cannot make him famous. He will not receive plaudits. He cannot have the joy of creation of poets and artists. The only satisfaction which he can have is to know that he is doing work which is indispensably necessary for thorough-going scholarship.

The Current Contents Subjects Index, a feature which he has recently introduced, should appeal to editors, journalists and other publicists.

He has been indexing not only the leading English periodicals of India but also those in her principal modern languages.

Indiana should receive practical encouragement from the Government, the educated public, universities, all higher educational institutions and libraries.

Mineral Wealth of Two Indian States

Many Indian States contain much mineral wealth—some, in immense quantities. News of such wealth in two of them has appeared in the press in recent weeks.

Tripura has been known all along to contain many mineral deposits. Perhaps, this State has not yet been geologically explored to the fullest extent. But it has become known that it contains natural gas, mineral oil and deposits of coal. Bauxite and other minerals have also been found. The forest wealth and the potentialities of Tripura as a producer of tea are also known. Some Maharajas of Tripura have also been known as patrons of literature and art. But,

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because the British Government does not recruit soldiers from it, the outside world hears much less of Tripura than of many Panjab States—some smaller than it.

Mayurbhanj has been long known for its mineral wealth. The mines which are the principal feeders of the Tata Iron and Steel Works at Jamshedpur are in Mayurbhanj. But there are various other valuable minerals in this State.

Baripada, June 18.

The Geological Survey of India in 1936 recorded the presence of vanadium bearing titaniferous magnetite in Singhbhum and Mayurbhanj. Kumardhubi deposit in Mayurbhanj, according to Dr. Dunn, is at least one million ton. The presence of vanadium in Mayurbhanj had been known long before to one Mr. S. Ghosh, M.Sc., Chemist (who is perhaps the discoverer) and Tata Iron and Steel Company Ltd. The mining and prospecting department of Mayurbhanj State during the last two years has discovered many similar large titaniferous vanadium ore deposits along foot hills of north and west Similipal in a length of over 50 miles. More of such deposits are expected to be found in the near future.

Mayurbhanj vanadium deposit may be considered as one of the largest and richest in the world.

In spite of its great mineral and forest wealth, and also its population, it has not been perhaps given the status given to many Panjab and Rajputana States, because perhaps soldiers are not recruited in it.

But official recognition does not really matter. What is of intrinsic importance is that the natural resources of the states should be developed. Mayurbhanj and Tripura are not lacking in alertness in this regard. Perhaps it would be best if the states themselves could exploit their resources. Failing that, Indian experts and Indian capitalists should be allowed to exploit them for the benefit of the states as well as for their own advantage.

Educational Enterprise in Mayurbhanj

Greater than vegetable and mineral wealth is the wealth of personality of the men and women inhabiting a region. It is, therefore, welcome news that Mayurbhanj has taken steps in the direction of the liquidation of illiteracy by the establishment of new schools. Moreover, several scholarships for general and technical education, to be given to the aboriginal boys and "Aryan" students, have been announced in the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette*.

"Financial Bankruptcy in Bengal"

Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Council of State, spoke on the 26th June last at a meeting of the Indian Journalists' Association on the subject of Financial Bankruptcy in Bengal. He gave definite statistics in supp of his conclusions. These conclusions cannot assailed unless his figures can be shown to wrong. This is not the first time that he placed these figures before the public, and, far as we are aware, nobody has pointed any errors in them. His case, which is Beng case, is strong. And, for years, we have occasionally placed the relevant facts figures before the public. But where is remedy?

Haile Selassie's Declaration to the Council of the League of Nations

We have received from our representat at Geneva a copy of the statement which Majesty Haile Selassie, Emperor of Ethio made to the Council of the League of Natio together with its annexes. We quote three p sages from this pathetically forcible docume of which no one can impugn the truth.

The statement begins:

"The Ethiopian people to whom all assistance refused, are alone climbing their path to calvary. humiliation has been spared to the victims of aggressi All resources and procedures have been tried with view to excluding Ethiopia from the League of Natio as the aggressor demands. Thus for three years, the has been before the world and before the League. problem of international order: will law win the ga as against force, or force as against law?"

Referring to an observation made by British representative, His Majesty stated:

"Yes, the League has as its essential object maintenance of peace. But there are different ways maintain peace; there is the maintenance of peace thro right, and there is peace at any cost. Ethiopia firm believes that the League of Nations has no freedom choice in this matter. It would be committing suic if after having been created to maintain peace thro right, it were to abandon that principle and adopt inst the principle of peace at any price, even the price of immolation of a State Member at the feet of its aggress

His Majesty concluded his statement declaring:

"As the Emperor of Ethiopia, basing myself on faithful devotion of my chiefs, my warriors, on the af tion of my people, being desirous of putting an end possible to their sufferings, I repeat the declaration I have already made in the League of Nations. I prepared now, as I was previously, to discuss any prop for a solution which even at the cost of sacrifice wo ensure to my people the free development of their civil tion and of their independence. But should this app remain without response, war against Italy will be co tinued, whatever happens, until the triumph of right justice has been won. I ask the League of Nations refuse to make any effort that may be asked of it with view to encouraging the Italian aggressor by sacrific his victim to him."

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Bengali Learners Outside Bengal

That the mother-tongue is the best medium of instruction for the young is an admitted principle. Therefore, for them, it is also the best medium for answering examination questions. But owing to certain decisions of the governments in Assam, Bihar, U.P., and Orissa, Bengali pupils are liable to lose the benefit of this principle. As the recognition of this principle in the case of Bengali learners in those provinces will not injure the cause of the Assamese, Hindi and Oriya languages or add in the least to the difficulties of those pupils whose mother-tongue these are, and as the financial difficulty, if raised, is either imaginary or can be easily overcome, we appeal to the ministries in these provinces to consider the question in a statesmanlike and sympathetic spirit, with a view to furthering the cause of national unification. We remind them of the linguistic liberality of the Calcutta University and Visvabharati.

Panjab Premier Responds to Public Opinion

The decision of Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan not to proceed further with his government's intended Press Bill after its introduction, at least for the present, is a statesmanlike response to journalistic and other public opinion.

Separation of Chota Nagpur

As the Congress Working Committee has approved of the idea of separating the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province from it, and as many of these areas are included in the sub-province of Chota Nagpur, no Congress minister or other Congress man can consider the separation of Chota Nagpur from Bihar as an altogether novel proposition, nor should the Bihar Congress ministry oppose it *in toto*, if party discipline has any meaning. If Manbhum Bengalis are asking for this separation, it is because Manbhum, though a part of geographical Bengal, is officially reckoned a part of Chota Nagpur and because the Bengalis of Manbhum are as much natives of its soil as Biharis are of Bihar proper.

A Bihar paper calls the Chota Nagpur separation movement a conspiracy in a minatory tone. Well, it is an "open conspiracy", as Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru called the Congress movement in his Lahore presidential speech in 1929.

The historic argument that Chota Nagpur has been a part of Bihar-*province* for a long time, can be met with the similar arguments that Bihar, Orissa, and Assam were for long parts of Bengal-Province, that N.-W. F. P. was for long part of the Punjab-Province, that Sindh was for long part of Bombay-Province, that Andhra is still a part from long ago of Madras-Province, and that Karnataka is still a part of Bombay and Madras Provinces from long ago. But Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Orissa and Sindh are now separate Provinces, and Congress does not oppose the separation of Andhra and Karnataka. Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces. The periods during which Assam, N.-W. F. P., Bihar, Sindh, and Orissa were parts of other provinces or during which up till now Andhra and Karnataka have been such, are different in length. In spite of this difference, some of them have already become separate provinces, and Congress has approved of the rest being made such. If it could be shown that the whole of Chota Nagpur is a part of Linguistic-Bihar, as for example Allahabad Division is that of U. P., that would be a strong argument from the Congress point of view, but it cannot. The languages of the Mundas, Oraons and other aborigines of the region, or Bengali, which is the mother-tongue of the *native* Bengalis of Chota Nagpur, are mother-tongues of the people of Chota Nagpur.

The financial objection may be and has been trotted out. But the financial resources of Chota Nagpur have not yet been carefully and accurately investigated by any impartial authority, opinions differing about it. And the N.-W. F. Province, Sindh and Orissa have been constituted into separate provinces in spite of their deficits. If a linguistic region be a deficit region, at least for the time being, and if in spite of that fact it be decided to constitute it into a separate province, it would be for the Government of India to meet the deficit, as it does in other cases. No *province* need bother about it.

And if Chota Nagpur be really destined to remain for ever a deficit region, why does not Bihar decide to part with it at once? Why insist upon *charitably* going on meeting its deficits? Why this philanthropic zeal to do good to this sub-province? The selfish motive of exploitation of its natural resources is being ascribed to those who demand its separation. But, though we do not want to ascribe it to Biharis, is it impossible that they also are consciously or unconsciously actuated by the same motive?

The permanent Bengali inhabitants and settlers of Chota Nagpur have as much right to voice the wants of the region as anybody else. But it is not Bengalis alone who are speaking for Chota Nagpur. Some aboriginal leaders, too, waited upon Gandhiji some time ago.

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The Bihar Government cannot say that it is paying due attention to the uplift of the aboriginal population in the province. A writer in the *Chota Nagpur Samachar* points out that it made no special provision in its 1937-38 bedget for their education. In the present year's budget the provision is as follows:

Community	Number	Literate Per cent.	Educational Grant.
Aborigines	32 lakhs	·53 to 1	Rs. 3,000
Momins (Native Moslems)	10 lakhs	3·6	Rs. 7,000

If these figures be correct, the Bihar ministers have provided Rs. 3,000 for the education of 32 lakhs of aborigines whose percentage of literacy ranges from ·53 to 1, but it has provided Rs. 7,000 (which also is inadequate) for another community of 10 lakhs whose percentage of literacy is 3.6! Yet the Bihar ministers will not allow these aborigines to pass out of their guardianship.

China Information Committee's "News Releases"

We cordially thank the China Information Committee for the "News Releases" sent to us by air mail. They enable one to realize the situation in China to a far greater extent than the news sent by *Reuter*. We are only sorry that *The Modern Review*, not being a daily, is unable to publish them. But they will nevertheless be utilized. The numbers, up to June 7, so far received, contain the following articles:

Singapore Scouts And Guides Die For China, The Last Train From Hsuchow, Compulsory Adult Education In China, Library Of War-time Literature, West China Abreast Of World Affairs, China's Juliet In Her Last Tragedy, Wuhan—Graveyard Of Japanese Airmen, China Still Making China, Cholera Epidemic In Central China Checked, No Festivals While China Fights, Japan Monopolizes North China Trade, American Women's Way Of Aiding China War, Simpler Living Urged By Dr. Kung, All Trade Unions In China United Against Japan, What I. S. S. Money Is Doing In China, North China Facing Economic Disaster, Wife of Kwangsi Commander Mobilizing China's Women, Furthering China's State Medicine Movement, War Correspondents In Epic Retreat From Hsuchow, Graveyard For Japanese Planes, Pushing Highway Construction In West China, China's Fight Against Opium, China's Spoils Of War, Free Schooling For China's Soldiers, China's Financial Conditions Stable Dr. Kung Says, War Accelerates Social Reform In China, Dual War Against Japanese And Opium, Administrative Reforms In Kiangsi Province, The Fighting Spirit In China, Thrice Under Japanese Occupation, China Biding Her Time, Kwantung's Food Shortage Solved, Relief For China's Front-line Refugees.

Mr. Nehru As India's Unofficial Ambassador

That, besides receiving very enthusiastic receptions and making speeches wherever he is going, Mr. Nehru will be able unofficially to do some important ambassadorial work also will appear from the following message:

London, June 29.

It is confirmed that Pandit Nehru is meeting Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax on Thursday and Friday. He intimated to *Reuter* that the invitations had been extended to him personally.

"If," said Pandit Nehru, "Lord Zetland and Lord Halifax want to know Congress views regarding Federation and India's reaction respecting international developments I am prepared to express them forcibly."—*Reuter.*

Calcutta Town Hall Labour Demonstration

An assurance that the Indian National Congress would stand up by the side of labour and give them full sympathy and support in their struggle for securing their just and legitimate rights was given by Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, presiding over a huge demonstration of workers consisting of members of various labour unions at the Town Hall on the 29th June.

Resolutions condemning the callousness of the Bengal Ministry towards the grievances of the workers and appointing a committee to unearth the real nature of their 'sinister' move against the workers as also to secure protection to distressed workers were passed. Other resolutions passed touched upon the grave situation which had arisen out of the dispute between the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation and its workers, condemned the Bengal Government for their repressive measures against leaders and prominent workers of the Seamans Union, and sympathised with Cawnpore textile workers and strikers at Kulti, Hirapur and other places. The meeting broke up at 10-30 p.m.—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Subhas Bose's Experience in East Bengal

Brahmanbaria, June 16.

Nearly 15 persons, including Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose, Congress President, and Maulvi Asrafuddin Ahmed Choudhury, Secretary, B. P. C. C., received injuries following what the Congress President, in the course of a statement issued through the *United Press* characterised as—"hooliganism on the part of Moslem Leaguers", who threw brickbats on the procession organised in honour of the Rastrapati on his arrival here this morning.

Similar feats stand to the credit of some Moslem League "tigers and lions" in the United Provinces.

"The response I received from the Muslim public exceeded my fondest hopes and I have come back with the confidence and certainty that the Muslims of Bengal will, before long, be all inside the Congress", said the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, interviewed by the *Associated Press* as regards the impressions of his East Bengal tour.

Calcutta Corporation Lady Teacher Incident

What the Calcutta Corporation has done in relation to the lady teacher incident is not at all satisfactory. The disclosures made in the police officer's report and in the minute of dissent of Councillor Phanindranath Brahma

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have not been dealt with, perhaps some of the greatest scoundrels have been left untouched, and the Education Officer has been dealt with too severely, even if what the Corporation say of him be held true. What is worse, nothing has been done to convince and assure the public that the Corporation schools are fit for pure-minded women to serve in and innocent boys and girls to receive education in. We hope they are.

An attempt was made to re-open the question, but it was frustrated. In consequence Congress President Subhas Chandra Bose has severed his connection with the Corporation and the Congress Municipal Association. That is a sufficient condemnation of the Corporation's action and inaction.

Labour Picketing and Linguistic Picketing

Picketing in connection with labour strikes is an ordinary procedure. The linguistic picketing in Madras in connection with the Anti-Hindi agitation is a new departure. So there is picketing and picketing. Hence whilst the U. P. Ministry have allowed picketing at the Cawnpore mills, the Madras Ministry have taken legal steps against the linguistic picketers—though both are Congress ministries. But even at Madras the ministers have not been treating the picketers exactly as the bureaucratic government dealt with the Congress picketers during civil disobedience. The latter set in motion both Lathi and Law, whereas the former have set in motion only the Law—thus keeping non-violence intact to the letter.

India's Urgent Need of Organizing Large and Key Industries

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Minister for Education and Development, Bihar, has addressed a circular letter to all Provincial Ministers in charge of Industries, inviting them to meet at Simla on the 2nd and 3rd of July next to discuss in an informal meeting the development of large and key industries. A timely move.

It was on the 16th September last year that Acharya Praphulla Chandra Ray contributed an article to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* on the Menace to the Indigenous Chemical Industries, quoting passages from some letters of Prof. Ruchi Ram Sahni, President of the Northern India Chemical Manufacturers' Association, and indirectly suggesting what should be done to meet the menace.

Under India's new British-made constitution, her industries lie completely at the mercy of the British Government and the Government of India. But the Provincial Governments can perhaps do a little to save them and start new ones. Let us wait and see what they do.

E. I. Railway Disaster Again

In the course of some months there was a third serious disaster in the E. I. R. line. This time it was at Madhupur. Is this line very much worse managed than the other lines in the country?

New Constitution For Cochin

The new Cochin constitution inaugurated on the 17th June last associates the people to some extent directly with the Maharaja's government through the Legislative Council and a reponsible minister. Though not a full measure of self-government, it is a forward move.

Bihar Anti-Dowry Bill

Whether the dowry evil, which has brought about the decrease in numbers of some Hindu castes and caused much immorality, caused great hardship to poor parents, and led many a girl to commit suicide, can be remedied by legislation is not certain. But it should be fought by every available weapon. It is good that Bihar proposes to arm itself with a legislative weapon to fight it.

Rt. Hon. Srinivasa Sastri on Universities In India

The Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's broadcast talk on universities in India on the 18th June last was a very important pronouncement. Among other points he discussed Mahatma Gandhi's remark that universities had no claim on State funds. He had no difficulty in showing that Gandhiji's opinion was not correct.

Power Alcohol From Molasses

A joint committee was appointed in January last by the Governments of U. P. and Bihar, consisting of Mr. Padampat Singhania, Mr. M. P. Gandhi, Mr. Anantasubramaniam, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, Mr. G. H. Dickson, Dr. N. R. Dhar, Mr. P. S. Maker and Dr. N. G. Chatterjee, "to report on the best method of manufacture and of mixing power alcohol with petrol and to examine the possible uses of molasses and their practical application." The committee has

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come to the conclusion that power alcohol can be manufactured economically from molasses in the U. P. and Bihar, which are advantageously situated for such manufacture, and it can be marketed at substantially the same price at which petrol is now being sold.

A very distinguished scientist supplied us with the information and we published it on page 597 of *The Modern Review* for November, 1937, that "Mr. N. G. Chatterjee of the Harcourt Butler Technological Institute, Cawnpore, has actually demonstrated that molasses can be easily converted into power alcohol and placed in the market at competitive rates. His report was submitted to the U. P. Government (not the Congress Government.—Ed., *M. R.*), but was suppressed and he was not permitted to publish it."

It was some time after the publication by us of this information that the U. P. and Bihar Joint Committee was appointed.

Bharat Phototype

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee
The centenary of whose birth was observed last month throughout the country
See page 1

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THE SHADOW OVER EUROPE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

With the translation of Lord Harlech and the Duke of Devonshire to the House of Lords the expected Cabinet re-shuffle has taken place. The Premier has dropped his friend Lord Swinton in response to the public outcry but, except for that, the fittest comment that can be made on the new Cabinet is that the more they change the more they are the same. It will not be surprising if by autumn still further changes are made. Mr. Chamberlain has none of the personal magnetism of his predecessor, and Lord Baldwin certainly left while the going was good.

Apart from the ghastly mess of European affairs possibly the biggest cloud on the horizon is the inauguration of Federation in India. I hardly think this is likely to be attempted within the lifetime of the present Parliament. The difficulties of the scheme proposed in the Government of India Act, which were pointed out very strongly by many of us before the passing of the Act, are only now beginning to be realised by the Government. There is no doubt that the whole scheme should be scrapped and something substituted that will be more in accordance with the quite justifiable wishes of the people of India. Mr. Chamberlain prides himself on being a realist, but there is no doubt that in questions about India the Labour Party is much more realist than the Premier and is opposed to the Federation scheme as outlined in the Act. They believe that India should have self-government without the innumerable shackles on it contained in the Act. Of course there are difficulties, but difficulties are made to be overcome. In the words of Epictetus, "Difficulties are things that show what men are."

Mr. Chamberlain still continues to boast about the good effects of the Anglo-Italian Pact which he concluded with Signor Mussolini. The speech of the latter at Genoa last Saturday seemed to indicate that in his view Great Britain was now on the side of the Dictators with regard to Spain and that the chief difficulty of making a similar pact with France was that France was on the side of Republican Spain, while Italy was out to see that Franco won. As far as the people of this country are concerned, it is certainly far from true to say that they support General Franco. And it is difficult to see how it can benefit England to have the possibility, in the unhappy event of war, of the Mediterranean being closed against them at the western end by the guns of the totalitarian Powers.

Nor has Mr. Chamberlain enhanced the dignity of the British Empire by the sending of Lord Halifax to Geneva. Lord Halifax's reputation was, of course, what the Premier banked on and everyone both here and abroad wondered how that Christian nobleman could reconcile his task with his conscience. Apparently Lord Halifax had to enunciate the doctrine of Peace —at any price—and the price was fixed by Mussolini. As the *Manchester Guardian* pointed out:

> "At Geneva we were the agents of a new Holy Alliance. Mussolini and Hitler need not re-enter the League when their work is done so effectively for them."

The League of Nations was formed so that the collective judgment of the nations might if necessary over-rule the individual judgment of any one nation. Now, at the instance of Great Britain, the theory of collective obligations—the corner-stone of the League—is thrown over and individual nations are left free to recognise the Italian King as Emperor of Abyssinia if they so wish. And Mr. Chamberlain's government was returned to power on their promise to uphold the principles of the League! No wonder Madame Tabouis, the famous French political correspondent, is reported to have remarked that it is difficult for foreigners to understand the British belief that they have a private and direct line to Heaven! When this Government goes out it will be the first job of its successor to rebuild the League which now lies broken. But meanwhile will our surrender to Mussolini bring the much-desired peace? There is little sign of it in Europe today. While no doubt both Spain and Abyssinia think there is much truth in the appellation of perfidious Albion. Many millions in this country feel a deep sense of shame at the Geneva episode and the fact that the good name of our country has been dragged in the mud. The only stand made by Great Britain in defence of League principles since the National Government came into office in 1931 was last week and over Czecho-Slovakia and, in the first instance at least, it seems to have been successful. Had they taken the same stand with Japan

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and Italy, history might have been different today.

It is indeed a considerable shock to realise just exactly what the League idea has suffered during the past weeks as a result of Great Britain's tactics at Geneva. The trouble with these professed realists such as Mr. Chamberlain is that they lack the imagination to realise what may be the *consequences* of the example they have set. To do a great right (as they see it) they think it is worth while to do a little wrong. To reclaim Italy seems to them more important than to desert Abyssinia and Spain. But look what has followed to the whole idea of collective security! See what a rent the envious Swiss have made! Switzerland, home and heart of the League, has seized the opportunity to contract right out of her obligations. She has informed the League Council of her intention to remain neutral in any future dispute and so repudiate the common duty of imposing sanctions against an aggressor. And *her* defection has drawn on that of Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway and Sweden. At the moment of writing the news has come that they too have "pledged themselves to adopt common rules of neutrality in the event of a war between other Powers."

The National Government then, returned at the last General Election on a League mandate, has played the part of its executioner. The ghost of the League may stalk for a little longer at Geneva but the League itself is dead. How can it be otherwise? Since this Government came into power Japan has left it, then Germany, then Italy. America remains outside. And now Switzerland and all the Scandinavian countries are forsaking it in fact if not in name. There is of course talk of Italy returning. Talk of a Three Power Pact or a Four Power Pact or a Five Power Pact. But what does all this mean but the one thing—that the Great Powers are playing power politics amongst themselves, jokeying for position, and reviving in its old familiar form the uneasy Balance of Power. Some say that the balance is between the Berlin-Rome-Tokio system and the Franco-Russian alliance. Some would add Great Britain to France and Russia. But Britain (at her peril?) even now, even after her recent stand in the matter of Czecho-Slovakia, still flirts with Germany. (Is it not just reported that Lord Halifax and Lord Londonderry may visit Germany next month as the guests of General Goering—General Goering the extremist?)

Two things are most striking when you look at Europe today. On the one hand there is the absolute, hammer-like, consistent and increasingly successful policy of Germany. On the other there is the temporising, compromising policy of the democracies. This was brought out very forcibly the other night in an address given by Dr. Gooch who, it will be remembered, is one of the official historians of the Great War. In listening to him one realised that just as Gandhi is the very soul of India, Hitler is the incarnation of defeated Germany. Dr. Gooch considers his career is the most romantic thing since Napoleon. Consider for a moment that in 1918 he was poor and friendless and completely unknown. Today he is "the greatest but the most important man in the world". Because it hangs on him alone whether there will be another World War or not. If there is another World War, Hitler will start it and no one else.

The terrible consistency of German policy—terrible because it is tireless and inflexible—is the consistency of Herr Hitler himself. Nothing perhaps exists for him outside his own experience. The Hitler today, we are told, is the Hitler of pre-war Vienna. In those far-off poverty-stricken days, he acquired three disapprovals. Disapproval of the Socialists with whom he was thrown in contact, disapproval of the Jews who were the brains of the Socialists, disapproval of the Austrian Empire. What, he asked himself, in Vienna, are these Teutons doing lost in the flood of non-Teutonic races?

But see how events have played into his hands! No wonder if, like Napoleon, he believes in his star. First of all, the disappearance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire smoothed the way for the absorption of Austria in the German Reich. And ever since January 1933, when he became Chancellor (swept into power by the increasing slump and our treatment of Germany at the Disarmament Conference?), his luck has been as conspicuous as is his instinct for knowing the psychological moment when to act, whether in the Rhineland or in Austria.

When Herr Hitler first came into power there was a tendency to discount him and regard him rather as the tool of dissatisfied German landlords or of the powerful industrial groups. A pinchbeck Napoleon or a Mussolini out of the bargain basement were the kind of epithets in vogue. But they were about as wide of the mark as can be. One thing which is certain about Herr Hitler is that he is a law unto himself. He reaches his own decisions, says Dr. Gooch, in the teeth of the advice of his civil or military advisers. (They were opposed, it was said, to the re-occupation of the Rhineland and to the rape of Austria.) And if he does

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so, he certainly has reasons for believing in his own instinct. Consider Germany as it was in 1933 and as it is in 1938. In 1933 Herr Hitler could look around and see that there was not a single Power friendly to Germany. Even the minor Powers were unfriendly and leaned rather on Paris and London. But today all that is changed. Italy is Germany's ally. The French "continental system" of alliances has completely broken down. On every hand, save in Czecho-Slovakia of which more later, Hitler is finding more and more backing. Together Germany and Italy stand up against the hitherto unchallengeable domination of Britain and France.

Hitler began to change the face of Europe as far back as in January 1934. In that year he entered in to a ten year Non-Aggression Pact with Poland. Up to that moment Poland had been a threat and an enemy. The next war, the saying went, will start in the Polish Corridor. But it suited Hitler, in the words of Dr. Gooch, to put the problem of Danzig and the Polish part of Upper Silesia into cold storage for ten years. And the point is that in doing so he loosened Poland from France and at the same time freed himself to deal with the south, with Austria and Czecho-Slovakia—with the gate to south-eastern Europe, to the Danube and the Balkan lands.

In July 1934 there followed the Austrian *putsch*. Hitler had been intervening already by every method, by wireless, press, money, advices. Now he intervened by murder, the murder of Dr. Dollfuss. The *putsch* failed and of course Hitler repudiated it. And it was lucky for him that he failed then or there would have been war with Italy. For it was then that Signor Mussolini gave his famous pledge: "I will stand by Austria to the end."

But events were playing into Hitler's hands. In 1935, Signor Mussolini carried out a decision he had reached two years previously and attacked Abyssinia. And this led to his break with England and France, and *that* led to his agreeing to the Berlin-Rome axis. Duplicity also had its uses, and there appeared the Austro-German Pact of July, 1936. By that Pact, Hitler agreed to the illegalisation of the Nazi Party in Austria and in return, Dr. Schuschnigg agreed that Austria was a "German" State. It looked like a climb-down on the part of Germany and as such was intended to lull Italy. And it succeeded. But in reality it was a case of *reculer pour mieux sauter* for it was on the plea that this Pact had been broken that Hitler forced a crisis in Austria in March this year, forced it in despite of his dear brother in Italy who now found himself caught in the Berlin-Rome axis.

Hitler bungled his first attempt on Austria but that was not the end of the story. Last week-end he bungled over Czecho-Slovakia and was put in his place (for the time being?) by England. But no one can tell what will happen there. For whereas Dr. Schuschnigg was too good a "German" to spill German blood over the quarrel, the Czechs are not Germans and will fight if Germany presents them with an ultimatum. But in what a tragic situation are the Czechs. With the best will in the world—and at this eleventh hour they would do everything in their power to reach a just solution—they cannot right the wrongs of the Sudeten Germans. These Germans, although they have never formed part of Germany but were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, wish to be absorbed in the German Reich. Of course the trouble has only boiled over since the rape of Austria, but none the less, on the principle of self-determination, they should be allowed to choose their own Government. Yet Czecho-Slovakia cannot admit this. All these would-be Germans are situate along the German frontier. To cede her frontier would be suicide and out of the question! There are only 14 millions in Czecho-Slovakia. In Greater Germany there are 75 million people, a people, in the words of Dr. Hodza, the Prime Minister of Czecho-Slovakia, who are at the summit of a nationalism which is now in an emotional phase. How can he hand his frontier over to them, how can he give the Sudeten Germans autonomy, give them the job of being frontier police?

Will there be war then? No one, says Dr. Gooch, can answer that except Herr Hitler who reaches his own decisions in accord with his own "intuition."

But these are the essential elements in the situation. Dr. Hodza has said that agreement can only be reached within the present framework of the State. He proposes a Nationalities Statute which will "cut deeply into the *structure* of the Czecho-Slovak State." But there can be no question of ceding any *territory* to Germany. Equally Czecho-Slovakia cannot come into the German orbit. Herr Henlein, leader of the Sudeten Germans, has of course made a great stir on this point. He wants Czecho-Slovakia to come into line with German foreign policy, in other words to give up the Russian alliance. But how can the threatened and outnumbered and encircled Czechs even contemplate this? To do so is to invite their own destruction.

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Will Hitler, whose consistency is the same thing to him as his and Germany's destiny, who has a "neurotic horror of Communism," will he push this point to the end? If he presses the Russian question to a categorical yes or no, there will, says Dr. Gooch, be WAR.

It would be gratifying now to be able to turn one's attention to the way out of this difficult situation. But alas the world seems to produce men who can analyze the crisis but none who can tell how it must end. Indeed, far from there being any comfort to be had, the only reason why, in some men's minds, the shadow will not blot out the sun is that another shadow is also rushing towards us and may get there first. This of course is a new world depression.

I remember twenty years ago, at the end of the last war, how many men prophesied, shook their heads and prophesied that there could be no escape from the conclusion that sooner or later all the Powers would go bankrupt. Is that what is happening now? What is the meaning of these recurring depressions—or of this long, unending depression? At the moment all the symptoms of the 1932 depression are re-appearing. In the United States unemployment is almost back where it was then. In England, we have had seventeen years and more of phenomenal unemployment and today, instead of there being any signs of its yielding to processes now at work there is a danger, as the Council of Action for Peace and Reconstruction has pointed out in a recent statement, that it may adopt "a new and higher rock-bottom level." And it has to be remembered of course that the present rearmament programme is, for the time being, masking a great deal of potential unemployment. So what will happen when these programmes are completed (supposing they do not end, as armament programmes generally end, in war?). The nations of the world are at present spending £7,000,000 a day on armament programmes. Spending these vast sums on unproductive expenditure. How can they ever be paid for?. How at the end can we afford to keep the displaced workers? Only a vast effort, on the part of all the nations, only a revival of world trade, can save us. But all the time these armament programmes are making us more and more nationalist in feeling—so that if war does not come, but the slump comes, we shall only aggravate the difficulties by trying to be self-sufficient and "protecting" ourselves with tariffs. . . . The wages of sin are death all right. And we are caught in the vicious circle we have made. We re-arm, we shelve the Van Zeeland Report, and all the time there is a persistent in in commodity prices, sure sign of the deepen economic depression.

How can we divert Germany, led by a fan tic with a certain amount of right on his sid and an undoubted amount of luck? How ca we avert the Depression? No new ideas ca be expected from the present Government. An one can hardly even wish for the fall of th Government since it is when Governments fall as we saw in the case of France—that He Hitler marches.

Yet the world is full of wrongs and, inste of even acknowledging that they exist, we l them slide, regardless of the fact that we a piling up nemesis all the time. We left China her fate, then Abyssinia, now Spain. We ma some stand about Czecho-Slovakia because saw that the Czechs would fight and that Russ and France would be drawn in. But what a we going to do when Hitler strikes again Because of course he will strike again. La week-end he bungled matters. He was not su of our position and thought he could intimida the Czechs with impunity. Now that he has h that experience, will he try to lull us, as he lulle Italy, with a Pact which proves in the end t be a trap? (Why is Lord Halifax invited t visit General Goering?)

German diplomacy, in any event, is ex tremely active at the present time. Look a their latest move in the Far East. They hav now intimated that they are withdrawing the experts from China—and they give the naiv explanation that they are doing so because the want to maintain strict neutrality. As the *Ne Statesman* remarks:

> "It is by no means certain that they will all ob the call of the Fuhrer. There is reason to believe th some of them would rather be living lions in China th dead dogs in Germany."

Heretofore gold had been more precious Germany than such principles and a very lar part of the armaments used in China agains Japan have been supplied by Germany in spi of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. (There a rumours too that Germany has been helpin *Republican* Spain with arms. Well, strang things have happened).

It is to Germany's interest to have a di turbed Europe. It makes an atmostphe favourable to Hitler's plans. The Anglo-Italia agreement only comes into force when there is "settlement" in Spain and the withdrawal o Italian troops and armaments. The long Hitler can cause them to be kept there the bett

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for his fishing in troubled waters so that if he can delay a Franco victory by helping Republican Spain it all fits in with his plans.

But Germany now is setting her alliances in order. And is there anything that we can do about it? Can indeed anything be placed in the scales that can weigh against the prospect of world hegemony?

London,
28th May, 1938.

PRESENT TREND OF BRITISH POLICY

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

Special Lecturer on Oriental History & World Politics
The College of the City of New York

The conclusion of the Anglo-Italian Pact, by the Chamberlain Government, gives a clearer indication of the present trend of British Foreign Policy. One thing is certain that the British Government is not concerned about the so-called *United Front of the Great Democracies against the Fascist States*. In fact at no time has the foreign policy of any State been primarily determined by ideological considerations. This has been the case with the Government of Great Britain more than any other State; because of the necessity of preservation of its worldwide empire. Common interests against a common enemy and conflicting interests between states have been the causes of alliances and wars. In the arena of international politics, an imperialist democracy like Great Britain formed alliances with autocratic Japanese Imperialism (the Anglo-Japanese Alliance) and the Czarist Imperialism (The Triple Entente) as well as Republican France. Now we see that British Imperialism is at the threshold of forming an understanding, verging on an alliance with Fascist Italy.

None should be surprised at the conclusion of the Anglo-Italian understanding, because it was evident to all far-sighted students of international affairs some three years ago that ultimately, three great colonial imperial powers Great Britain, France and Italy—must co-operate to preserve their interests in Africa; otherwise conflicts among these nations would lead to the loss of their imperial possessions. Therefore three years ago, when the League of Nations, led by Great Britain and supported by France and other states, used economic sanctions against Italy, I predicted that such activities on the part of the British and French Governments would fail; because among other things they could not afford to see Italy defeated by Abyssinia. Such a defeat would have undermined British supremacy in India, in the Near East and Egypt. It would have ultimately destroyed French authority in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. This being the case, while Mr. Anthony Eden, on behalf of England, was working for coercion of Italy through economic sanctions, it was the British Government controlled Anglo-Persian Oil Company which supplied oil to Il Duce's Air Force and mechanised army to crush Haile Selassie's ill-equipped forces. It was not only England which indirectly aided Italy, but Soviet Russia also supplied oil to Italy and the United States oil concerns and Rumanian companies did their share. Let this be noted that neither Japan nor Germany invoked sanctions against Italy in the days of her trial and this was the real foundation of Italy's policy of co-operation with Japan and Germany.

From the published text of the Anglo-Italian Pact, signed on the 16th of April, 1938, it becomes evident that the policy of Sir Samuel Hoare, who as British Foreign Minister advocated Anglo-French-Italian understanding through the defunct Hoare-Laval Pact, against which Anthony Eden and others raised so much objection and which was the cause of Sir Samuel's resignation from the position of British Foreign Secretaryship, has triumphed against the policy of coercion of Italy by Britain. It is evident that Great Britain would not only acknowledge Italian sovereignty over Abyssinia, but would use her full influence over the League of Nations, so that other League members might extend their blessings on Italian Imperialism in

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Abyssinia. On the other hand Anglo-Italian rivalry in the Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and Arabia would take the form of recognition of mutual interests by these Powers, which would really mean co-operation between them to further their interests.

In Great Britain two groups of statesmen were advocating two different courses of action to gain the same end of maintaining the British Empire from any possible menace in Europe, Africa and Asia. One group—headed by Tories of the type of Mr. Eden supported by some liberals and laborites—was following the course of Anglo-French-Russian understanding against German-Italian-Japanese groups of Powers; and they of course counted on active support of the United States in their fight against the Fascist States. The other group of British statesmen—Tories of the type of Mr. Chamberlain, Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon (a liberal Tory!), Lord Halifax (the former Viceroy of India Lord Irwin) and other lesser lights—advocated the idea that they should come to an understanding with France and Italy first and thus maintain their mutual interests in the Mediterranean, Africa and the Near East and thus check increase of Russian and German influence in these regions. Furthermore they felt that, the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding on the basis of co-operation would be the first step for a Pact in which Germany would be invited to participate; and thus it would guarantee peace in Western Europe. Thus the signing of the Anglo-Italian Pact is the first step towards re-alignment of Powers under British leadership, which would revolutionize the course of international relations during the coming years.

II

The next development in World Politics in line with British Foreign Policy, is the possibility of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding. In fact before this article may be published, this may be accomplished. It must be accomplished in fact, if not by signing a pact before the visit of Herr Hitler at Rome on the 3rd of May. The first step towards the conclusion of an Anglo-French-Italian understanding was completed when the second popular front government by M. Blum was overthrown and the present Daladier government came into power. The Popular Front government in France, like all other French governments, was committed to the policy of Anglo-French co-operation; but at the same time it was anti-Fascist and pro-Russian. When Mr. Eden was relieved of his post in the British Foreign Office then it decided that Britain would prefer an Ang French-Italian understanding to an Ang French-Russian understanding. A British Go ernment seeking an understanding with It could not whole-heartedly co-operate with French Government headed by M. Blum or so of the Popular Front leaders committed to an Italian policy. Thus Blum Government co not get the full support of the British Gove ment and it had to go.

It has been reported from London t Premier Daladier and Foreign Minister Bon of France are to visit Prime Minister Chamb lain and Foreign Secretary Lord Halifax for conversation strengthening Anglo-French operation in World Politics. It is needless point out that, after the signing of an Ang Italian Pact, one of the prime requisites whole-hearted Anglo-French co-operation wou be Franco-Italian understanding. It is a significant that it has been reported from Pa that the Government of France would recogni Italian supremacy over Abyssinia and thus follo the policy of Franco-Italian co-operation established by Leval-Mussolini Pact of Ro (1933). It is also well-known that M. Daladi is a disciple of M. Callieux, who is an advoca of Franco-German understanding and not i favour of Franco-Russian understanding whi has strained Franco-German and Franco-Italia relations. Therefore we may expect that Ang French relations would be regulated on the bas of Anglo-Italian understanding and there w develop Anglo-French-Italian understandi which would safeguard British interests in t Mediterranean, Africa, the Near East and ev in India.

III

Settlement of Spanish Civil War has be taken into consideration in concluding the Ang Italian Pact. It has been agreed that Italy wou withdraw her forces from Spain only after t conclusion of the Civil War in Spain, and Ita would not disturb territorial *status quo* of t Spanish republic. This means that the Brit Government has agreed with Signor Mussoli that it would support Franco regime and th help Signor Mussolini in upholding his Spani policy. This would not only help Italy i strengthening her position in the Western Med terranean, but it would help increasing presti of Herr Hitler in Germany.

Thus the French Government will have t modify its Spanish policy and in order to cemen Anglo-French-Italian solidarity, France w

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have to follow Great Britain and Italy in Spain and have to recognise Franco regime; and this may result in Anglo-French-Italian-Spanish understanding on the basis of *status quo* with increased prestige for Signor Mussolini and full justification of the policies inaugurated by Signor Mussolini, M. Leval and Sir Samuel Hoare.

IV

To be sure, with the annexation of Austria by Germany, Nazi Germany has become the strongest military power in Central Europe. It has virtually broken up the Little Entente. It has shaken the foundation of Franco-Czecho-Slovakian Alliance as well as Russo-Czecho-Slovakian Alliance. It has paved the way for further extension of German power and influence in Central Europe. Germany annexed Austria with the tacit consent of, if not with direct encouragement from the rulers of Great Britain—Chamberlain-Halifax-Simon-Hoare section of the British cabinet,—Germany would not have dared to annex Austria in direct opposition of Britain, Italy and France, not to speak of Russia and other Powers. When Herr Hitler was in the process of annexing Austria, the French Government appealed to Signor Mussolini to take decisive action against the German menace; but he refused to do so, because he wished to force the British and the French governments to realise the importance of Italian co-operation in world politics. It is significant that after Herr Hitler's annexation of Austria, the British and the Italian Governments showed their determination to come to an understanding in which they have so admirably succeeded. None should forget that Herr Hitler undertook his Austrian adventure, after he made sure of the support of Signor Mussolini in this matter. To be sure the appearance of Germany at the Brenner Pass may be a source of apprehension for Italy, but the growth of German power has forced the British and the French to settle their disputes with Italy.

Signor Mussolini and Count Ciano are honest and sincere in their declarations that while they have signed the Anglo-Italian Agreement, it did not mean a break in the Rome-Berlin axis. If Italy would have given up her close relations with Germany and Japan, in order to win the goodwill of Britain and France, then Italy's influence in world politics would have been considerably reduced and she might have been at the mercy of Anglo-French pressure. Therefore Signor Mussolini will continue to be on the very best terms with Herr Hitler; and this will be a factor in forcing Anglo-French Powers to respect Italy's wishes. On the other hand Italy's closer co-operation with Anglo-French Powers will force Herr Hitler to court Il Duce's goodwill.

Under the circumstances what would be the policy of Great Britain regarding Germany? Great Britain would try to come to an understanding with Germany directly or through the co-operation of Il Duce. Great Britain would not make any serious objection to German expansion in Eastern Europe; because it would serve two definite purposes—(*a*) increase of German power and influence in Hungary and Rumania would increase Russo-German tension, which will be an asset for Great Britain and (*b*) any move for Germany to increase its influence in the Balkans might hurt Italian interests; and such a possibility would solidify Anglo-Italian co-operation. Thus it is expected that after the Anglo-Italian understanding, Anglo-French understanding and Franco-Italian understanding, British statesmen would encourage a move for a general Western European Pact in which Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany will be the principal participants while Belgium, Poland and Spain may be invited to co-operate. It may also encourage a pact among Danubian Powers for the purpose of maintenance of peace. Then it may even take steps for reconstruction of the League of Nations, which may allow Italy and Germany to re-enter the League on their own terms.

It means that the present trend of British Foreign Policy would be to have an understanding with Italy and Germany without sacrificing Anglo-French understanding. In order to accomplish this, if it be necessary to induce France to give up her Russian alliance, Britain will use full pressure on France dependent upon British goodwill. The net result of such a policy would mean isolation of Soviet Russia in European politics, at least temporarily. *This policy of weakening Russia would be agreeable to Britain, because Soviet Russia's increased influence in the Moslem bloc of Powers—Turkey-Persia-Afghanistan—and in China, through increasing penetration in Shinkiang is decidedly opposed to British imperial interests in Asia.*

V

In spite of much anti-Japanese demonstration among the masses of Britain, the group of statesmen who favour an understanding with France, Italy as well as Germany, recognise the fact that while Italy and Germany are willing to co-operate with Britain, they may not be willing

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to sacrifice Japan to win British friendship. None should misunderstand the motive behind Germany's understanding with Japan and Italy's friendliness with the Empire of the Rising Sun. Herr Hitler is committed to anti-Soviet Russian Foreign Policy and, if possible, acquisition of at least a part of Russian territory for German expansion. This cannot be accomplished without Japanese pressure against Russia as well as British, French and Italian neutrality in case of a Russo-German conflict. German-Japanese co-operation then is a weapon against Russia and a means of pressure against Britain. Signor Mussolini has taken up the side of Japan, because in case of an Anglo-Italian conflict, Italo-Japanese co-operation would split British navy at least in three sections —one for the North Sea to watch over the German menace, one for the Mediterranean and one for the Pacific against the Japanese march to South Pacific. It is conceivable that both Italy and Germany would refuse to adopt a policy which will reduce Japan to impotency and thus increase British naval power proportionately in the North Sea region and the Mediterranean. Furthermore, if British statesmen are really opposed to increase of Soviet Russian influence in Asia, then it would be the height of folly for Britain to weaken Japan to such an extent that Soviet Russia would feel free to carry out her designs in Asia through a Sino-Russian combination.

Thus if Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini be determined to maintain the Rome-Berlin axis and also maintain their agreements with Japan (German - Japanese - Italian anti - communist Pact), then it is conceivable that Great Britain would be willing to come to an understanding with Japan, on the basis of recognition of mutual spheres of interest in the Far East. It might lead to formation of some form of Anglo-Japanese understanding to check any increase of Russian influence in China and other parts of Asia, at the cost of British influence.

Furthermore, one must not forget that if Japan be defeated by China, primarily through Russian aid, then its effect would be increase of Russian influence not only in China, but in India also, where men like Mr. Nehru and others are professedly pro-Russian. It is clear that neither Lord Halifax (former Viceroy of India), nor Sir Samuel Hoare, Sir John Simon and Mr. Chamberlain would adopt a policy which would undermine the prestige of Japanese imperialism, rouse Chinese and Indian nationalism to assert their powers against British and other (French) interests in Eastern Asia and serve the cause of Soviet Russia. It is expected that un Signor Mussolini and Herr Hitler show sh sightedness in their policy towards Japan, t will use their influence with British statesm (Chamberlain-Hoare-Simon-Halifax group) have an understanding with Japan; and Fran which has already an alliance with Japan wo support such a move. Under these circumstanc one is inclined to think that there is much tru in the reports of conversation between Mr. Ta the Japanese Ambassador at large in China a the British Ambassador in China, Sir Archib Kerr for a possible Anglo-Japanese rapproch ment on the basis of respecting British sphere influence in Southern China and Great Brit recognising Manchukuo. (This will be in l with the Anglo-Italian Pact, which is based up British recognition of Italian supremacy Abyssinia).

British support to Japan will inevitably le to Japan's aggressive attitude towards Sov Russia. Thus, a Russo-Japanese rivalry the Far East will be an asset to Britain Asia, as a German-Russian rivalry is an asset Britain in Europe and the Near East.

VI

If the above calculations be accurate, it b comes clear that Great Britain will be maintai ing her interests in Asia, Europe and Africa b coming to an understanding with Italy, German and Japan and thus isolating Russia. This polic may result in a Russo-German war or a Russ Japanese War, which would be welcomed b Britain, because it would weaken her thr potential enemies—Germany, Russia and Jap

It may be argued that in making these c culations we have not taken the United Stat into consideration. It was not necessary to s that Great Britain would not follow an American foreign policy; and at the same ti it is beyond dispute that the American Gover ment would adopt the policy of "parallel action with Great Britain to maintain peace and s the British Empire. Just as Great Britain d not take any objection to German annexati of Austria, similarly the United States also l followed Great Britain on the Austrian questi It is well understood that in the near future t United States will recognise the Italian conque of Abyssinia. If Britain pursues a policy of co solidating Anglo-French-Italian-German unde standing which might adversely affect Sov Russia but would promote British interests, t government at Washington would not s adversely to the British programme. If Brita decides to act in the Far East as a mediator

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the Sino-Japanese conflict and thus act to curb the increase of Soviet Russian influence in China, in spite of genuine anti-Japanese feeling in certain influential quarters of the United States, the Government of the United States would never align itself with Russia and China against Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Japan.

In conclusion, I wish to make it clear that British statesmen who are directing the Foreign Policy are neither Fascists nor anti-Fascists in principle. They have only one principle and aim—preservation and extension of the British Empire—and they feel that Britain has no reason to take the burden of fighting Germany, Italy and Japan. Such a struggle would materially benefit Russia and France and not Britain. Therefore they are at present interested in consolidating British interests by securing French, Italian, German and Japanese co-operation and thus weakening Soviet Russia as well as Germany and Japan through adopting a policy which would make a Russo-Japanese War or a Russo-German War inevitable.

April 17, 1938. New York.

Annexes to the Anglo-Italian Treaty of April 16, 1938.*

ANNEX ONE

Reaffirmation of the Declaration of January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean, and of Notes exchanged on December 31, 1936.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm the declaration signed at Rome on January 2, 1937, regarding the Mediterranean and notes exchanged between the two governments on December 31, 1936, regarding the status quo in the Western Mediterranean.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX TWO

Agreement regarding the Exchange of Military Information.

The government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government agree that in the month of January each year a reciprocal exchange of information shall take place through naval, military and air attaches in London and Rome regarding any major prospective administration movements or redistribution of their respective naval, military and air forces. This exchange of information will take place in respect of such forces stationed in or based on:

1—Overseas possessions of either party (which phrase shall for this purpose be deemed to include protectorates and mandated territories) in or with seaboard on the Mediterranean, Red Sea or Gulf of Aden, and

2—Territories in Africa other than those referred to in paragraph 1 above, and lying in the area bounded on the west by Long. 20 E. and on the south by Lat. 7 S.

Such exchanges of information will not necessarily preclude occasional communication of supplementary military information, should either party consider that political circumstances of the moment make it desirable.

The two governments further agree to notify each other in advance of any decision to provide new naval or air bases in the Mediterranean east of Long. 19 degrees E., and in the Red Sea or approaches thereto.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX THREE

Anglo-Italian Agreement regarding certain areas in the Middle East.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government,

Being desirous of insuring that there shall be no conflict between their respective policies in regard to areas of the Middle East referred to in the present agreement,

Being desirous, moreover, that the same friendly spirit which has attended the signing of to-day's protocol and of the documents annexed thereto should also animate their relations in regard to those areas,

Have agreed as follows:

Article I. Neither party will conclude any agreement or take any action which might in any way impair the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen.

Article II. Neither party will obtain or seek to obtain a privileged position of political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or to Yemen or in any territory which either of those States may hereafter acquire.

Article III. The two parties recognize that in addition to the obligations incumbent on each of them in Articles I and II hereof it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should acquire or seek to acquire sovereignty or any privileged position of a political character in any territory which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen, or which either of these States may hereafter acquire, including any islands in the Red Sea belonging to either of those States, or in any islands of the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923.

WOULD CURB OTHER POWERS

In particular they regard it as an essential interest of each of them that no other power should acquire sovereignty or any privileged position on any part of the coast of the Red Sea which at present belongs to Saudi Arabia or Yemen or in any of the aforesaid islands.

Articles IV. As regards those islands in the Red Sea to which Turkey renounced her rights by Article XVI of the treaty of peace signed at Lausanne July 24, 1923, and which are not comprised in the territory of Saudi Arabia or Yemen neither party will in regard to any such island firstly, establish its sovereignty or secondly, erect fortifications or defences.

It is agreed that neither party will object to: Firstly, the presence of British officials at Kamaran for the purpose of securing sanitary service of the pilgrimage to Mecca in accordance with the provisions of the agreement concluded in Paris on June 19, 1926, between the Governments of Great Britain, North Ireland and of India on the one part and the Government of The Netherlands on the other; it is also understood that the Italian Government may appoint an Italian medical officer to be stationed there on the same conditions as The Netherlands medical officer under the said agreement; secondly, the presence of Italian officials at Great Hanish, Little Hanish and Jebel Zukur for the purpose of protecting fishermen who resort to those islands; thirdly, the presence at Abu Ali, Centre

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Peak and Jebel Teir of such persons as are required for the maintenance of lights on those islands.

Article V. The two parties agree it is in the common interest of both of them that there shall be peace between Saudi Arabia and Yemen and within the territories of those States. But while they will at all times exert their good offices in the cause of peace they will not intervene in any conflict which despite their good offices may break out between or within those States.

The two parties also recognize that it is in the common interest of both of them that no other power should intervene in any such conflict.

Arabian Zone Cited

Article VI. As regards the zone of Arabia lying to the east and south of the present boundaries of Saudi Arabia and Yemen or of any of the future boundaries which may be established by agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom on the one hand and the Governments of Saudi Arabia or Yemen on the other:

1—The Government of the United Kingdom declare that in the territories of the Arab rulers under their protection within this zone:

No action shall be taken by the Government of the United Kingdom which shall be such as to prejudice in any way the independence or integrity of Saudi Arabia or Yemen (which both parties have undertaken to respect in Article I hereof) within any territory at present belonging to those States or within any additional territory which may be recognized by the Government of the United Kingdom as belonging to either of those States as the result of any agreement which may hereafter be concluded between the Government of the United Kingdom and the government of either of them;

The Government of the United Kingdom will not undertake or cause to be undertaken any military preparations or works other than military preparations or works of purely defensive character for the defense of said territories or of communications between the different parts of the British Empire. Furthermore, the Government of the United Kingdom will not enroll inhabitants of any of these territories or cause them to be enrolled in any military forces other than forces designed and suited solely for the preservation of order and for local defense;

While the Government of the United Kingdom reserve the liberty to take in these territories such steps as may be necessary for the preservation of order and the development of the country, they intend to maintain the autonomy of the Arab rulers under their protection.

2—The Italian Government declare they will not seek to acquire any political influence in this zone.

Article VII. The Government of the United Kingdom declare that within the limits of the Aden protectorate as defined in the Aden protectorate order of 1937 Italian citizens and subjects (including Italian companies) shall have liberty to come with their ships and goods to all places and ports and they shall have freedom of entry to travel and residence and the right to exercise there any description of business, profession, occupation or industry as long as they satisfy and observe the conditions and regulations from time to time applicable in the protectorate to citizens, subjects and ships of any country not being a territory under the sovereignty, suzerainty, protection or mandate of His Majesty the King of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, Emperor of India.

Negotiations Provided For

Article VIII. Should either party at the time give notice to the other that they consider that a change has taken place in the circumstances obtaining at the time of entry into force of the present agreement such a necessitate modification of the provisions of the agreem the two parties will enter into negotiations with view revision or amendment of any of the provisions of agreement.

At any time after the expiration of a period of years from the entry into force of this agreement ei party may notify the other of its intention to termi the agreement. Any such notification shall take e three months after it is made.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) Perth, Cian

ANNEX FOUR

Declaration regarding Propaganda.

The two governments welcome the opportunity affo by the present occasion to place on record their agree that any attempt by either of them to employ metho publicity or propaganda at its disposal in order to in the interests of the other would be inconsistent with good relations which it is the object of the present ag ment to establish and maintain between the two go ments and peoples of their respective countries.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) Perth, Cian

ANNEX FIVE

Declaration regarding Lake Tsana.

The Italian Government confirms the governmen the United Kingdom the assurance given by them to government of the United Kingdom on April 3, 1936, reiterated by the Italian Minister for Foreign Affair His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome on December 31, 1 to the effect that the Italian Government were f conscious of their obligations towards the governmen the United Kingdom in the matter of Lake Tsana a had no intention whatever of overlooking or repudia them.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) Perth, Cian

ANNEX SIX

Declaration regarding Military Duties of Natives Italian East Africa.

The Italian Government reaffirm the assurance they gave in their note to the League of Nations June 29, 1936, that Italy on her side was willing to ac the principle that natives of Italian East Africa should be compelled to undertake military duties other than policing and territorial defense.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) Perth, Cian

ANNEX SEVEN

Declaration regarding Free Exercise of Religion Treatment—British Religious Bodies in Italian Africa.

Without prejudice to any treaty engagements w may be applicable, the Italian Government declare intend to assure to British nationals in Italian East Af free exercise of all cults compatible with public order good morals; and in this spirit they will examine favor any request which may reach them from the British to assure Italian East Africa religious assistance to Br nationals: and that as regards other activities of Br religious bodies in Italian East Africa in the hum tarian and benevolent spheres such requests as may r the Italian Government will be examined, the general

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of policy of the royal government in this matter and the principles of legislation in force in Italian East Africa being borne in mind.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

ANNEX EIGHT

Declaration regarding Suez Canal.

The Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government hereby reaffirm their intention always to respect and to abide by the provisions of the convention signed at Constantinople October 29, 1888, which guarantees at all times for all powers free use of the Suez Canal.

Done at Rome, etc.

(Signed) PERTH, CIANO.

LETTERS ON LIBYA

The Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs to His Majesty's Ambassador at Rome.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

During our recent conversations Your Excellency referred to the question of the strength of Italian forces in Libya.

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the head of the government has given orders for the diminution of these forces. Withdrawals already have begun at the rate of 1,000 a week and will be continued at not less than this rate until Italian Libyan effectives reach peace strength. This will constitute an ultimate diminution of these effectives by not less than half the numbers present in Libya when our conversations commenced.

I avail myself of this opportunity to convey to Your Excellency expression of my highest consideration.

(Signed) CIANO.

Lord Perth to Count Ciano.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I honor and acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date wherein Your Excellency informed me of the intentions of the head of the Italian Government with regard to the progressive diminution of Italian forces in Libya.

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this information to His Majesty's Government.

I avail myself, etc.,

(Signed) PERTH.

LETTERS ON NAVAL TREATY

Count Ciano to Lord Perth.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to inform Your Excellency that the Italian Government has decided to accede to the naval treaty signed at London on the 25th of March, 1936, in accordance with procedure laid down in Article XXXI of that treaty. This accession will take place as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force.

In advising Your Excellency of the foregoing I desire to add that the Italian Government intend in the meantime to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty.

I avail myself of this opportunity, etc.

(Signed) PERTH.

Lord Perth to Count Ciano.

Rome, April 16, 1938.

Your Excellency,

I have the honor to acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's note of today's date which Your Excellency informed me of the decision of the Italian Government to accede to the naval treaty signed in London on the 25th of March, 1936, as soon as the instruments annexed to the protocol signed this day come into force, and in the meantime to act in conformity with the provisions of the aforesaid treaty.

I shall have the pleasure of communicating this decision to His Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom.

I avail myself, etc.

(Signed) PERTH.

The Bon Voisinage agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom, the Egyptian Government and the Italian Government.

The Italian Government on the one hand and, on the other hand, in respect to Kenya and British Somaliland, the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and, in respect to Sudan, the Government of the United Kingdom and the Egyptian Government;

Desiring to provide for friendly relations in East Africa:

Undertake, in addition to proceeding with due course to the discussion of detailed questions connected with frontiers between Italian East Africa and Sudan, Kenya and British Somaliland as provided in the protocol signed today by the Government of the United Kingdom and the Italian Government, at all times to co-operate for the preservation of good neighborly relations between the said territories and to endeavor by every means in their power to prevent raids or other unlawful acts of violence from being carried out across the frontiers of any of the above-mentioned territories;

Agree that in view of the fact that by virtue of the Italian decree of the 12th of April, 1936, slavery was prohibited in Ethiopia, as it had already been abolished in other above-mentioned territories, the good neighborly relations referred to above shall include co-operation to prevent evasion of anti-slavery laws of the respective territories;

Agree that the nationals of the other party shall not be enrolled in native troops, bands or formations of a military nature maintained in the above-mentioned territories, including in particular any such nationals who are deserters from troops, bands or formations maintained in or refugees from territories of the other party.

In witness whereof the undersigned, duly authorized thereto by their respective governments, have signed the present agreement.

Done at Rome in triplicate on the 16th of April, 1938, in the English and Italian languages, both of which have equal force.

(Signed) PERTH,
MUSTAFA EL SADEK,
CIANO.

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COLLECTIONS OF CHINESE ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

By Dr. KALIDAS NAG, D. Litt. (*Paris*)

To prepare a mere inventory of Chinese manuscripts and art treasures removed from China and sequestered in the various public and private collections of Europe and America is a task of international significance. It should have been taken up by the National Government of China in collaboration with the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation, which has a special division known as the International Office of Museums. But it is a matter of deep regret that while China like India paid enormous subsidies as subscription to the coffers of the League of Nations, it has done very little by way of such useful surveys, if the restoration and conservation work proved too heavy for the League experts. Consequently, a scholar interested in tracing the valuable Chinese works of art abroad must have the rare leisure and financial resources to travel all over the Occident and study the exhibits in the public museums as well as in private collections. The British Museum, London, the Louvre, the Musee Guimet, the Musee Cernusky of Paris, the State Museum and the Folk Museum of Berlin, together with the smaller, yet none the less important Chinese collections in Holland, Italy and other countries, go to demonstrate how many of the national artistic patrimonies of China lie scattered in foreign lands. The New World also, specially Canada and the United States, have developed Chinese collections of outstanding merit, specially in Toronto and in the McGill University, Canada, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, in the Metropolitan Museum of New York and other places. Benjamin Marsh has rendered a real service by compiling a short yet useful list of the Chinese and Japanese collections in the American Museums. For the present, we shall indicate some of the important museums and research institutions which have been functioning with more or less efficiency in the various cultural centres of the Chinese Republic.

Palace Museum of Peking

Privileged to accompany Dr. Rabindranath Tagore in his cultural mission to China, I visited the splendid museum in 1924 when the last Manchu Emperor, Hsuan Tung, invited us to the historic palace in the Forbidden City. H. R. Johnston, private tutor to the Emperor, was a courtesy to us and I could see some of the rar treasures of Chinese art in the historical setti of the Palace which very soon after changed complexion with the flight of the Emperor w emerged in history as Emperor Pu Yi of Ma chukuo. After his departure, the Palace Muse was formally inaugurated (Oct. 1925) and the benefit of the public a detailed inventory the valuable palace collection was made, ea article being numbered, labelled and recorded a according to importance photographed. Th the contents of each room of the palace w made known to the public for the first tim Since 1914, the Ministry of the Interior w maintaining the Peking Museum of Antiquit occupying the Outer Court of the Forbidd City. In the Outer Court we find the thr great Throne Halls. Tai Ho Tien or the H of Supreme Harmony was the centre of cer monial life where the most important state fun tions were formally held with great pomp an splendour. It is the most impressive of all th imperial structures, 200 ft. long, 100 ft. wide an 110 ft. high. Five richly carved marble steps le to lofty terraces where we find wonderful bron cisterns, incense-burners, the sun and mo dials and other treasures removed to Peking 1914 from the former Imperial Palaces Mukden and Jehol. The exhibits number ov 200,000 articles and 10 volumes were necessa to complete its catalogue of paintings a calligraphy. This museum in the Outer Co came in November, 1930 under the jurisdict of the National Palace Museum, occupying t Inner Courts or the Northern section of t former Imperial Palace. It is divided into fi sections, the most important being the Chi Ching Kung or the Hall of Resplende Brilliancy. Behind it are the halls of Imper Wedding and the Throne Hall of the Empre beyond which is the wonderful imperial gard where the young Emperor with his two beauti queens received the Indian Poet and his part Many large pavilions in the palace have be turned into exhibition rooms, some always op to the public and the remainder open special occasions. From nowhere could we for a better idea of Chinese court life, its gorgeo architecture and wonderful furniture a

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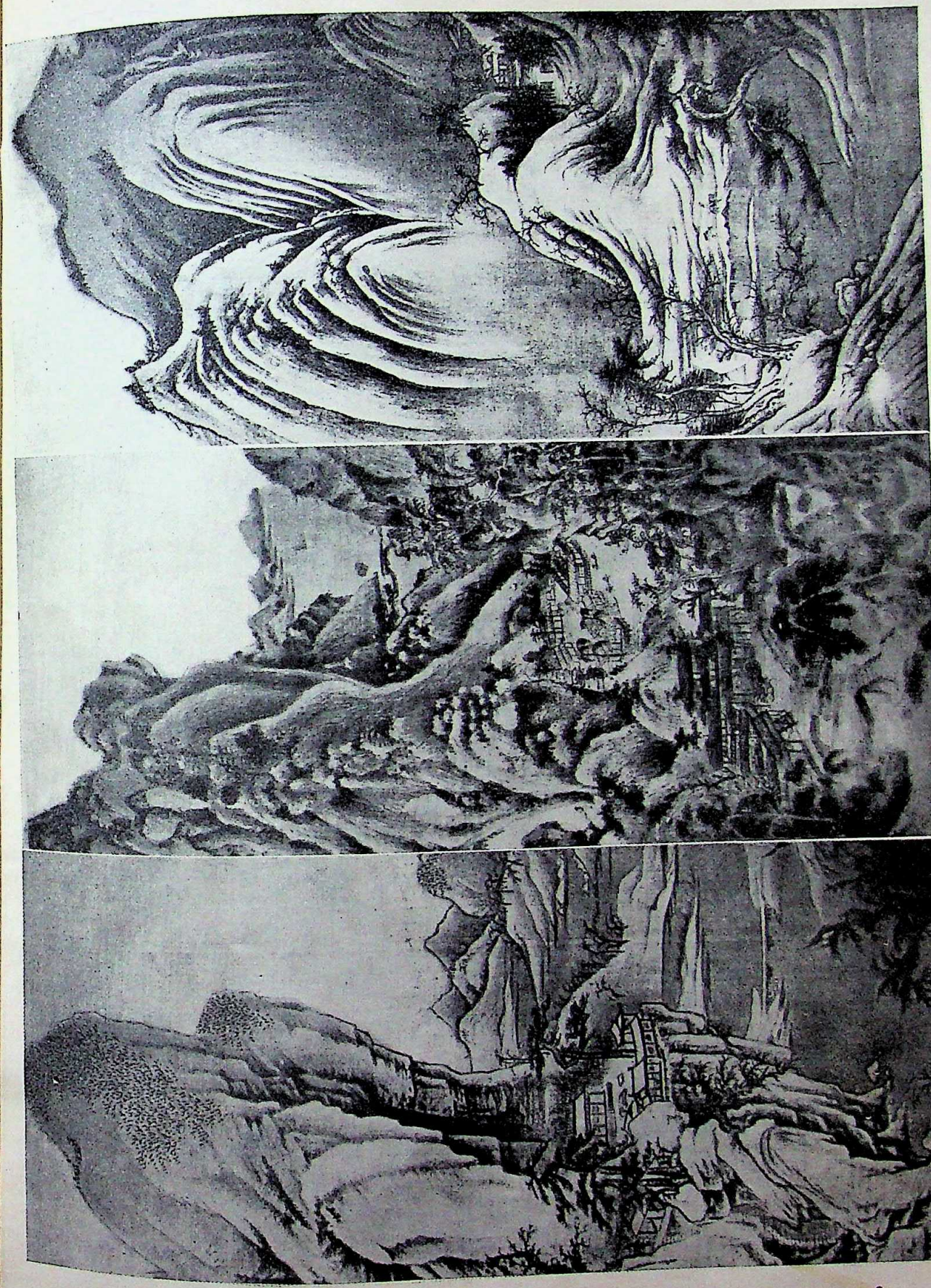

Ancient Chinese Landscapes in the Collection of the Palace Museum of Peking

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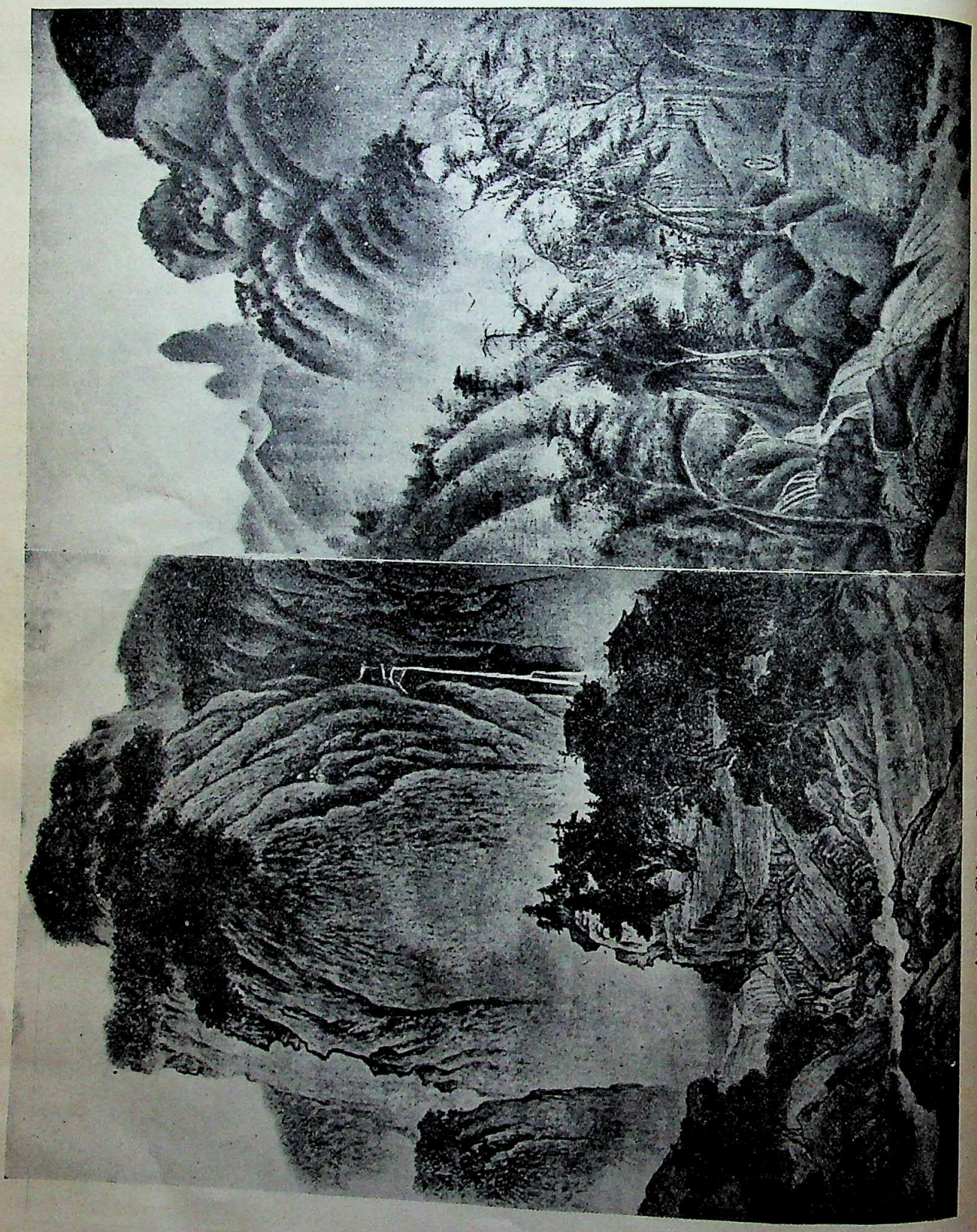

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interior decorations as from our visit to the palaces of the Forbidden City.

Important Collections of the Peking Museum

From the point of view of antiquity, the bronzes are the finest things in the Museum dating from 1500 to 1000 B.C., coming from the Shang and the Chou dynasty. Next in importance come the objects of jade and other precious stones. A rock-shaped jade block is named "the mountain of longevity" and the wonderful jade basin representing a lake is called "the sea of happiness." The ivory collection is no less remarkable, and to form an idea of the historical value of these objects of art, one has only to consult the learned monographs of Dr. B. Laufer of the Field Museum of Chicago, on *Jade* (1912) and *Ivory in China* (1925).

More than 6,000 specimens of Chinese porcelain come from the various famous kilns from the Sung to the Ming dynasty. In modelling, design and colouring, they mark the apogee of Chinese art. The earliest Chinese painting has unfortunately been lost to China, as it now decorates the British Museum. The oldest in the Palace Museum come from the Tsin dynasty (265-419 A.D.). I saw one or two small sketches of remarkable vigour attributed to the Tang dynasty. Thence the pictorial documents become more copious, for we find over 8,000 scrolls from the Sung, Yuan and Ming epochs. The museum authorities have already published several volumes of reproductions of selected paintings and four volumes of portraits of Manchu Emperors and Empresses.

Amongst the miscellaneous collections we find real gems of minor arts in ancient bronze mirrors, ivory fans, snuff bottles, paintings and writing materials, carved bamboos, brocades, tapestries, carved lacquer, cloisonne enamels, etc. Students of Indian art also will find valuable materials in the statues, paintings and religious relics of Buddhism from India, Nepal and Tibet. I was agreeably surprised to find several apparently diplomatic documents written in Nagri or derivatives of Nagri script, possibly from Nepal, which might have sent embassies to the Chinese Court.

That reminds us of the fact that the Palace Museum is also the depository of the largest collection of ancient manuscripts, books, and historical records. According to the statistics of 1931, there were about 370,000 volumes and many of them were the only copies in existence. The famous Chinese Encyclopaedia (5,000 vols.) printed in 1724 on *Kaihua* paper from movable blocks is there. So many original editions of books printed during the Sung, Yuan and Ming dynasties are deposited together with about 36,000 manuscript volumes from the Imperial Library of Emperor Chien Lung. A great number of unpublished edicts, memorials and historical maps is kept, together with imperial robes, shields, ornaments and various other objects of historical or literary value.

The annual budget of the museum amounts to $432,000 plus $123,312 for special expenses during 1934-35. The museum, amongst other publications, issues an illustrated bi-weekly and also the Palace Museum monthly. Peking is also proud of its National Library, which contains rare documents of artistic and historical value. It has more than 15,000 sets of rubbings of bronzes and stone tablets and many Mongolian and Tibetan books together with Manchu translations of Chinese works. In 1929, the library purchased a unique collection of 99 volumes of printed Buddhist Sutras in the Hsi Hsia (Tangut) language and some Buddhist paintings. Moreover, the library has a good collection of Buddhist texts from the 8,500 manuscripts discovered in Tun Huang caves mostly from the Tang dynasty.

The private library of over 41,000 volumes of our noble host Liang Chi Chao with his own manuscripts have been deposited by his heirs in the National Library. It started operating in 1910 and was reorganised in 1925 when the Ministry of Education agreed to co-operate with the China Foundation for the Promotion of Education and Culture which paid in 1934-35 $275,000.

In 1933, the National Library possessed 500,000 volumes of Chinese works and about 85,000 volumes in European languages as well as works in Arabic, Hebrew, Turkish, Persian and other Asiatic languages—a veritable museum of Oriental culture.

Before the transference of political power to Nanking, the cultural capital of China was undoubtedly Peking, which alone had nine universities which were amalgamated (1927) to form the National University of Peiping. These universities, of course, are so many colleges and the earliest, the Metropolitan University, was started in 1898. In 1908 the American Government returned to China a portion of the Boxer indemnity which went to the foundation of a splendid college which we visited in 1924 and which developed into the Tsing Hua University in 1925. It takes interest in ancient culture publishing *A Commentary to the Kacyapa-parivarta* in Chinese and Tibetan, as well as a study on *The Prehistoric Relics of Hsi-Yin*

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Tsun. Dr. P. C. Chang, an authority on Chinese drama, was the Dean of the University, who showed us its splendid library and other departments.

Invited by the National University of Peking to deliver lectures on Indian Art which were interpreted in Chinese by our esteemed friend Dr. Hu Shih, I came in touch with many outstanding art-critics and antiquarians who were deeply interested in Indian art and archaeology. Dr. Hu Shih, one of the leading spirit of the Chinese renaissance in the Republican epoch and who introduced John Dewey, Bertrand Russel and other celebrities to the Chinese public, not only introduced me and Sj. Nandalal Bose to the artistic circles of the metropolis but, in consultation with Liang Chi Chao, secured for us the co-operation of eminent scholars like Liang-Su-Ming, the philosopher and Dr. Li Chi, the archæologist, who guided my steps (1924) through the historical sites and relics of China.

Nandalal's masterly brush-work was keenly appreciated by the expert painters of Peking. Some of them worked in their private studios, while others helped in the establishment (1918) of the Peking Art School which developed into the National Academy of Fine Arts. Between 1928-34, the Academy operated as the College of Fine Arts of the National University. It attained independent status with the annual subsidy of $120,000 from the Ministry of Education. It offers three years' courses in painting, sculpture, industrial and decorative arts. The Peiping School of Fine Arts is an independent non-official organisation which was founded in the year of our visit (1924). It was maintained by an income from private sources amounting to $24,000 per annum.

Three major American learned societies contributed to build research centres in China. In 1906, was founded the Union Medical College which was maintained by a joint English and American mission board until July, 1915, when Rockefeller Foundation assumed the full financial support and developed it into the now famous Peiping Union Medical College whose Prof. Davidson Black contributed so much to the scientific evaluation of the Peking Man.

The Yale University also finances many projects under its Yale-in-China programme and the University of Harvard was entrusted to administer a trust under the Will of the late Charles M. Hall to "conduct and provide research instruction and publication in the culture of China." The Harvard University entered into an agreement with the Yen Ching University which was created in 1917 and which grew o of an institution founded as early as 1867 by t American mission board. It started the Women College in 1905 and in 1934-35 showed the tot student roll of 250 women and 550 men. I annual budget is met by the America trustees. The Harvard-Yenching Institute, fo the last ten years (1928 onwards) is promotin researches in the fields of Chinese philolog history, literature, philosophy, religion, art a archæology. In 1929, the Sino-Indian Institu of Peiping was merged through the co-operati of Alexander von Stael-Holstein who so kind guided us in 1924 and who is now the Profess of Sanskrit of the Harvard University, reside in Peking. He tried for years together to tra advanced scholars in Sanskrit, Tibetan a Mongolian. A profound student of the histo of Buddhism, Baron Stael-Holstein recited me some of the forgotten hymns of Asvagho which he has recovered. He also kindly pr sented me, before my departure, with a copy Chinese-Buddhist iconographical texts which handed over to my friend Dr. P. C. Bagchi a I was glad to find later on that the text wa utilized by my colleague Prof. Jitendranat Bannerji co-operating with Dr. Bagchi. Anoth fellow-student of mine at the classes of Pro Paul Pelliot (College de France) was Prof. Serg Elliseiff, an authority on Japanese art who i now one of the directors of the Yenchin Research faculty.

The second portion of the American Boxe indemnity amounting to 12,545,000 gold dollar came to be returned to China in the year o our visit (1924) when it was decided that th fund would be paid in twenty annual instalment up to 1945, and was to be devoted to the deve lopment of scientific knowledge and technic training. This was the history of the Chin Foundation for the Promotion of Education an Culture which maintains several scientif researches fellowships and professorships, als giving subsidies to several cultural institutions.

Cultural Institutes of Nanking

With the formation of the National Govern ment in the spring of 1927, the Central Politic Council of Nanking took a momentous step b authorising the establishment of Academi Sinica, advocated long ago by the late Dr. Su Yat Sen. Starting work in June, 1928, the Aca demy began to attend to (*a*) pursuit of scientif research and (*b*) promotion and co-ordination o scientific studies in China through internation conferences, lectures, broadcasting, etc. Th Academy maintains a National Research Cou

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cil, composed of thirty members selected from the experts of the Country. It maintains ten institutions devoted to Astronomy, Biology, Chemistry, Engineering, Geology, History and Philology, Meteorology, Psychology, Physics and Social Sciences. Most of them are located in Nanking but some are in Shanghai and Peking.

For the students of cultural history, the Institute of History and Philology is of special interest. At the time of its inception in 1928, it was located in Canton. Later on, removed to Peking, the Institute was again removed to Shanghai after the Manchurian incident of 1932 and finally established in Nanking (1934). Its section of historical studies continues to function from Peking where alone one could find rare original texts, specially the archives of the Ming and the Ching dynasties. This section attends to the textual criticism of ancient classics, the study of bronze and stone inscription and other problems of Chinese history.*

The section of linguistics promotes researches on experimental phonetics, on general linguistics, on Chinese dialects and borderland languages. It organised sound archives and studies on Hsi-Hsia texts as well as comparative studies on English and Chinese intonation. Its section of Anthropology undertook the study of ancient Chinese skulls, correlation of cranial indices and of Chinese finger-prints. It also organised systematic anthropological and ethnological surveys of the Provinces of Szechwan and Yunnan.

Last, though not the least, is the section of archaeology which, as we have noted above, has gathered a wonderfully rich harvest within a very short time. Among other things it has initiated a survey of the Painted Pottery sites in Honan, and researches on pre-historic remains in Manchuria and Jehol. Excavations of Black Pottery sites in Honan and Shantung have been conducted. A happy collaboration between the Institute and the Freer Gallery of Washington led to the financing of the momentous excavations at Anyang under Dr. Li Chi leading to extraordinary discoveries of Shang culture of 2nd millennium B.C.

When we visited Nanking, it still looked like a provincial capital but within the last ten years it has undergone a phenomenal growth. Quite apart from its being the headquarters of Academia Sinica, Nanking established in March, 1938, the Institute of Chinese Cultural Studies in the University of Nanking. Its annual revenue of $32,000 (1934-35) came from the American Hall Fund administered by the Harvard-Yenching Institute. The Institute has to its credit important publications like "*A Catalogue of the Recorded Paintings of Successive Dynasties*, (6 Vols.); *Bronzes from* 12 *Peiping Collections* (2 Vols.); *A Survey of Contemporary Japanese Sinology*, and several studies on the Oracle Bone inscriptions."

Nanking Museum of Antiquities founded in 1915 was taken over by the Ministry of Education in 1928. The Ministry grants annual subsidy of about $4,000 helping the museum to exhibit, for the benefit of the public education, its valuable collection of paintings, rubbings and other antiquities in its six Exhibition Halls. In 1933, a preparatory committee was entrusted with the task of organising the National Central Museum. The Ministry of Finance sanctioned annual grant of $24,000 to the committee which started its work under the Chairmanship of Dr. Li Chi.

A most interesting branch of applied arts was developed in 1928 in the form of the Ceramic Laboratory administered by the Academia Sinica and the National Central University of Nanking. It not only undertakes researches contributing to the further development of ceramic industry but also applies itself to the study of ancient Chinese ceramics analysing the bodies and the glazes of the wares so that we may understand the composition of Chinese porcelain and the method of its manufacture in ancient days.

From Canton and Amoy to Keifeng and Sinan there are innumerable centres showing collections of art and archaeology which have not yet been satisfactorily catalogued and which, let us hope, the Museum Association of China would co-ordinate for the benefit of the outside public. The Archaelogical Society of Honan (Keifeng), and the Archaeological Museum of the West China University (Chengtu), among others, are discovering and developing valuable collections. China, as we all know, co-operated with other Asiatic nations mainly through her North-Western provinces which, owing to later political disturbances, were neglected although they were on the life-lines of the Han Empire.

Recently a scientific mission to North-Western China was organised (1927) by the Federation of Scientific Institutions of China. It started a systematic archaeological exploration in collaboration with the Swedish explorer Dr. Sven Hedin, well-known in India as the

* The Peking Committee started excavation works (1930) at I-Hsien in the Hupeh Province. It also started excavating (1933) in Sian-Fu and other parts of Shensi in co-operation with the archaeological society of Shensi.

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author of *The Trans-Himalaya*. The Han archaeological finds of Dr. F. Bergman were turned over to the scholars of this society who also undertook the study of the Han dynasty manuscripts on wooden strips. The archaeological finds of the Tang Dynasty made by Mr. Huang Wen-Pi are also being studied. During 1932-33 over 90 wall-paintings and 50 clay-figures were repaired and an illustrated monograph on the Kaochang Pottery was compiled. Annual grant of $15,000 comes from the China Foundation for the Promotinn of Education and Culture.

Shanghai, although a modern city compared with Peking, enjoys the benefit of some progressive and well-equipped scientific institutions, the most outstanding being the Royal Asiatic Society, North China Branch. It was established in 1857 under the name of the Shanghai Literary and Scientific Society. It was affiliated in 1858 to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. The British Government made a gift in 1871 of a fine building at 20, Museum Road, which is the Society's headquarters. An entirely new building was added in 1933 and the Society i proud to show a membership of 719 members of all nationalities. Its annual budget (1933-34) amounts to $20,000, out of which $6,000 com grant from the Shanghai Municipal Cou Apart from the Journal, the Society has o valuable publications. Amongst its m learned office-bearers I had the privilege of me ing (1924) Mr. A. de C. Sowerby, the lear editor of the *China Journal of Science and A* who very kindly helped me with the la bulletins, reports and above all, with the splen Guide, *The Shanghai Museum*, which he publis in 1936 when he was the honorary director. Society founded its Museum in 1874 and it grown to be one of the best arranged scientifically treated collections on China wh no scholar can afford to ignore. Prehist arrow-heads, stone-carvings, ancient bron tomb-figures, pottery, porcelain, coins and p cious stones are exhibited with sedulous c The mammals, birds and fishes of China gether with the life-like reconstruction of Peking Man are all scenically mounted. sections on Natural History, Zoology, Bota Geology, etc. are object-lessons for muse workers. Of special interest are the remains extinct animals, such as the Mastodon, Stego and Hyperion or three-toed horse, most of th coming probably from the Szechwan province.

INDIA IN FISHER'S HISTORY OF EUROPE

By RAMMANOHAR LOHIA

The Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, P.C., D.C.L., F.B.A., F.R.S., Warden of the New College, Oxford, has written a History of Europe. Prof. Earnest Barker has described it as a 'triumph of historic art.' The Rt. Hon. Stanley Baldwin (now Earl Baldwin) called it 'a great work.' The reviewer of *The Manchester Guardian* discerned in it 'wisdom, detachment and serenity.' All these highly flattering and ennobling opinions are carried on the dust cover of the Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher's book. They are very impressive and it is not surprising that some Indian Universities and Colleges should have recommended this History of Europe to their students.

Fisher's book carries a chapter on British rule in India. My knowledge of the book is limited to this chapter. It made a strangely disgusting impression on me. It is mean and unhistoric and is certainly as far removed fr detachment and serenity as any of Churchi or Joynson-Hick's speeches on India. decent-minded University or College in In and outside has, I hope, recommend Churchill's or Joynson-Hick's utterances India as text-books or as triumphs of histo art.

Fisher begins his study with the histo of the British conquest of India. "T English succeeded in conquering India beca they brought peace and deliverance fr oppression," "Such measure of intellectual political unity as may now be found in In is due to the English conquest and administr tion,"—describe Fisher's diagnosis of reas of the Englishman's success and of his achie ments. There is no qualifying clause, cautious hesitation, nothing of the histori

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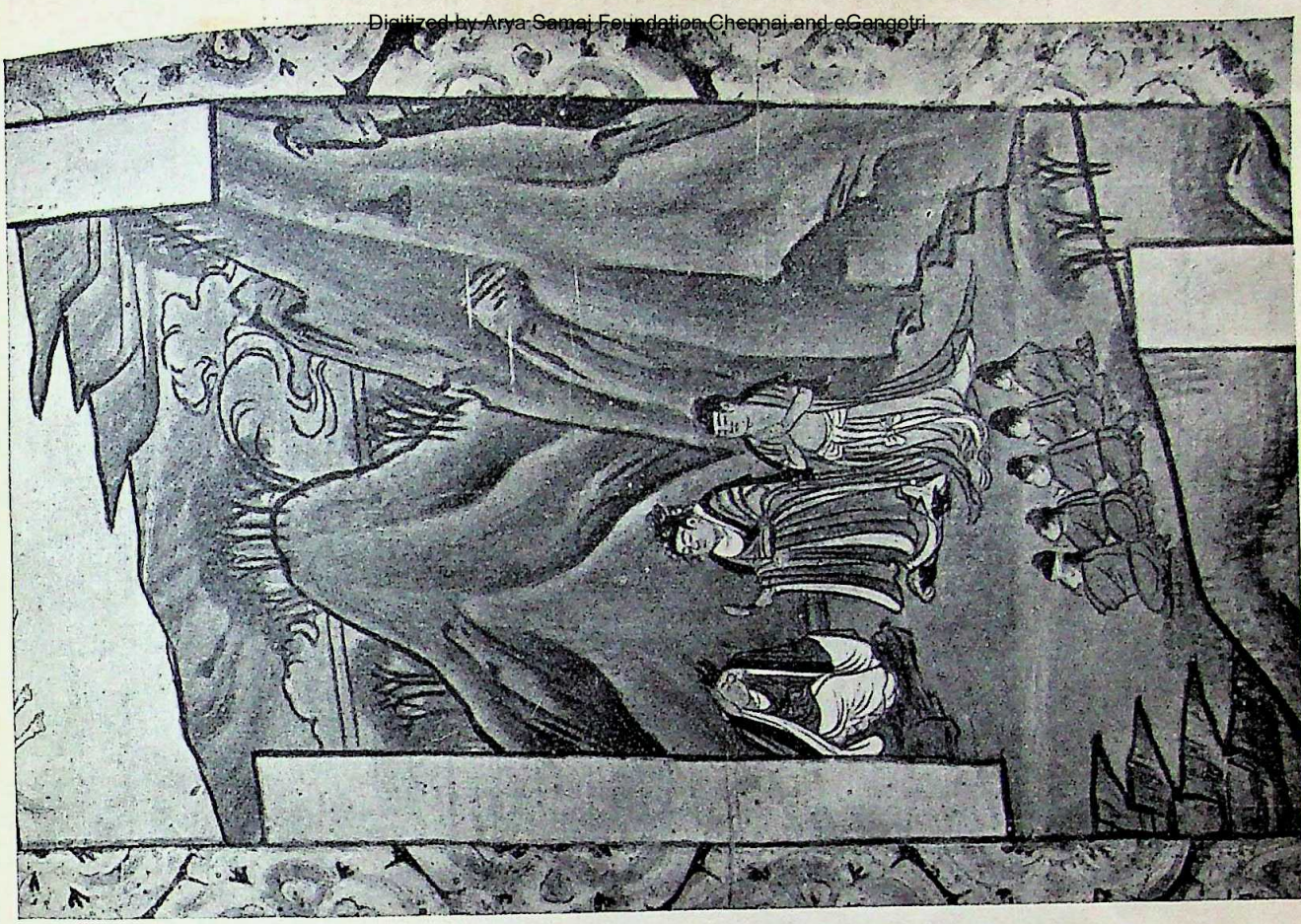

The Celestial Hair-dresser

Portrait of Kublai Khan

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SANTINIKETAN ASRAMIKA SANGHA EXHIBITION

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Offering By Sudhir Khastgir

Mother and Child By Satyendra Banerjee

Towing
By Satyendra Bisi

Mother By P. Hariharan
After a Lithograph in the Collection of Ajit Ray

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spirit which trembles to straighten out in a single thread the tangled skein of human events.

There have been many conquests in human history and there is hardly a race which has not some time been the conquered and at another time the conqueror. The reasons of a successful conquest have lain in the military organization, the civilization and, infrequently, the culture of the conquerers on the one hand and in the disunity and softer life of the conquered on the other. At the time of the British conquest, India was politically disunited and her civilization was based on the comparatively self-sufficient economy of the village. England, on the contrary, was realising national unity through the industrial revolution and her military machine carried with it the advantages of a capitalist civilization. The British conquest of India was thus the victory of a better-organised civilization over a looser and softer life. I might also be prepared to admit that, around the time of the British conquest, Indian culture and character were temporarily eclipsed and, so, inferior to Britain's, but there will be qualifying clauses and a lot of cautious hesitation. That is however beside the point. The English succeeded in conquering India because their muskets were loaded with a better-organized gun-powder. Besides being untrue, it is incoherent and unhistorical to say that the cause of their success lay in the peace and freedom that they brought to India. Only an incoherent mind or one gifted to receive divine revelations can describe the effect of an event as its cause. That might be the triumph of theology or of irrelevance but, hardly, that of historic art.

Did British conquest and administration bring into India peace and freedom or intellectual and political unity? A punch on the jaw of a weakly boy some times results in a sturdy manhood, but, even in that sense, India has received far too many punches to profit from the British conquest. Fisher, however, is clear in his own mind that the British administration of India has directly worked for freedom, peace and unity. The mind of a historian is commonly supposed to feed on events, but Fisher has obviously cultivated a preference for fancies and wishful thinking. No amount of fanciful thinking can, however, blot out the memory of unceasing wars, famines, pestilence and the entire disorganization of the nation's economy which the British conquest and rule has meant to India. The hundred years between the first successful battle of the British and their final conquest of India were a state of permanent wars; disorganization of systems of land tenure, destruction of industries and famines went alongside. The eighty years since have known such political evils and economic poverty and famines that the balance of the results of British administration in India is frankly not in its favour.

It is said that the greatest good that could be done to India was the benefit of unity, peace and security and that is exactly what the British have done. They have given India the peace of a Central Government. Almost at once two questions arise: what was the cost of achieving this peace and what is its exact nature. No historian dare forget that it cost India a whole hundred years of continuing wars and destruction to achieve the peace of the last eighty years. At any rate, the background of war against the present state of peace is so far of a longer duration that history must make a clear record of it. Moreover, the peace of the last eighty years that has fallen upon India is the forced apathy of foreign rule and not the peace of creative effort. It has not activised India's population to an increasing sense of its human dignity; it has not generated that noble sensitiveness which is the prelude to great national achievements. If the Indian peasant and worker and intellectual are at last awakening, it is very much inspite of the British rule. The other much trumpeted achievements of Britain in India, the railways, irrigation canals, hospitals and the like must similarly be studied in the background of the general political and social conditions in the country and of the growth and development during the same period in the free countries of the world. India has continued to be a prey to under-nourishment, preventible diseases, premature death, widespread ignorance and political evils, while the free nations have sped very much ahead of her. There can be no doubt that, had she been free, India would have been a far happier nation today. If contemporary historians must needs draw the balance of British rule in India and credit it with the achieving of peace and security, they must at the same time declare the cost of this achievement and its exact nature.

Fisher has singled out the achievements of the English educational system and the public services for specific praise. "The fruit of Macaulay's famous minute on Indian

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Education is the development in India not only of an excellent official class some 2 million in number but of a body of educated politicians who have been taught out of English books to admire liberty," is Fisher's verdict on British Indian education. The Oxford Warden does not seem to be conversant with the newer trends and beliefs of the British ruling classes themselves, for even they would regard his opinion as rather antiquated, one-sided and demonstrably rhetorical. British education has sought to denationalise India and, though happily it failed to achieve its purpose finally, it has made of learning a very rare and special privilege. Fisher has tried to explain away the widespread illiteracy in India as a necessary consequence of the Indian social conditions. Extraordinary diversity of creeds and languages, prevalence of child marriage and non-use of unmarried women teachers in elementary schools are the three reasons which he ascribes to India's illiteracy. The British administration's utter disregard of primary and secondary education, its insistence on English as the medium of instruction, the poverty of the vast masses and the entire detachment of the educational system from the country's economic and social life have with Fisher faded away into nothingness. The Congress provincial administrations, despite their many shackles, are bringing them back into our memories and Free India will most surely prove that, more than anything else, the fact of British rule was responsible for the country's widespread illiteracy.

"The British members of the Indian Public Services have perhaps more nearly than any other ruling class realised the ideal of disinterested government which Plato thought could be secured only if the Guardians of the State were shielded from the temptations of ownership and family."

It must gladden every student of history to come across even an inadequate approximation to the Platonic ideal in human flesh and I do not grudge Fisher his joy in the discovery. He further describes his Platonic statesmen as being actuated with "a certain contemptuous indifference natural to the agents of a benevolent power which has long usurped the role of Providence" in their relations to "the effervescent nationalism of the young." Prejudiced pamphleteering alone can so definitely decide as to which is effervescent, the nationalism of the young or the contempt of the public servant. In any case, the gods of Fisher are, in his own language, a modern edition of the unicorn, one-half of whose face bears the gentle suffering of Platonic statemanship and the other the disfiguring contempt an effervescent tingod. That the gen suffering of the British public servant is not every case quite so disinterested has recently be disclosed by an Indian who had self-respe enough to change over from the clerkship the civil service to the Indian Nation Congress.

"I know of a European officer who about 3 years removed some silverware which was being disposed of unclaimed property. My knowledge of law is not found but I am not sure that ordinarily such cond would not have amounted to misappropriation or theft. Even when the matter was reported to a superior offi unfortunately an European, he ordered that the prope should be struck off the register."

This charge of vile theft against two Fisher's British tingods has been made by former insider so late as April, 1938. It is course not my intention to suggest that pe larceny is a universal practice with the Brit public servant in India; disinterested serv to imperial Britain is perhaps quite as freque History may not shut its eyes to the petty a gross misdeeds and glorify the petty and services of the British public servant in Indi but that is exactly what Fisher has attempt to do. The British civil servant has at t same time been both good and evil. Histor can give only one estimate of his role. He w the agent of British rule in India; as such, was, to Indians themselves, a balance disadvantages.

Britain's government in India is theoret cally based on a series of Acts and Charte and Royal Proclamations. On the basis of study of these, Fisher concludes that essentially liberal faith has guided Britain task in India; Britain has not interfered w the liberties, firstly, of Princes and, second of Religion and, thirdly, has granted equali to all without distinction of colour and creed respect of public services.* How far a histori is justified in relying on professions and proc mations for the discovery of practices and actu conditions is another matter. In effect, t liberty of the Indian Princes is the pomp o most dutiful feudal vassal. The ecclesiastic department of the government favours Chri tianity at the expense of the other Indi religions. The competitive examinations to t civil service had once favoured the English a now that Indian competitors are beating t English students in their own language, the pl to retain the British civil servant throu nomination is being put through.* Still, it is

*Is it "equality to all" to lay down the percentage appointments which must be bestowed on various n

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doubt true that, in respect of freedom of religious faith and, partly, of public appointments, Britain has followed a comparatively liberal policy. Incidentally it has paid Britain to do so. Moreover, the absence of freedom of religious faith and equality in respect of public appointments may, no doubt, prove galling, but their presence, in itself, is no mark of good government. Should they be the chief pillars on which a government rest, it is sure to be dull, inert and insipid. In respect of freedom of the more active political and social thought and of the cultural and material achievements of the State, the Indian Government has no doubt been thoroughly insipid and reactionary. But Fisher is slightly unjust to his countrymen's work in India; the Indian Government has not been so colourless in other spheres. It has rested predominantly on the pillar of making India profitable for British trade and capital. With that hangs the colourful tale of the unification of the Indian market, the commercialisation of agriculture, the investment of British capital and the like. As the story unrolls, there is a lot of interesting detail and, even while it frequently resulted in great injury to the Indian masses, it is at least not insipid.

The final stage of British rule in India is now completing and Fisher has also attempted to describe it. According to him there are two dominant patterns in Indian nationalism; the one is western and constitutional and the other eastern and revolutionary. Incidentally, Fisher has, through this description, given expression to his social philosophy; it is unhistorical, jejune and philistine. That a historian of modern Europe can forget the Cromwellian Revolution, the French Revolution, the Central European Revolts, the Italian War of Independence and a host of other rebellions and call the West constitutional and the East revolutionary is not so much the result of his ignorance as of his distorted social vision. He is so much embedded in the security and comfort of the present that he would prefer to deny his parentage and blot out the memory of his revolutionary ancestors. This unhistorical social philosophy of Fisher has inevitably resulted in his complete misunderstanding of the aims of British rule in India and of the character of those who oppose it.

"So far and so fast has Britain been prepared to advance along this perilous road guided by the two load-stars of the Anglo-Saxon race, of which the first is that all government must rest upon consent and second that it is the office of statesmanship to avert revolution by reform."

Fisher has thus summed up the various measures of self-government granted to the Indian people. I will first take up the element of popular consent on which the Indian Government is supposed to rest. The verification of this popular consent lies in two directions. How else would an army of 60,000 Englishmen rule a 350 million people? How else do we explain that India did not seize Britain's peril in the last world war as her opportunity? The answer is simple enough. Between the two extremes of government based on popular consent and of revolution, there is a vast middle field stretching from apathy and indifference to hostility. During the eighty years of British rule, the Indian people had first been brought into a state of submissive apathy and have then slowly awakened into that of definite hostility. At the time of the last world war, they were not yet actively hostile. It is the last seventeen years of the non-violent revolt that have given the Indian people the adequate consciousness and organisation to seize Britain's peril as India's opportunity. History is always in the making; it is never a final product. From the day a people is conquered starts a whole process of consent and apathy and hostility to the conquerer's rule and the various trends of the process are of different duration. To Fisher, however, there is just one long and unending period of popular consent up to the point that a government is actually overthrown. This attitude results in much misunderstanding and bitterness in the relations between a government and its people and among the different peoples of the world. A naive belief that all is right upto the point when all is wrong does not produce the atmosphere in which the aspirations of a people unsupported by acts of violence may be understood. It is also an unhistorical belief.

India has developed a new way of the struggle for freedom. It is the way of non-violence. How far the non-violent way was the result of India's weakness and how far it was a resolute effort to introduce a new era of human relationships will not be an easy discovery even in the distant future, much less so is it today. In its immediate consequences, the non-violent struggle of the Indian people has not yet effectively challenged the British military machine, but it has already demanded deaths by the thousand and imprisonings by the hundred-thousand. It may yet succeed in crippling and destroying the British military power in India. This valiant struggle of the Indian people has not even been mentioned and, in the absence of an armed rebellion, Fisher has concluded that

Hindu communities, irrespective of merit, at the expense of the Hindus?—Ed., *M. R.*

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the Indian government rests upon popular consent. That this is no objective history is plain enough, but it might as well be a clumsy attempt to mislead the British people and other peoples of the world into supporting a government that has no basis in justice or reason.

The statement that the British in India have tried to avert revolution by reform is both untrue and likely to awaken false notions about their generosity and broad-mindedness. Respectable historians often forget the Chartist revolutionaries when they describe the first measure of parliamentary reform in England or the Tolpuddle martyrs when they dwell upon the generous concession to the working-class to form trade unions. Naturally enough, Fisher forgets the brave sufferings of the Indian people which precede every measure of reform. British rule over India, like any other foreign rule, will not voluntarily cease but will be overthrown by the organised power of the Indian people; its striking proof is the divergent history of British promises and practice. British imperialist technique, however, has known how to avoid friction within a narrow range. It has tolerated criticism upto a limit and kept up the comparative independence of the judiciary. How far is this the outcome of a genuine democratic impulse and how far that of a cool calculation as to long-run results is difficult to decide. In any case, the capacity of British imperialism to work for justice and the avoidance of friction is very greatly limited; it snaps as soon as an attack starts on its fundamentals. Self-interest kills the democratic impulse.

In his anxiety to prove that the British rule is both democratic and progressive, Fisher does not hesitate to resort to gross untruths to prove Indian nationalism as reactionary. Mahatma Gandhi is in Fisher's words "an indubitable saint, yet as a member of the money-lending caste a friend to usuary, an ardent patriot yet as a politician the beneficiary of the worst slum properties in India". I have tried to interpret this description literally and as a figure of speech; it has made no sense to me which I can square up with facts. Unless usury stands for interest and worst slum properties for capitalist ownership and unless all notion that the Mahatma himself benefits from the institution of capitalist interest is ruled out, Fisher's description is not only merely an error of interpretation but is a lie in point of fact. Fisher has perhaps lied with the calculated intent to glorify British imperialism at the expense of Indian nationalism. We may not forget that he is an Oxford Warden and, as such, engaged in training up colonial administrators to adopt "contemptuous indifference" in their relations with "effervescent nationalism". He must invest Mahatma Gandhi's friendship to usury and the worst slum properties. Fisher is no historian; he is a low pamphleteer of the British Empire.

Fisher's book is huge; I have read only a single small chapter. I cannot help feeling that the rest of the book must be as poorly unhistorical, its chief interest being the elevation of British character and the singing of British glories. In different measures, it must have done injustice to the history of France, Russia, Germany, Spain, Italy and other European countries. It must be altogether a distorted picture of European humanity.

How a book such as this could ever have been recommended for use in Indian colleges and universities is difficult to understand except on the basis of the opinions on its dust-cover. We may not however forget that imperialism is fraternity and mutual adoration is its chief cultural weapon. The exclusion of this book from the curriculum of our Universities is the least that we can do in the interests of truthful history. We may also expect our historians and research students to undertake a thorough enquiry into the vicious imperialist propaganda of the history books now in use in our schools and universities and make known the results of their labour to the country. It is time that we began writing histories of the world and of various areas.

Beyond our shores our voice of protest may come back to us as an empty echo. Still, the mass of the peoples all over the world is fundamentally honest and there are large sections who believe that the study of history should result not in bitterness and conflicts but in international reconciliation and co-operation. May we hope that they will associate with us in the condemnation of low imperialist pamphleteering that passes as the triumph of historic art?

Allahabad,
May 9, 1938.

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A YEAR OF PROVINCIAL AUTONOMY

By Professor SRI RAM SHARMA

On March 31, 1938, the Provincial Autonomy completed the first year of its eventful life. It is yet a babe in arms, but it has already proved a changeling. It is possible, however, to discern clearly much that was dim at its birth. Let us try to take stock of the situation and see in what variegated hues it presents itself today.

We have to start with the Provincial Autonomy as it was conceived by its authors and as they presented it to the Indian world on April 1, 1937. For that the Government of India Act alone is not our guide, nor does the Instrument of Instruction to the Governors complete the picture. The most authoritative picture of the Provincial Autonomy as it was intended to work is to be found in the evidence of the Secretary of State before the Joint Parliamentary Committee and a briefer outline thereof is to be discovered in the correspondence (kept confidential so far) that was carried on between the Governors-in-Council, the Government of India, and the Secretary of State on the subject of the Rules of Business of the Provincial Cabinets and the Rules governing the submission of papers by the Provincial Cabinets and the Secretariat to the Governors.

Taking all these four sources together, we can draw up a tolerably clear picture of what Provincial Autonomy meant to its friends and foes alike on April 1, 1937. Here we first notice that between the first session of the Round Table Conference and the Report of the Joint Committee the definition of the Provincial Autonomy had undergone a change. To understand the fact clearly, it is necessary to quote both the definitions. The Prime Minister speaking at the end of the First Round Table Conference thus outlined the policy of His Majesty's Government:

"Responsibility for the Government of India should be placed upon *Legislatures*, Central and Provincial, with such provisions as may be necessary. . . . 'The Governors' Provinces will be constituted on a basis of full responsibility. Their ministers will be taken from the Legislature and will be jointly responsible to it. . . . . .

'There will be reserved to the Governors that minimum of special powers which is required in order to secure, in *exceptional circumstances*, the preservation of tranquillity, and to guarantee the maintenance of rights provided by *statute* for the Public Services and minorities.'"

Place this beside the definitoin of Provincial Autonomy given by the Joint Committee.

"Each of Governors' Provinces will possess an Executive and a Legislature having exclusive authority within the Province in a precisely defined sphere."

Now while in the Prime Minister's statement emphasis was placed on the fact that the Provincial Government will be responsible to the Provincial Legislature, with some reservation of powers to the Governors in *exceptional circumstances*, the Joint Committee cut the matter short by investing the Provincial Legislature *and the Executive* with exclusive authority within the province. Unlike the scheme visualized by the Prime Minister, which recognized the reservation of powers to the Governors as an inroad upon Provincial Autonomy, the Joint Committee by extending the authority in the provinces to the Executive as well made of exceptional circumstances a normal feature. The Provincial Executives and Legislatures were to be independent, not Provincial Legislatures holding the Executive responsible to themselves.

The position on April 1, 1937, then, was that the Government in the provinces was to be carried on jointly by the Governor and the Provincial Legislature. The Governor was, under the Rules of Business, the President of the Council of Ministers, settling its agenda, fixing its time and place of meeting and otherwise performing other functions ancillary to his position as the presiding officer. He was not a Minister without portfolio, but a Minister Extraordinary. In this capacity he administered the Excluded Areas, settled all questions concerning the organization and discipline of police, took action when crimes of violence intended to overthrow the government threatened the province, and could make rules to secure that police officers were not obliged to disclose the sources of their information to persons other than those authorised by him. He was also in charge of all questions concerning the posting, transfers, promotions of officers of the All-India Service. In his third capacity he acted as an examiner of ministerial conduct, and prevented them from doing wrong in certain spheres by stepping into the administrative arena himself

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when their action or inaction threatened communal interests, statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services, and produced grave menace to the peace and tranquillity of the province or a part thereof. In what was left to the ministers as their sphere of action after all these deductions had been made, he was to work as a constitutional head of his Government, offering advice, but leaving the decision to the Council of Ministers, of course, meeting under his presidency and amenable to his influence therein as well.

The Ministers who accepted office on April 1, 1937 knew these limitations and agreed to abide by them. The Secretary of State had spoken of the 'two sides of the administration' in the provinces in his evidence before the Joint Committee. He had been driven to admit that the ministers would be allowed to work during the pleasure of the Governor and only so long as he was convinced that the ministers were neither endangering the peace of the province, treating the minorities unfairly, or jeopardizing the good government of the province by threatening the peace and tranquillity of the province.

The essence of the scheme as outlined in the Act was that the Ministers were not to be really responsible either for their actions politically or held responsible for the entire administration of the province while in office. If the action or inaction of a Ministry, for example, created a grave menace to the tranquillity or the peace of the province, it could go on functioning merrily in other departments of the administration, the Governor taking upon himself the task of doing all that was necessary for removing such a danger. He could make laws for the purpose, he could spend money for the furtherance of his ideas on the subject, and he could issue orders, if necessary, over the heads of the Ministry to permanent civil servants. All that was done by the Governors in the discharge of their special responsibilities, or in their individual judgment or discretion, was beyond effective criticism by the Legislature.

Or to put it in another way, the Act started with the suspicion that the Provincial Ministers would know their business so little as to act in ways that might endanger public peace, attack the statutory rights and legitimate interests of the services and be unfair to the minorities. Not content with that it went further. It assumed that even when a Governor censured a Ministry by declaring that its action or inaction had endangered, for example, public peace, the ministers would be shame-fa enough after that certificate of good (?) c duct to cling to their office.

Thus the Governor was the pivot on wh the Provincial Government was to turn. T Government of India Act, 1935, was not intend to confer 'responsible government' on provinces. When the Governor took act either in his discretion or exercising his indi dual judgment, he acted under the instructi of the Governor-General who in his own t had to look to the Secretary of State guidance.

But April 1, is an All Fools' Day. Tho the Governors succeeded in persuading majority parties (or rather the coalitions) the Panjab, Bengal, Sind, Assam and the Nor Western Frontier Provinces to accept of under the limitations set down by the Act, Congress majorities in the United Provinc Bihar, Orissa, the Central Provinces, Bomb and Madras refused to take office under th circumstances. Obliging friends, howev jumped into the fray and rushed in wh Congress angels feared to tread. The Inter Ministries of the 'King's Friends'—or w they the Governor's Friends ?—were formed the hope of bringing about demoralization the ranks of the elected members. Follow the 'Assurances Controversy' which ended an amendment of the Government of India A by conventions which the Governors underto to set up in the provinces where the Congre accepted office.

What did the 'Assurance Controversy' d It set up in India two types of Provinc Governments. The coalition ministries h taken office with their eyes open, they h accepted office under the limitations which t framers of the Act and actual constitution documents had placed on them. They had a miracle, which probably the theory of re tivity even cannot explain, accepted Rules Business and Rules for the submission of cas to the Governors,—printed in March, ev before they had been appointed Ministers as binding on themselves, even though the A had laid down that these rules were to be ma by the Governors after consultation with th Ministers. Not only that, in one Provin (Panjab) the Provincial Premier proclaimed the entire world that he and his colleagu found it very useful to them to have t Governor preside at the Cabinet meetings, b cause they knew far less about some matte on the agenda than did the Governor! Furthe most of these ministries were coalition min

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ries. They had started on the assumption that the communal interests could only be safeguarded by the inclusion in the Cabinets of members drawn from the minority communities, whatever their politics. Thus in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind, Hindu Ministers had been appointed, drawn from parties which had hitherto opposed the Muslim parties that had majorities in these provinces. They had thus slightly invaded the principle of Joint Responsibility of Ministers. The Hindu Ministers of these Cabinets were supposed to represent the Hindus; as was the case in the Panjab, the Sikh Minister represented a group of Sikh M.L.A's. It is doubtful whether the assurance which the several Governors gave in the Congress provinces affected very much the relations of the Governors and Cabinets in the Non-Congress Provinces. Thus two types of provincial Governments came to be established in India.

We can understand it better if we were to cite and attempt to understand certain things that happened last year in the non-Congress provinces. Take Assam for example. There the Governor used his special powers the other day for certifying as essential expenditure salaries of the establishments of Commissioners, money for which had been refused by the Provincial Legislature. When the trouble over the release of the Political prisoners in the United Provinces and Bihar precipitated a crisis in the two provinces, the Governor-General declared that he refused to allow the Ministers in the Congress provinces to do this because it would have a serious effect on the peace of Bengal and the Panjab. The Panjab Premier on being heckled in the Panjab Assembly admitted that the Provincial Cabinet had never been consulted as to what effect the release of these prisoners would have on the situation in the Panjab. The Premier, however, forgot to add that a grave menace to the peace of the province is a special responsibility of the Governor and that therefore it is possible that the Governor of the Panjab and the Governor-General may have corresponded on the matter. Here are then two sides of the Government functioning: the Governor communicating to the Governor-General that the release of Political prisoners in U. P. and Bihar would be dangerous to the peace of the Panjab and the Premier declaring to the Assembly that he did not believe so. Such a thing could not have happened in the Congress provinces.

Or, take a recent case in the Panjab. A Muslim M.L.A. gave notice of a bill by which certain properties now in the possession of the Sikhs would have passed into the hands of the Muslims without any compensation. This required the previous consent of the Governor acting in his own discretion. Refusal of the assent was an interference with the sovereign (?) rights of the Panjab Assembly to deal with problems relegated to its care. The Governor refused to give its assent to the introduction of the measure after formally consulting the Ministry. Now the Ministry could have achieved the same end by requesting the Governor to give his assent to the introduction of the measure so that this restriction on the authority of the lgislature should not remain operative, and then used its majority to refuse permission to introduce the measure. Instead of that the Panjab Ministry advised the Governor to refuse his assent—or was it the Governor who advised the Ministry to advise him to that effect?

On the other side, there are the Congress provinces now seven in number. There the Councils of Ministers have taken the sensible view that if the Governors ever feel called upon to exercise their special responsibilities, they should better inform the Ministers who would tender their resignations thereon. This was exactly what Sir Samuel Hoare had said would not be allowed to happen. The two sides of the Government were to be free to function within their respective spheres. Further, the Congress started on the assumption that in order to safeguard the interest of minorities, it was not necessary to have their representatives in the Ministry. Their ministers are political in complexion. The Congress is in power and not coalitions. There are Muslim ministers in most of the Congress ministries just as there are Hindu ministers. The religion of the various members has less to do with their being there than their political principles. When no Congressite Muslim minister could be found for Orissa, the Governor assured a Muslim deputation that he was sure that the interest of all minorities were safe in the hands of the Congress ministers. There are no two sides of the administration in these provinces.

Much has been made, sometimes, of the fact that under the existing Rules of Business even in the Congress Provinces, Governors preside over the meetings of the Cabinets. Such criticism loses sight of the very important fact that the Congress policy in the provinces is settled not in these cabinet meetings but in the meetings of the Congress Working Committee now at Wardha, now in Calcutta and now elsewhere. Still further, these meetings of

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the Cabinet are more in the nature of formal ratification of the decisions, almost always, already arrived at. The Secretary of State had this in his mind when in his correspondence with the Local Governments on the subject of draft Rules of Business for the Provincial Governments, he suggested that the provision that the Governor must always preside at the meeting of the Provincial Cabinets would render those meetings unreal.

It is not only in their attitude towards the Governors that the Congress conception of Provincial Autonomy differs from the non-Congress one. The difference is also visible in their attitude towards fundamental assumption of democratic government. The Congress ministries have realized that democratic government presumes freedom of speech and the liberty of the press. The Government of the North-Western Frontier Province has repealed Section 124-A, thus making the bringing of the government established by law into contempt and hatred legal. The other Governments have almost everywhere refused to prosecute for sedition. In a recent Bombay case, though the Government prosecuted a speaker under this section because he was alleged to have advocated violence, they released him after his appeal in the High Court had failed. The Government of Bombay has repealed the Emergency Power Act of 1932 which is one of the instruments, invented at the time, for fighting the Congress. With regard to the press, the different attitude of the two types of governments can be well illustrated by a recent case. Security was demanded from a Socialist paper in the Panjab, the other day. Rather than pay, it shifted its place of publication to the neighbouring province of the U. P. No security was demanded from its publishers there. No action has been taken against it so far in that province. The Panjab Police, however, seized upon the copies of the paper meant for the Panjab, first of all as unauthorised news-sheets and later on as containing objectionable matter. As the matters stand at present, the U. P. Government is either of opinion that it contains no objectionable matter, even according to the emergency laws that were passed several years ago, or that, even if it does offend against those emergency laws, they should not use the powers conferred upon them under those undemocratic and arbitrary laws. The Panjab Government, however, holds otherwise. It is using to the full its armoury of emergency powers conferred on the irresponsible government of the province in the old days.

It is not a question of party politics. Liberty of the press and of individuals is so important a matter to form a question of party warfare. As the dissenting judgment of Hon'ble Mr. Justice Tek Chand of the Lahore High Court held the other day, and as even the majority judgment seemed to suggest, the new constitution cannot be worked unless the section 124-A is radically altered, if not altogether repealed. The non-Congress provinces are carrying on in the traditions of the pre-Provincial Autonomy governments in their attitude towards popular liberties.

Assam has furnished an example of the difficulties which, it was suggested various Provincial Governments might have to face. In order to escape the fundamental postulate of responsible government in the provinces, it had been suggested that the Provincial ministries need not take their defeat on every question as indicating loss of confidence by the legislature. In Assam, the Government has been defeated several times on many important questions. The only visible result has been formal resignation of the Ministry and its re-emergence with a slightly modified personnel. One need not go to the length of saying that every defeat of a ministry should lead to resignation. But in India there is the danger of the ministers clinging to office at all costs for the sake of drawing the fat salaries that have been provided for in the non-Congress provinces. There is the further danger that the flouting of the vote of the legislature by a ministry might lead to dictatorial tendencies making the working of democratic institutions difficult. When a ministry seems to be clinging to authority despite repeated defeats in the legislature, it lowers the power and the prestige of the legislature thereby. That this has happened in Assam one need not deny. The lower salaries—I was going to say the ridiculously low salaries—of the Congress Ministers make it impossible, ordinarily, for ministers to cling to power after it becomes impossible for them to remain in office with honour.

The Joint Committee had refused to include the principle of joint responsibility in the Statute because it asserted wrongly, that it was too subtle a thing to figure in a written constitution. The Governors were instructed to promote it, but they were also instructed to see that there were representatives of the Minorities as well in the Cabinet. The non-Congress ministries started a little handicapped in the matter. But the insistence of the Congress party to include only Congressmen in the

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Ministries led both to the homogeneity in views as well as the prevalence of the principle of joint responsibility. Other provinces have not been slow in taking advantage of the fact. It can be said that joint responsibility has now become an actual fact rather than a distant vision.

The second chambers were designed to act as a bulwark of vested interests. No one had, however, visualized that the Governmental majorities in the lower chambers would be as large as they are now. These large majorities have rendered the second chambers instruments of delay only. Their membership is so small in comparison with that of the lower chambers that the large majorities which the present Governments enjoy there have rendered differences between the two houses, more or less, a question of recounting votes only.

A very serious situation seems to have arisen all over the country with regard to the roll of the permanent services in the various provinces. The new popular Governments resent all bonds. The problem of reorganizing the entire administrative machinery so that it might suit the new conditions better, has nowhere received that attention which was its due. Even though the Secretary of State impressed upon the Provincial Governments the necessity of so reorganizing their secretariat as to secure efficient control by ministers over various departments, no provincial government has yet undertaken the task in hand. The existing machinery in some places ill suits the exigencies of a popular government. As a result, sometimes small matters have revealed tendencies that might one day become dangerous. There was that violent clash between the Services mentality and the loose thinking in our Provincial Governments in a Congress province the other day, when the Chief Secretary addressed a circular letter to various officers telling them that the only valid official orders to them would be those signed by the Secretaries. If the Interim Ministry in the United Provinces called the Divisional Commissioners in conference to help them devise means for fighting their political opponents, the Congressites in power have not improved matters by using their local party offices as a part of the Governmental machinery. Non-Congress ministers are doing no better. In most cases questions of politics and of administration have got mixed up together. The ministers are nowhere content with directing policy, they have been publicly poking their noses into small administrative matters. Sometimes this is due to nepotism, sometimes to a desire for nursing their constituencies; but usually it is due to the failure of those concerned to realize, either, the limitation of their office, or, the implications of their action. A Minister in the Panjab, while presiding at a prize-giving ceremony in a school, so far forgot himself that he publicly assured the school authorities that he would pass certain orders if they would renew their application which had not been favourably received earlier. Here the absence of traditions favouring 'the Rule of law' and a legalistic spirit has been increasing our difficulties further. We, and therefore our ministers, love to pass individual orders rather than define general policy. This has further complicated matters. Unfortunately, sometimes even the Services shut their eyes to these difficulties. They are—most of them I should say—more intent on safeguarding their statutory rights and legitimate interests. Most of them do not know where they stand and are content with marking time. The introduction of communal principle in the recruitment to the Services, coupled with the existence of communal Governments, in certain provinces had made the matters worse.

As regards party organization under the new scheme of things, it can be said with truth that parties, sharply differing in their outlook on various matters of Provincial interest, have yet to be born. So much has to be done on common lines that serious criticism of the parties in power, except by vested interests or communal organizations, has not been much in evidence. Parties differ more in the communal outlook, in their attitude towards the Federation, and in their belief or disbelief in democracy. The existence of the Congress Parliamentary High Command, holding to its allegiance the Provincial Governments in seven provinces, has further cut at the root of purely provincial parties, while the Muslim League has been struggling hard to bring within its fold the Provincial Governments in the Panjab, Bengal and Sind. In the last province, a coalition government is now in power during the pleasure of the Congress Party. The non-Congress ministries in the Panjab, Bengal and elsewhere have, often, prided themselves on following the best part of the Congress programme.

But more serious is the development of the relations between party organizations and parties in power. Here the Congress has exhibited many deplorable features. It tried to force its own national song, the Bande Matram on all, it treated its own flag as a national

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emblem and thus raised many thorny problems, and it tried to force its own office-bearers on the various administration, sometimes as experts and sometimes as arbitrators. The too close identification of the party outside the legislature with the government in power has raised difficulties which the Congress is slowly realizing. The attempt to use the office-bearers of a party as parts of the administrative machinery cannot be too strongly condemned. The worst example of this kind has been the recent appointment by the Working Committee of an outsider to decide the purely administrative questions of the alleged miscarriage of justice involved in the release of prisoners, guilty of heinous offences in the Central Provinces. The Unionists in the Panjab as well have not done much better. They have often treated attacks on the party as attacks on the Government of the Panjab and have been going about trying to link up fortunes of the two together. This may be a passing phase. As soon as the ques of the Indian Federation is settled, we n discover party organization of the Cong relax a little thus allowing the development normal relations between governments a party organizations.

Such, in broad outline, is our first ye profit and loss account. That we have d much better than either our friends hoped or our enemies feared, is abundantly cl For the first time we have become master our home, though after a pitched, yet peac fight. As time goes on the non-Cong provinces would share to a larger extent in victory won by the Congress. The dictato and undemocratic tendencies present a m complex problem. But Provincial Autono would become real only when the problems the Federation and the organization of Central Government have been satisfacto solved.

GOLD AND ITS FUTURE

By Prof. H. L. DEY, M.A., D.Sc. Econ (London)
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Gold has been known to mankind since the dawn of history. The sage-poets of the Rig-Veda sang some of their most beautiful hymns in praise of gold. And from very early times down to our own age, India has shown her admiration of gold by attracting and accumulating the yellow metal in various forms. She has been, therefore, called the Eastern sink of gold. It is also well known that it was her fame as a gold-hoarder that tempted a succession of adventurers like Mahmud of Ghazni (1026), Timur Lane (1398) and Nadir Shah (1739) to invade India.

But, important as was the part played by gold in the early history of India and the rest of the world, it rose to the position of a World Dictator during the half century that preceded the Great War. It was during this period that the steam engine and the telegraph were rapidly reducing time and space and bringing the different parts of the world nearer and nearer to each other. And these unifying influences were greatly assisted by the emergence of gold as the international monetary standard, so that the whole civilized world soon converted into one, single economic u Epoch-making inventions, growth of trade industry, increase of population, and deve ment of virgin areas in North and So America, Oceania and Africa proceeded ap And the human race as a whole secured tremendous increase in material wealth moral well-being, which is without a para in the recorded history of mankind.

Now, under the laws and conventions the gold standard adopted by the en civilized world during that period, the inter tional distribution and movements of g determined what the price levels in diffe countries were to be. Changing price le in their trun governed production, employm income and governmental revenues—in sh economic progress and retrogression. This how gold became the absolute dictator of world's economic system.

Like all dictators, gold, too, in the ea part of its career, exercised its powers in manner of a benevolent despot. But, in

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post-war period, its tyranny caused an international financial and banking crisis of the first magnitude and brought about the World Economic Depression which, in terms of loss of employment and income, physical and mental pain and moral degradation, inflicted an amount of suffering on mankind which far exceeded what had been caused by the war. In consequence, all nations rebelled against gold and overthrew its sovereignty, and assumed national autonomy in currency matters, free from the domination of gold. And free and autonomous national currencies have enabled most nations to achieve a large measure of recovery from the depression.

The position of gold at present is that it is no longer the monetary standard. It has become merely a valuable commodity like other valuable commodities, though, doubtless, it retains that mysterious power over governments and peoples, which is possibly based on a Freudian complex. In the meantime, however, the supply of gold has increased enormously, and people are seriously debating whether the price of gold would not be going down in the near future.

The most curious thing about gold is that while the prices of most other things have gone down, the price of gold has gone up to the extent of 67 p.c., and that this high price of gold has continued in spite of a large increase in its supply. The principal reason why the price of gold has gone up during the last few years is the devaluation of national currencies. Before the Depression, the British pound, for instance, under the law of the land, was equal to and freely exchangeable for 113 grains of gold. But, when England, due to shortage of gold, gave up the gold standard, the English pound was no longer convertible into that fixed quantity of 113 grains of gold. It became an inconvertible paper money, which rapidly depreciated in terms of gold till today it is only equal to about 68 grains of gold. In consequence of this depreciation of the paper pound, one ounce of gold is now equal to £7, whereas in the pre-depression period it was equal to £4¼. Exactly the same thing has happened in the rest of the world—a decline in the gold value of national currencies and a consequent increase in the price of gold in terms of national currencies. The U. S. A. dollar, the French franc, the Indian rupee, the Japanese yen, etc., are all in the same case as the British pound.

As a result of this big rise in the price of gold, its supply has increased enormously. Its annual production from the mines was 35·3 million ozs. in 1936 as against 19·7 million ozs. in 1929. Besides, due to economic distress and the temptation of the higher price of gold, India dishoarded 35·4 million ozs. and China and Hongkong about 6 million ozs. of gold by the end of 1936. The quantity of gold in the world has increased by 21 p.c., while due to devaluation of currencies, its monetary value has increased by 100 p.c. The stocks of gold held by Central Banks and Treasuries have increased in value from 2,580 crores to 7,419 crores of rupees. Again, whereas in 1929 the excess gold reserves over the legal minimum held by Central Banks were 600 crores, they now amount to 4,700 crores of rupees. But, in the meantime, the value of international trade which provides the main demand for gold now-a-days has gone down by 42 p.c. By all accounts, therefore, the present supply of gold is far in excess of present demand. And, since in the face of militant nationalism and talk of wars all the world over, international trade is bound to remain at a low level, the demand for gold for international payments is not likely to increase.

On the other hand, the supply of gold is bound to be large so long as its price is high. Consequently, in so far as the demand and supply of gold were concerned, there should have been a great fall in the price of gold. But, the Big Three, the U. S. A., Britain, and France, who hold over 75 p.c., of the entire monetary gold stocks of the world, are keeping up its price by buying it in large quantities only in order to bury it in the vaults of their Central Banks. The reasons for this rather foolish and extravagant policy of buying unwanted gold with borrowed money are as follows :—

Firstly, they are unable to make up their minds as to how best they could retrace their steps. If they did not buy the gold, its value would fall, and the gold value of their national currencies would rise. This would mean a rise in the ratios of their respective currencies. And unless all nations were prepared to allow the gold values of their currencies and their ratios of exchange to rise simultaneously and in the same degree, there would be competitive inequalities in international trade.

Secondly, a fall in the price of gold would mean a reduction in the monetary values of the gold reserves of their Central Banks and Treasuries, and thus wipe out at one stroke the enormous paper profits they have made due to the rise in the price of gold.

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Thirdly, California, South Africa, Canada and Australia are all big gold-producers. Consquently, neither the U. S. A., nor Great Britain is willing to allow the price of gold to fall precipitously.

Fourthly, there is also a vague talk of a return to the international gold standard and a revival of international trade, when the demand for gold would increase and all the gold would be equitably redistributed in a friendly manner among all the nations of the world.

But, most of these arguments are due to false hopes and confusion of ideas. The outstanding facts of the situation are that the supply of gold is enormously excessive in relation to possible demand at its present price. The question is not so much whether the price of gold would or would not fall as whether the fall should be sudden or gradual. In view of the confusion that would result from a sudden reversal of relations between gold and currency values, it is desirable that the fall should be made gradual. And this could be done deliberate adjustments of the buying a selling prices of the Big Three in respect gold. It is, therefore, highly probable that t recent tendency of the price of gold to fa slowly and irregularly would continue for man years to come. And, with this progressive fa there should be a gradual increase in t demand for gold for jewelry and oth industrial uses on the one hand, and a decl in new production and dishoarding on the oth till at last there came a sort of equilibri between demand and supply. A greater a more rapid fall in the price of gold, which warranted by the present state of demand a supply, cannot take place because of uncerta ties regarding the future of peace. And shou a European War break out in the near futu all economic values would again be thro into the melting pot, and all reasonal calculations about the future price of g would be thoroughly upset.

THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT TAKES A SERIOUS TURN

Appeal to the Congress to Avert Crisis

UNDER the auspices of Tadepalligudem "Andhra Mandali", a public meeting was held on 3rd June, 1938, at Tadepalligudem, under the presidentship of the renowned journalist Mr. Y. Venkataratnam Pantulu. The meeting was well attended by merchants, doctors, vakils, students, ryots, Congressmen and members of the youth league, library association and other associations. Great enthusiasm prevailed, throughout the proceedings and the young men have pledged themselves to undergo any length of sacrifice for achieving their object of getting a separate province for the Andhras.

The Presidential Address dealt in detail with the history of the Andhra movement since the advent of the Congress, the present issues which confronted the movement and the remedies for the same. Messrs. K. Kistamaraju, B.A., LL. B., P. Satyanarayana, B.A., K. Rama Sastry, B.A. and T. Venkataraju spoke vehemently on the subject. The following resolutions were passed:

1. This Conference is of opinion that the views expressed by the President and members of the All-India Congress Committee on the question of Andhra Province are the result of ignorance and error of judgment and requests them to reconsider their opinion to give immediate effect to the resolutions passed by the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee.

2. This Conference requests the Congress Presiden to tour the Andhra districts to gain first-hand knowled on the gravity of the problem.

3. This Conference requests the Andhra Provinci Congress Committee to send a deputation to Mahatm to explain to him the full details of the situation.

4. This Conference warns the Congress Worki Committee that a grave situation worse than that in t Central Province is fast developing and requests th prompt measures may be taken immediately, before it too late.

5. This Conference appeals to the Andhra Ma Sabha Standing Committee that if the Congress s objects to send a Congress deputation to England non-Congress deputation consisting of eminent nationali like Mr. C. Ramalinga Reddy, the Raja of Challap and others, may be sent, to educate the Secretary of S and the Parliamentary members.

6. This Conference is of opinion that Andh language should be introduced forthwith, in the Cou District Boards, Municipalities, Legislative Assem Council, and the Andhra University.

7. This Conference appeals to the Andhra journa lists to start an English Daily for carrying on propaga work and to send frequent articles to the various peri cals in other Provinces on the question of "Andh Province."

8. This Conference demands from the Mad Premier, the publication of the details of the Ma Government's recommendations to the India and Bri Governments on the resolutions passed by the Mad Council and Assembly, regarding the formation of Andh Province.

K. KRISHNAM RAJU, B.A., LL.B.,
President, Andhra Mandali.

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HALBI FOLK-SONGS COME NEARER

By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

"Wouldn't you like to add some Halbi songs, too, to your collection, when they are so near," remarked Mr. Pooran Singh at Jagdalpur in C. P. And he gave me his book *An Introduction to the Halbi Language*. It proved to be of genuine help to me in feeling at home with this new language. "Halbi is a language of no less than 1,74,681 people of whom 1,71,293 souls live in Bastar State alone," he went on to say. "It is my mother-tongue and I am proud of it."

Halbi is originally the language of the Halba people. The word Halba must be an abridged form of Sanskrit Halbaha (lit. peasant), and almost all the Halbas today are tillers of the soil. Some other castes, however, have also

Mr. Pooran Singh.

He lives at Jagdalpur in Bastar State, the land of Halbi folk-songs. The writer describes him as his collaborator.

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adopted it as their mother-tongue. Day by day it is acquiring the character of a *lingua franca* throughout the length and breadth of Bastar State—a veritable mine of dialects. Even amongst the Gondi-speaking Marias it is Halbi that at once becomes the second language for the local interpreters. "A valuable means of inter-communication", declares Mr. Hyde the present Administrator of Bastar.

But the Halbi language failed to charm a great linguistic scholar like Sir George Grierson. "It is a mechanical mixture of bad Marathi, bad Oriya, and bad Chhattisgarhi", he declared. Conceivably, my friend Pooran Singh is not willing to accept this criticism. "Sandwiched between the Marathi, Oriya, and Chattisgarhi speaking areas, it is only natural that Halbi should be under their mixed influence," he says, "but it is rather sad that Sir George Grierson calls it a mechnical mixture of merely the bad elements of three languages."

I had gone to Bastar State to study the songs of the Marias, but then I had to attend to the Halbi songs first, for they happened to be much nearer to me than the Maria songs.

And I found a regular collaborator in my friend Pooran Singh. Every day I would go to the countryside and would return with the text of scores of folk-songs. In the evening, he would come to my residence to offer cordial help for their translation. At every typical word he would stop and give along with the literal meaning its whole background and purpose. Proverbs, riddles, and folk-tales—all came as toys in his hands, and he used them freely to make the illustrations all the more interesting and alive. Of course, he was not capable of reproducing the beautiful and thrilling tunes of the Halbi songs. Always he took me into the deep linguistic details; a sweet labour of love, he called it. "I should call you an encyclopedia of the Halbi language", one evening I remarked in a flattering tone. "Don't you say so", he returned humbly. "I know very little."

One remarkable type of Halbi folk-song is *Rilo**. It draws its strength from the every-day life of the people. Occasionally it is followed by a full-blooded romance giving birth to many a new song in its turn. Every young man must respond to the call of *Rilo* songs as the bees do to the flowers of the new season. I remember a party of tall well-built youths. All of them solemnly agreed to sing to me their favourite *Rilo*. And their glorious voices put life into the song:

The Girl:

* * *

Blossoming in the forest-side
You are my *Rosona* flower
And the singer of *Rilo* songs you are!

* In some parts it is known as *Liro* as well.

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The Boy:

You say that you'll come to me
And who'll give me money?
O wherefrom shall I pay the price
In cash to your husband?
I would prefer to be without a girl.
And then I know
What an average woman is like—
For her husband she serves gruel,
And the cooked rice she keeps for herself.

The Girl:

Well, I too know
The men of Kal Yug.
Today they get rich
Tomorrow they drive away their poor wives.

The Boy:

Your comment I understand
My *Rosona* flower!
But it is like the noise
That comes up while you pound the *Chivra*.

The Girl:

O I fail to compete with you,
My dearest love!
Now go on singing *Rilo*
And I'll be but a calm listener.

The Boy:

For six months or one full year
I'll keep my eye on you.
I want you to be a girl serene,
Not stupid like a buffalo.

The Girl:

Around a jar of *Landa*
The boys of Tekragura village have assembled.
Water is served from the spring of Singanpur village
Landa, the rice beer, comes from Lamker.

Some of the words of this song were very obscure, and, to make a very close and literal translation for me, my friend, Pooran Singh, had to spend more than half an hour. When, depending upon his translation, I prepared a revised version, trying my best not to go away from the original spirit, he looked very eager to listen to it. And, to my joy, he approved of it. "The very first *Rilo* must have been sung by a girl", he observed. I agreed and quickly quoted to him Ananda Coomaraswamy's words: "If we study the folk speech anywhere in the world, we shall see that it reveals woman, and not the man, as typically the lover."* "By the same common pulse is timed our *Rilo* song," he said, "bringing love close to us. The end of the present *Rilo* is very suggesitve. You can imagine the girl offering a cup of *Landa* to her beloved who sits amidst his friends, her winning smile lending a unique meaning to the *Liro* song which is in itself more than an institution". He also told me the full story of the *Rosona* flower. The *Rilo* singers, nurtured in a tradit of long standing, compare each other with yellow *Rosona* (also known as *Rachna*) flow Now *Mari Rosona*, or the *Rosona* flower of plain, is the name of a kind of friends between boys and girls, and they commence by taking a sacred vow of faithfulness a symbolically offering the *Rosona* flowers to another.

The Halbi-speaking Maria youths, w whom the *Rilo* is an everlasting favourite, sometimes be seen dancing against one anot trying to sing unanswerable pieces. On occasion, they may begin to sing it, sitting ro the camp-fire winter nights, resting under shade on summer noons, working in the fie or with a comparatively stronger impetus dur a wedding. Once, I remember, I heard a wedd *Rilo*:

On the way-side mango
The peacook goes to roost—
His moustaches are growing!

Thus went the bride's piece, celebrating moustaches of her own groom, who soon repl rather dictatorially:

Yes, my *Rosona* flower,
The peacook's moustaches are growing.
But who'll hear you at length?
Make haste and be brief.

The bridegroom was rather in a hurry take his bride home. No time should be wast on formal jokes, he thought. Another pi caught a note of realism:

Dadak, dadak, water is falling,
My *Rosona* flower!
Peep into your mind
And just see
If you can accept my love.

Thus sang the girl and the boy replied:

Well, you ask me
To peep into my mind
Just take this *Keora* flower
From my hands, my love.

Again the girl came out with:

I should have your *Keora* flower, you say.
And I have it with love and care.
When you leave me now
Don't forget me altogether.

Here the song ended, for the boy did perhaps want to give a promise always remember his sweetheart, a young village with sleek black well-combed hair, and e thirsty for a love response.

So far, so good. Further investigati enlarged and enriched and beautified my stud Songs, facile in expression and vividly telling life of the people, were pouring in. And Poor Singh sat with me every evening to help

*Ananda Coomaraswamy: *The Dance of Siva*, p. 96.

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would often fail to grasp a certain picture, and he would bring home the whole background, saving me from any sort of mistake.

So we came one day to a *Rilo*, redolent of the fun and satire of peasant life:

Husband:

This painted basket has been brought
From the village of Chingpal;
And the Aud boy who made it
Belongs to Neganar.
No plough, nor bullocks
Have I, ah me!
Unavailing goes the wetness of the fields!

Wife:

Unavailing is the wetness
Of the fields, you say.
Why not ask your village friends
To come to your help *
If you have neither plough nor bullocks,
My *Rosona* flower ?

Husband:

You suggest help, my love,
From my village friends.
I was teasing you—
The plough and bullocks are there.
But, alas, there is no strength
In my body at all, my love,
The sun is setting.

Wife:

Yes, my *Rosona* flower,
The sun is setting, as you say.
But, like the naked roots of a Jamala tree
That stands on the river bank
Your moustaches are growing
Strong and unruly.
If not *Body* and *Mehar*,†
Cultivate the *Goindi* rice,
A very rich harvest you'll have
And in a circle of forty sheaves
You'll place the harvest, my *Rosona* flower.

Husband:

Keep up your blessed speech,
Patiently I hear, my love,
But, how much longer
Will you go on ?
My soul belongs to *Jama*, the God of death,
And this my body will go to dust.
My days are numbered
I'll bend to the hill-breeze,
Today I talk to you
Tomorrow, I shall not.

Wife:

To talk to me tomorrow
You wouldn't be here, you say.
O name to me your gods,
My *Rosona* flower!
For your safety I'll pray to them.

Sometimes even the best part of a *Rilo* remains but a solo song. Of course, after every few lines in this case the *Rilo* singer repeats the last item of the preceding line. Given to the use of satire, the monologue grows up in everyday village life. Bhikari, a sunburnt peasant of Bilchur village, sang to me a *Rilo* of this type:

Now my heart is glad, my *Rosona* flower,
Harvesting and threshing, all over;
O I am at my leisure now.
At leisure, my wife,
Spread the mat, for my eyes are heavy with sleep.
Eyes heavy with sleep, my wife,
The child weeps and disturbs me.
The child weeps, my wife,
I, your husband, feel tired of quietening him.
"Whither have you been ?" I ask;
And it makes you lose your temper,
Lose your temper, my wife,
In the forest reserve of Titargaon a leopardess roars,
The leopard roars, my wife,
What is the effect of it on your heart ?
On your heart, my wife ?
Bhaen, Bhaen, Bhaen, it fills my heart with fear‡

Bhikari's wife, Jhumri, must have appreciated in her heart of hearts the song of her husband. He had sung it laying stress on the intresting parts of the song. "I would like to hear one song from your wife, Bhikari," I said with a growing sense of urgency. I felt hopeful, for I thought that she would certainly sing if her husband advocated my case. "No, no", Bhikari came out with, "my wife is very shy and she won't sing. However, I'll give you one more *Rilo*." And he sang :

The Parjas
They have their own dances -
Copyright: Mrs. O. M. Auner

* *Bethia* is the original name of the time-honoured system of co-operation when the village folks, turn by turn, join in groups to help weak and poor friends, not necessarily relations, in the field work. The people who come to do this work are called *Bethias*.

† Coarse varieties of rice, cultivated on slopes where very little water is required: pronounced locally as *Wori* and *Mehar*.

‡ *Bhaen* pronounced nasally is a sound symbolical of the lonely forest spaces.

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The *mahua* oil you apply to your hair.
And sitting on an old *machi* *
You comb your shining hair.
Comb your shining hair, my love,
Quarrelling with your husband,
You run away to your mother, my love,
"What makes you come, daughter ?" asks your mother
"My husband, that black-faced one, has beaten me," you cry,
"Has beaten me, my love",
"Get out, you black-faced one," you shout,
As your husband approaches you to be reconciled.

Everybody laughed as the song closed. "Don't you think, Jhumri darling, that it is to you that I have addressed this song", Bhikari went on to say. "You are never so, you are my good wife". But Jhumri, his wife, had understood the hit. Laughter lurking in her eyes, she had the look of a smart modern woman.

Over and over again, the *Rilo* song titillated my interest in Halbi folk-poetry. Then I reached another type, the *Chait-Parab* song. "Here is a song, originally sung in the month of *Chait*", remarked Pooran Singh, "so you see that it is sung in the Spring, but then it is necessarily a love-song rather than a new season song".

As regards the language of the *Chait-Parab* song, it is not essentially Halbi. Originally a favourite song among the Bhatras, who speak a mixed dialect of Oriya, it is almost Oriya-like in sound and colour. But its popularity is wide among Halbi-speaking people as well.

The *Chait-Parab* singer would like to commence his song with a sort of prayer to *Mahamai, Kalika* and more often *Danteshwari*—the local goddesses, the last being the tutelary goddess of the present Raj family in Bastar State. "Victory to you, *Mahamai*.. Victory to you, *Kalika*. In your names I commence my song. Be kind and make my throat your abode", sings the *Chait-Parab* singer, suggesting that the sipritual touch of the goddesses can enhance the beauty of this song. And when the village boys and girls enter a competition, even the goddesses are expected to take sides. "The goddess *Ranokasini* is worthy of my salute. In her name I begin my song, success must be mine everywhere. In the temple, the drum-play goes on. My salute be to the God of Battle", sings the leader of one party. And the rival leader returns, "You saluted your God and Goddess. To whom should go my salute? In the name of Mother Maoli I sing, and to her goes my salute. On the temple door, the parched rice is spread. Be kind, Mother, make my voice like a Koel's".

* A stool of wood and string.

On the first day of the *Chiat-Parab* fes they go from door to door in the village coll ing small coins. This money is spent on lic they share together. And the whole night the songs go on before the goddess—songs ev now and then enlivened by a little danc Next morning finds them starting for neighbouring villages; before every door t sing, dance and collect money that is spent a good public dinner towards the last eve of the festival. It is primarily the festiva full-blooded boys and girls who are not married. However, the newly-married b and girls, too, in their respective villages ca resist joining in this celebration of love, bea and youth. The party of boys and girls goes ahead singing, takes along a few eld persons, too, to see that it does not go ast Throughout the month of *Chait* these s feasts go on. Under the strong influence overwhelming competition, the girl member the party challenge the boys of the village its boys sit to compete with the boys of t village separately. It is, of course, alway treat to attend these song-contests. And songs are both old and new, most of them s extempore. The party that wins charges li presents of flowers—the rose, champa, j amine and *hazariphul*—or even of parched r and molasses from the defeated boys and gi who, as tradition has taught them, never ag in their life sit in contest with any winn member individually. Just after the result a contest, a defeated girl may spontaneou begin to love the boy who wins; they may ev with mutual consent, run away to some for glade from where their parents may bring th after having given final consent to the marria Such a marriage is known as *Paisa Mundi*. olden days, the boys and girls used to begin song contest with a definite promise that defeated girl will marry the boy who surpas her. One thing is clear even today; a defeated in a contest, possesses a life-l admiration for the winning boy and whene he comes to see her at her father-in-law's pl after her marriage, she offers him cordial hosp ality and nobody can object to it.

Apart from the actual festival in the mo of *Chait*, the *Chait-Parab* songs may be sung other occasions as well, especially during wedding feasts when it gets a new name, *Mu Mangto*, or "the asking for the ring." T defeated boy is forced by the winning girl present a ring to her.

This *Mundi Mangto* developed into popular institution. Whenever the village gi

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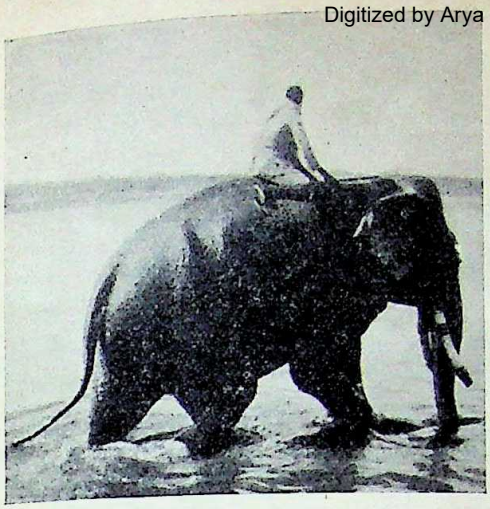

The *Mahavat*
As the elephant drinks water, the *Mahavat* starts singing.

Awaiting the season of the *Chait Parab* song

A Peasant Family

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A Family
The old members of the family must pass away leaving aside the younger ones to keep the institution of Halbi songs alive.

Mother and Son
You can hear them singing in chorus

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Dignity of Labour
With his sunburnt face the Halba peasant looks proud of his vocation in life. *Copyright*, Author.

Father and Daughter
Copyright, Author.

Daughter of the Soil
She is fond of *Rilo* song that forms an important chapter of Halbi folk-songs.
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A Halba Woman
She sits remembering the past days of youth when the inspiration of the *Chait Parab* song was much at home with her.
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come to know of the arrival of a guest in the village, they assemble before him at night with a challenge to fight a contest. Even a State official, on his visit to a village, at once becomes an object of attraction to the *Mundi Mangto* girls of the village.

Opening a chapter of *Raso Rang Git*, the songs of love and beauty, the *Chait-Parab* singer comes forward :

The coloured earth is of various hues.
Lo! The black crow has taken wing.
Now, no more salutes to the Goddess.
Come on with your songs of love and beauty.

The village youth admires the beauty of his sweetheart:

Come on, dearest,
My heart swells with delight.
Every night, my fair-faced singer,
I have been seeing you in my dreams.

She gets annoyed at this invitation:

You have sung your song
And it has gone astray,
You cannot compose a song serene!
Yours is like picking up
The remains of other's meals.

However, the village youth sticks to his theme :

Dark like a cloud
Your fanciful *sari*
You have thrown over your shoulders!
It is by the grace of God, my love,
That we meet today.

Then she surrenders, so to speak, and sings of the *Champa* flower as the symbol of love :

At a full day's distance on foot
Is the village of Maidalpur from here,
O buy me some molasses, my love,
Offer me also a home-spun kerchief,
A *champa* flower
That will remain fresh throughout the year.

This brings a further note of joy in the boy's song:

Breakable is the dry *Sal* leaf,
Not so the *Bodal* leaf.
Both your cheeks, my love,
Are beautifully tattoed.
O sing me dear, dear songs.

And she sings symbolically, comparing herself to a doe:

The weekly *Hat* market
Got late by one week.
And our meeting is late
By full one month.
Lo! the running doe is caught
Even in a snare
Of weak paddy straw rope.

The boy sings more lovingly:

I love you, sweet darling,
Be my life companion,
In the *Madhuban*, the forest of love,
I have long been searching for you.

Readily she returns:

Heavily it rained this year,
And a boisterous flood followed.
Come away with me, you say,
But I cannot, my youthful boy,
My home is far away!

Now the boy assures her of a new home:

Unploughed for long eighty years
Lies yon field, my love,
The shade is sweet
Under the plantain grove.
Like a hard worker
I'll labour and feed you,
But you won't yield, my love!

She too reveals her innermost heart:

I digged deep and made a tank,
I also planted a garden.
Sweet and clear and dear
The water of my tank here!
But away from me my darling
Who should drink this water?

Then the boy's song describes his desire for marriage:

The Cobra crept along the *Salpi* tree!
With a jar of liquor on my head
I approached your father,
Alas! he refused to give me your hand.

This long contest ends with the girl's song that wins the day:

Heavily blows the wind,
Everywhere the sky seems cloudy.
Here is a Cobra, my love,
From the grip of a she-Cobra like me,
How will he come out victorious ?

Often the *Chait-Parab* song makes direct references to everyday village life, and it at once becomes of great picture-value. You cau actually see the workers in the fields:

We, the labourers, have come—
And in a row we stand.
Come on, singer dear,
Say "yes" and sing your song.

The song of the widow has a great sadness about it:

Alas! there is nothing to be cooked
In the widow's house.
Like a servant, she works hard
To fill her belly which is of a hand's breadth.
Whatever she gets, be it half-cooked or rotten
She jumps to eat and starves!

Another song shows the contrast between the life of the Bhatra peasants and the Mahras:

Poor Bhatras live upon
The fruits of *Sal* and *Siume*—
The Mahras are happier.
As long as the Kawri* is on your shoulders
You cannot die of hunger, my love.

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* *Kawri* is a bamboo pole from which baskets hang on both sides. It is carried on the shoulders.

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Having studied the *Rilo* and *Chait-Parab*, I came to the *Leja* song. In Kokhapal, Bilchur, and Dharampur—the surrounding villages of Jagdalpur—I found out many specimens of the Leja song. It had more than two varieties and enjoyed the goodwill of the Mirgans, the Mahras, and the Ghasis.

"Why do they call it *Leja*," I enquired from Pooran Singh with a depth of feeling. "It is not very easy to trace the significance of the name" he remarked, "but *Leja* is the same as the Hindi *le ja* (lit. take it)." Perhaps this song was originally sung by the village folks giving a send-off to some dear one, I thought. Everyone who joined in the chorus said to the departing person, "Take these good wishes and love of ours along with you." And as time passed, there remained only *Leja* (take it) as a relic of the original wish. And to my joy, Pooran Singh came half-way and approved of my idea.

The Mahras repeat *Leja* thrice or more at the beginning of every song, while the Mirgans prefer to close with *Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja* ! In the village of Kokhapal, a young Mahra boy sang to me a Leja of unusual length. It was composed of a long fragment, meant for a rythmic recital in the beginning, and the usual short piece in the end. And it described love for Koeli, some bright-eyed village girl:

"Hurriedly come to me, my Koeli,
Give me a sweet embrace.
The *Mandia* corn I have is good
And smoothly runs the millstone.
My name is Haria.
O how I wish to live with Koeli,
You look like a sugarcane !
Search for you I must.
Leja, Leja, Leja,
It is not merely a *Leja* song,
It brings the actual news from Benta Bheja village.

There was a note of advice from the Leja singer to the village flirt:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
The road is full of sharp bends;
Don't you walk
Over the clods, my girl,
You'll fall down.

And a bashful girl's lover had his own Leja:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the *Amarbel* creeper.
O what makes you hide and be busy inside ?
Just come out and play with me.

Another Leja compared the sweetheart's face to the slender new moon:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
The new moon has risen.
Even if you are as big as a mountain
I cannot be satisfied
If I look at you for a short while.

Here Pooran Singh disagreed with "Don't you connect the new-moon of the first line with the later portion", he said, "in the *Leja* song there is very seldom an affinity between the first line and the later portion, its significance is only limited to its last word, for according to the original verse scheme, it rhymes with the ending word of the song. The moon in the present song appears only by accident. Don't you think that the face of the beloved is compared to it. At the most you may make the first line a simple description taking into consideration that in the later portion the singer shows his urge for a full and long view of his beloved's face. So my full view cannot go for your interpretation." But to me the first line of the *Leja* song appears to be like the meditative brow of a person suggestive and serene. "If the *Leja* song is a snapshot," I argued, "the first line must be taken as a close background, enhancing the form and texture of the song." And it was after a long discussion with Pooran Singh and some other scholars of Halbi that I won the votes of confidence for my view.

Coming a step nearer the *Leja* song, I got a considerable number of specimens. The word of a summer song ran rapidly:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the *Anvari* and *Jam* trees
That stand together.
Wear your shady hat
Made of bamboo and leaf, my prince,
The sun burns your face !

Then followed a rain song:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
It rained in showers.
My song went along with it
And it ended not all night long.

Even a harvest song was near at hand:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Behold the leaves of the *Anvari* and the plantain
Behold also the plants of the *Goidi Lakro* paddy
Bent down with grain in the sloping field.

The grievance of a village dandy had its own note:

The house with its roof supported
By nine pillars and eight beams
Belongs to your father, my dear girl.
And I have been a servant with him
Since my tender days.
Alas ! no sign of success so far
In winning your hand.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

And the wife of a morose husband appears with her deep grief:

On yon berry tree
Speaks the bird *Gundlu.*
With a thorny stick

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He beats me, sister.
My leg below the knee is badly swollen.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

Then there came satires. The false show of a marriage in the village found a good spokesman in the *Leja* singer:

Turbud, turbud, beats the *tudbudi*
And the *Nisan* drum, too, beats apace.
But look at the marriage-feast,
Everyone is served on leaves
With the poor curry made of *pipal* sprouts,
And that, too, in small quantity.
But big leaf-cups full of rice gruel
Are served all right,
For it does not cost much.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The next hit was on a loose woman:

A Koel here and the other one
Cooing on the yonder side of the river.
For God's sake leave me now.
Disaster you have brought on all sides,
You husband-eater widow!
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The *Leja* singer caught sight of the old flirt, too:

Bamboos I brought
And made a bundle.
O mother of five children,
You are getting your second youth.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

And he denounced her poverty:

Your face is like a *Sal* leaf!
Combing and braiding your hair
You have coiled your pigtail at the back,
But your ears are unadorned.
Leja, Leja, Leja, Re Leja.

The peasant under debt had his own satire on life:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
Dying of labour I raise the harvest.
How terrible to pay the *Dedha* corn †
To the Saukar, the village money-lender.

In the end I got a contemporary satire on the police:

Leja, Leja, Leja,
I will prepare a pickle
And if it goes wrong
I'll report it to the police.

Apart from the *Rilo*, the *Chait-Parab*, and the *Leja*, some minor types of Halbi songs may be mentioned as well. The *Chherta* is the song of the boys' festival of the same name. Celebrated every year in *Pus*, it goes on for three days ending as a rule on full-moon day. The leader of the party, playing the role of *Nakta*, a noseless fellow, and making a peculiar hollow sound from a hollow gourd, goes about with his friends from door to door, singing, dancing, and collecting paddy or money for a dinner. Run separately by the girls the *Tara* song is the Left-Wing of the *Chherta;* the role of *Nakta* has long been censured by them and when they go from door to door at night they carry an earthen lamp in a basket. Addressing the housewife at every door, they join in chorus:

Behold yon star in the sky!
O we'll make a move
Towards our huts
If you are miserly
Even about a handful of rice.
Behold the broken axe!
Welcome us with your door, wide open,
No matter, if you give us rice or not.
Behold the four-cornered leaf-cup!
The girls so fond of parched rice
Go about from street to street.
Behold the weak straw rope!
In this month of *Pus* we meet
And the next month of *Magh*
Will find us separated.

Another noteworthy type is *Dhankul.* It is a religious song and is sung by men and women, assembled separately, to invoke a goddess.

The Halbi folk-song is, moreover, a living institution, giving birth to contemporary songs. One of the modern songs I got from Bhikari, the sunburnt peasant of Bilchur. It is a remarkable specimen, impregnated with symbolical poetry:

In a meadow beyond the teak trees,
My Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
Behold the grazing spotted deer.
Holding the *Chakmaki* rifle in his hands
The hunter goes on and on
To raise the rifle stand.
The rifle stand, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
Whether he aims correctly or misses
The fearsome sound, the dangerous sound
Must come out of his *Chakmaki* rifle.
The fearsome sound, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower.
Outwardly he is sweet, and good and dear,
Within he shakes our self-pride!
Shakes the self-pride, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
The kingdom of *Firangi* has reached here*
And his thorns prick even those
Who walk with every care.
The thorns prick, my Rosona flower, dear Rosona flower,
Behold he throws away the small fish
And catches the bigger one.
Catches the bigger fish, my Rosona flower.
Every day he forces us for *Begar*‡
Every day my heart trembles, my life sinks!

Bhikari's song was an indication of growing self-consciousness in the voice of the people. There must be more songs like this, I thought.

† The corn taken as seed from the shopkeeper is often paid back with heavy interest—1½ times—at the harvest. This is called *Dedha.*

*The Britisher.
‡Forced labour, taken without pay from the villager.

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And there must be many more Bhikaris to sing them. They would not let the Halbi song go into oblivion. They would rather bring new currents to the song of the soil.

Once again, on my way, back to Jagdalpur from the Maria villages, I visited Kokhapal and Bilchur and collected some more Halbi songs. Then it was high time for me to leave for Raipur. "You mustn't forget me," Pooran Singh said, remembering the days we spent together. A when I told him that his name would rem fresh in my memory as long as the Halbi son lasted, he felt delighted.

The home of Halbi songs, Bastar State, now far away, but in the world of remembran Halbi songs are ever with me, never at a gre distance. And when I look back into m memory, I find them coming nearer and neare

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SYSTEM OF WORKING OF THE GHEE SOCIETY

By ABANI NATH SANYAL
Inspector of Co-operative Societies, Etawah

Ghee is one of the most important article of food in Indian dietary and it is consumed in large quantities on account of its suitability for cooking. It is generally prepared in U. P. by curding milk, churning the curd and then heating the butter-fat thus obtained in an earthen or metal vessel on an open fire, and finally cooling and straining it after the removal of water by decantation.

Ghee-making is an important supplementary industry to agriculture and is essentially a cottage vocation. Its organisation on sound lines is bound to improve the economic position of the agriculturists in substantial measure. In the western districts of U. P. ghee-making, as cottage vocation is of such importance that ghee merchants of Calcutta and Rangoon find it necessary to open branches or keep special representatives in some of the important ghee centres to ensure a regular and sufficient supply of the article and we find a "Ghee chain" (if the expression may be used) stretching from Meerut right up to Cawnpore with important centres at Khurja, Chandausi, Hathras, Aligarh, Shikohabad, Sirsaganj, Etawah, Bharthana and Auraiya with offshoots in Gwalior State and adjoining districts. The importance of ghee trade of this tract can be judged from the fact that Etawah alone sends out something like 40,000 mds. of ghee annually from its *mandi* and a substantial portion of this go to Calcutta and Rangoon markets.

The Ghee Society is an attempt to organise this village industry on a co-operative basis, so that the producers may derive the maximum of profit out of this business. Though in experimental stage, it is pregnant with i mense possibilities for the benefit not o of the producers, but of the consumers as w and would have far-reaching effects in am liorating the condition of the agricultur who form the backbone of this country. F the first time organisation of Ghee Society w taken up in 1929 and the first society was reg tered on 8th October 1929 at Chaubankapu in Tahsil Bah District, Agra. Upto 30 June 1935, the organisation of the G Society was confined to Bah Tahsil where th are 66 societies and occupies the whole of Tahsil bordering Etawah District. It has n been extended to Etawah District where th are now 45 societies and has tapped the m important ghee producing tract.

Membership of Societies

Years.	No. of societies.	No of members.	Quantity contracted maunds
1929-30	1	16	25
1930-31	11	200	216
1931-32	19	310	417
1932-33	23	516	550
1933-34	29	660	800
1934-35	36	977	1182
1935-36	47	1397	1362
1936-37	111	3600	2800

The nature of business of Ghee Soci is such and the conveyances used (bull carts or horses) are so slow that it is alw convenient to have the Societies within a ra of 10 miles of the centre to be created.

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Nature of Business

The nature of business of the societies is collection and joint sale. For this purpose, a *Co-operative Ghee Union* is created to which all the Ghee Societies are affiliated and which works as an agent for the societies for collection and joint sale. The ghee is brought from all the societies to the union office in their canister either in carts (bullock) or pack horses and the ghee from each society is weighed and entered into the account books of the ghee union. If the sale of ghee is to be effected in Etawah ghee *mandi*, then it is graded. If orders from consumers are in hand then the ghee is heated and cleaned by decantation and tested and then tinned which are also sealed. When a large number of tins are ready, they are sent in bullock carts to the Railway station and despatched to the buyers.

Constitution, Membership and Committee

The society is organised on the basis of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules, more than ten owners of milch cattle (preferably buffaloes) join to form a society which is registered under "Co-operative Societies Act II of 1912". There is no share system, but every person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects their own panchayets (the Executive Committee) from amongst its members consisting of 3 or 5 members—one of whom is elected the Sarpanch (President or Chairman) and another is elected a Khanzanchi (Treasurer). A Secretary is also elected from amongst the members by the Panchayet (Executive Committee) whose duty is to maintain all the accounts of the society. The panchayet manages the internal affairs of the society and are responsible for the maintenance of proper accounts. The committee is removable by the votes of the members in a general meeting and it has also power to fill up vacancies falling within the year. The Committee is elected every year in the Annual general meeting of the society and the retiring members are eligible for re-election.

The membership of the society is confined to one village. Any adult possessing milch cattle and residing in the village and confirming to the rules and regulation of the society can become a member without any restriction for castes and creeds and it would not be out of place to mention that members enlisted from depressed classes (such as Chamars etc.) are the best re-payers of ghee.

Staff, Premises

The societies have no paid staff. The Sarpanches and Treasurers are honorary workers. The member secretaries are also honorary workers but they may be paid some small honorariums. The members of the panchayet who do the work of weighmen of their societies throughout the year are also given small honorariums and it has been generally found that the sarpanches of the societies take up the work of weighmen of the society. They are also the most active persons to bring round the villagers to enter into contracts with their societies.

The individual ghee society is affiliated to the Co-operative Ghee Union and it is this ghee union that has to employ staff for handling the ghee contracted by the members of the societies. The premises of the ghee union is generally stationed at a central place within easy reach where the ghee is assembled and treated. It has godown for storage of the ghee received from the societies and other stocks of the union. The premises have got stables for keeping the pack horses and the bullocks and a pucca oven for the purpose of heating the ghee. Ghee union gets the services of supervisors of the Co-operative Department. (The Ghee work in this district received Rs. 6,000 from Government of India for pay of staff last year.) But it has to employ several permanent hands throughout the year and a few temporary hands during the busy season from November to March. In order to manage the works of the societies, the Ghee Union maintains pack horses and bullock carts with bullocks. The expenses are met out of contribution from the societies as the union is not a financing agency and it has no funds of its own. The contribution is charged at so much per maund of ghee contracted by the societies (with their members).

All these duties are performed by the Ghee Union, but the preliminary work of entering into ghee contracts with the members is done by the society itself. Ghee is weighed out every fortnight and weighing days have been fixed for each society. On that date the weighman of the Ghee Union goes to the society with his tin containers and pack-horses of the cart. The ghee is weighed out by each member and put into the containers and after the weighing out by each member has been finished, the whole quantity is weighed again, put on the cart or pack horse and taken to the Ghee Union godown. In this way the ghee from each society is assembled. Then comes the

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question of treatment of the ghee thus assembled. If the ghee is sent to Etawah mandi for sale, *Kachcha* (that is untreated and raw) ghee is sent to the market for which no other treatment is given except that of mixing up the graded Ghee to make it uniform. It may be mentioned here that grading does not pay in Etawah mandi as no consideration is given to higher grade of ghee. In case the ghee is meant for supply direct to private persons or small merchants, for supply to consumers, the ghee is heated in big open iron pans directly over fire, and then put into the decanter where it is allowed to cool down when the water and other impurities settle down in the bottom. The clean ghee is taken out through the stop cock at the side of the decanter and the impurties through the stop cock at the bottom. The ghee is tinned directly from the decanter which are then weighed and made into uniform weight and then sealed. They are then ready for despatch to the various buyers from different places. The ghee is sent to the railway station in the bullock cart belonging to the Union.

Marketing and Price Fixing Arrangement

As has already been said above *kachcha* (raw) ghee is sent to Etawah mandi and the ghee sale there has to confirm to the rules of the mandi. The ghee is sent to the Arhatia (Commission agent) of the Union in the mandi. The ghee merchants of Etawah or the agents of ghee merchants of other places generally buy up the ghee. They visit all the shops of the Arahatias in the mandi and buy the commodity according to their requirements and fix the prices on the basis of Calcutta quotations which are obtained daily. After the ghee has been bought by the merchant, it is sent to his godown and from there the sample from each tin is sent to the Ghee Testing Laboratory where it is thoroughly tested and it is finally purchased if it passes the test. The ghee is then weighed in the godown of the merchant and after making various deductions for expenses, concessions, etc., the price of the ghee is paid to the Ghee Union through the Arahatia. The various expenses in Etawah mandi comes to about Rs. 2 per maund of ghee sold.

As for the prices fixed for supplying ghee direct to the consumers, the rates are same as that of Etawah mandi for equal weights plus Re. 1 to meet the cost of heating and classifying it (making free from all impurities, water, etc.) A small cartage is charged for transportation to the Railway station.

Extent Dealing with Non-members and Members

There is no dealing in the matter of contract with the non-members. As there are no consumers' society, the dealings have to be maintained with non-members for ghee sales.

Finances and Financial Results

The Co-operative Ghee Union is not a financing agency. The societies are financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the District. The money is advanced to societies on pronotes at an interest of 10 to 12 per cent per annum. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The societies in their turn finances their own members. With money taken from the Co-operative Bank, the societies enter into contract with their members for a fixed quantity of ghee supply generally from one to two maunds per buffalo and the rate is fixed @ Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund of 50 seers less than the Etawah rate. It is instructive to note that the *beoparis* (small ghee merchants) contract @ Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less than the Etawah rates. Again unlike the *beoparis* the contract money is given in lump sum and not in driblets which is seldom of any real use to the indigent kisan. There is no jont liability and the personal liability is limited to Rs. 50 only for outside debts. Sureties are taken to safeguard the money advanced.

No interest is charged for the advances to the members. The difference of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per maund between the market rate and the rate at which the societies contract with their members covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of reserve and other funds and if after all this there is any saving, a small amount of "patronage refund" is given to members as an encouragement if they have honoured their contracts in its entirety. The financial results of the working of the societies may be put down in the following chart.

Year.	No. of societies.	Quantity of ghee contracted in maunds.	Amount advanced for contracts.	Profit
1930-31	11	216	14692	172
1931-32	19	417	16524	2213
1932-33	23	550	23460	243
1933-34	29	800	28025	6514
1934-35	36	1182	34656	3970
1935-36	47	1362	49676	
1936-37	111	Figures not yet ready		

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Advantages to Producers

The advantages to the producers on account of which the Ghee Societies are a success in contrast to the ways of the *beoparies* (small ghee merchants) may be summed up as follows :

(1) All the members are accorded square dealing and equal treatment in the matter of Ghee contracts, irrespective of caste or creed as is never done by the Beoparies.

(2) Its democratic management. All have got one vote each. The elected panchayets manage the affairs of the societies and every member can have his say in the affairs of his society.

(3) Payment of contract and feed money in lump sums and in cash which enable the kisans to meet their obligations.

(4) "Patronage Refund" for the full delivery of the Ghee contracted. It is one of the most important factors for success.

(5) Reasonable rates of contract and correct weighments.

(6) All transactions are made in the villages itself of the members and none have to go out to other villages.

Advantages to Consumers

1. Heated and clarified ghee (i.e., free from water and other impurities) is supplied to the consumers.

2. Unadulterated and pure ghee of high quality at reasonable rates is supplied in properly soldered tins direct from the Ghee Union office thus eliminating all middlemen profits.

Business Aspect—Profit and Loss

The result of the working of the Ghee Societies during the last six years has conclusively shown that there cannot be any financial loss if they are worked with a little care and if there is no mismanagement or theft. In the year 1932-33, there had been an abnormal drop in ghee prices and even then the net profit was Rs. 243. With a little more caution in the matter of ghee contracts, it can be made a safe business for the kisan. The advent of the Ghee Societies in Bah and in Etawah has given an invisible profit to the cultivators in the shape of higher contract rates which are now being offered even by the Beoparies (ghee merchants) in order to compete with the societies which generally offer better rates for ghee contracts. In 1929 the difference between the rates of ghee contracts offered by the Beoparies used to be Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 less than the Etawah mandi rates. Since then the difference has come down to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per Bengal maund of ghee contracted.

Then there is the "Patronage Refund" for the members which is an extra income for them which previously used to go to the pockets of the Beoparies. Except for the year 1932-33 the societies had been steadily giving "Patronage refund" to their members at the rate of Rs. 2 to Rs. 5 per md. of ghee repayment which works upto 5 to 12 p.c. rebate when the rate of contract was Rs. 40 per md. (Bengal).

Other Works Done by the Ghee Societies

The first work that was taken up by the Ghee Union was the supply of feeds to the milch cattle. Besides paying them in cash, cotton seed and oil cake were supplied to the members for the feeds of their milch cattle. Arrangements have also been done in taking a census of milch cattle yielding milk seven seers or more per day with a view to introduce cattle breeding by selection and elimination of poor milk yielders. Introduction of better breeds of buffaloes has also been taken up and some buffaloes of Dholpur Breed have been obtained and given to best members. They have been kept under observation and if they prove suitable for the tract, more would be obtained and given to the members.

The Ghee Union also maintains buffalo bulls of better breed for breeding purpose. It may be mentioned here that a former Murrah-buffalo bull did not serve the buffaloes of this tract well and it seems that Murrah-buffaloe bulls are not very suitable for the she-buffaloes of the local breed.

Other Works Proposed to be Taken Up by the Ghee Union

It has been proposed that the following works should be taken up by the Ghee Union:

1. Introduction of silage and (2) arrangements for veterinary assistance. For the latter proper authorities have already been moved. It would not be out of place to mention that establishment of a Veterinary hospital or the services of a Veterinary Assistant cannot be secured without financial aid either from the Government or from the District Board.

Description of the Working of a Ghee Society

The system of working of the Ghee societies is simple. The society is organised on the system of "one village, one society." According to the usual rules more than 10 members who keep milch cattle (mostly buffaloes here) join to form a society. There is no share system, but any person joining the society has to pay an entrance fee of rupee one. The society elects its own panchayet (the Executive Com-

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mittee) from amongst its members which manages the affairs of the society with the help of the Supervisor in charge. As soon as a member's milch cattle calves, the society enters into contract with the member for a fixed quantity of ghee supply, generally from 1 to 2 maunds per buffalo. The rate is fixed at Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 per 50 srs. maund less than the Etawah market rate, in contract to Rs. 15 to Rs. 25 per maund less given by the Beoparis (small ghee marchants of the villages). The margin (of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12) covers the interest charges on the money laid out, the management expenses and the creation of Reserve and other funds. A small patronage refund is also given to the members, if there is a saving after meeting all the obligations of the society. The whole of the contract money is paid to the member in a lump sum which is very much appreciated by them as the Beoparis pay them in driblets or in kind much to the loss of the members. The society is financed by the Central Co-operative Bank of the locality of which the societies purchase one share each to confirm to their rules. The money is borrowed by the societies from the Bank by the execution of the usual co-operative societies pro-note like that of the credit societies and pay an interest of 10 to 12% p.a. Sometimes societies have raised small deposits for capital. The members on their part execute an agreement in favour of the society for payment of ghee after they have received the contract money. In this agreement mention is made of particulars of the contract as to the quantity and rate of ghee and the amount of money paid, and penalty for non-delivery or adulteration of ghee. The milch cattle, the ghee yield of which is contracted, is hypothecated with this society and the agreement gives full description and particulars of the animal in questions. There is no joint liability for the members for outside debts of the society and the personal liability of the individual is limited to Rs. 50 only for such debts. Sureties are taken in these contracts. The members go on weighing out ghee for the whole of the milking period of the milch cattle but the contract period is generally limited to a period of one year. There is no time limit for contracts and it goes on all the year round though the greater portion of the contracts are entered into between the months of August and January. The rate of contract varies with the day-to-day rate in Etawah market. Sometimes the indigent members have not enough to feed their milch cattle and the society accommodates them with small loans for feed money, limited to Rs. 8 to Rs. 10 per maund of gh contract. On this interest at the rate of 15 p cent. per annum is charged. At the time next contract this loan together with the intere is deducted from the contract money and th remainder paid. Contrast this with the metho of the Beoparis who pay in kind charging an rate they like for the article supplied. If an member fails to deliver the whole quantity ghee contracted, Sawai of ghee (*i.e.*, 25 p more) is charged and is added to the dema and remains unaffected by the changes in th market rates whereas the Beoparis sometim charge Sawai of the price then prevailing a sometimes the actual price of ghee at the cess tion of weighing plus 24 per cent. intere whichever suits them best and which va according to the market rates.

Besides the Central Co-operative Ban which acts as the financing agency, the societi have federated themselves into a *Centr Co-operative Ghee Union* to which they co tribute a small amount per maund of gh contract. The chief functions of this uni are to arrange for collection and sale of the gh of the societies and to consolidate and uni their working. This contribution from societi goes towards defraying the expenses of the sta employed by the union for collecting ghee fro the societies and for blending, grading, heating clarifying and transporting the same.

The actual working of these societies ha also the merit of being very simple. The gh is weighed out every fortnight by a member the panchayet, usually the Sarpanch, and the are fixed dates for each society. The memb gather, bringing their ghee with them, in th chaupal (sitting room) of the Sarpanch of th society with the weighman of the Centr Co-operative Union in attendance with his t containers and pack horse or cart. The weig ing is a full-dress affair. One of the membe of the Panchayet, usually the Sarpanc weighs out the ghee of each member an puts it in the tin containers brought from th union, and the ghee account of the members a made up then and there and verified by o questioning, and entered in his pass book. T weighman and members keep an eye on t balance and the panchayet is not neglecti of its duty of seeing that correct measure given and that the ghee is of proper standa and is not adulterated. If it is of very lo standard or adulterated, it is rejected. If is not up to the standard it is heated an decanted and clean ghee taken. The co-oper tive influence coupled with the panchayet

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watchfulness is responsible for the surprising fact that in all these years there had been no instance of adulteration with any foreign matter (such as margarine or lard). There were one or two instances of adulteration with milk or whey but deterrent punishment put a stop to all that. When all the ghee has thus been weighed it is handed over to the weighman of the union who weighs it again and signs the proceeding of the society by way of giving receipt. The weighman then takes it to the godown of the union where it is weighed over again and a receipt given to the society duly signed by the supervisor who is also the honorary secretary of the Ghee Union. All the ghee thus gathered in the union godown is graded as soon as sufficient quantity is collected and despatched to Etawah mandi (as kachcha ghee) in the Union's own bullock carts. If it is to be sold to the consumers direct, or to such small traders as deal directly with the consumers, it is heated, clarified, tinned and sealed before being despatched. This is also transported in Union's bullock cart to Railway station. Hired carts are very seldom used.

At the end of the year, the balance sheet for each society is drawn up. If there is profit, it is divided according to the byelaws: $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total profits goes to the Reserve Fund, $\frac{1}{4}$ of the remainder to the Bad Debt Fund and $\frac{3}{4}$ of the remainder to "Patronage refund" and the remaining as honorarium to those members who have worked for the society, to member Secretaries and towards the creation of other funds, such as charity fund, village improvement fund, cattle improvement fund, etc.

The byelaws provide for the creation of the post of member secretaries for each society to maintain its accounts but it has not worked well as the accounts of the ghee societies are fairly complicated and the number of transactions fairly large for a member secretary to manage. Necessity for appointment of separate accountants for the societies was felt more and more and now the Ghee Union appoints the accountants for the societies.

A glance of the profits made by the societies, their membership and the quantity of ghee contracted mentioned under the head, Finances and Financial results, clearly reveals that the societies are quite successful. So far only three societies are unsuccessful, and it was due to the opposition of the more influential Beoparies of the locality as well as due to indifference of the members who were afterwards found to be small ghee dealers or those who sell their ghee for cash. Success of the ghee societies can also be gauged from the fact that more and more villages are approaching the authorities to open new societies.

Summary and Observation

The working of the Ghee Societies clearly prove that the production and sale of ghee can be modernised and established as a cottage industry and is a practical scheme. There is enough scope of expansion and the work of the ghee societies should be pursued to obtain tangible results. Though these societies cannot claim to have achieved much, they have paved the way to greater expansion and has already shown that it can add a few more rupees to the meagre income of the kisan.

There is so much yet to be done. Take the example of ghee heating. The present system of heating is unscientific, a little inattention and it spoils the flavour and affects the vitamins and it is time that some research workers were to evolve a system of scientific heating to keep the flavour and the vitamins of the ghee intact.

Another work that has to be done is to evolve a system of working these societies which will enable them to reach the ghee direct to the consumers.

Side by side with the Co-operative Ghee Societies, the work of milk testing combined with cattle breeding to improve not only the milk yield but also the breed of cattle can be taken up. Experiments about tinning require attention.

In order to protect the ghee industry, it is urgently necessary that some law should be passed to prevent adulteration. The verdict of the Legislature of the country is against the stoppage of import of margarine or fish oil, but it can at least pass a law making it incumbent for all imports of fish oil and other adulterants of ghee to be coloured with a different colour from that of ghee.

It may also be mentioned here that the ghee societies should be organised far away from large cities in order to make them a success and this would give the distant village folks an occupation and a source of income.

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INDIAN NAVY

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

It is surprising that public opinion in India has hitherto not paid adequate attention to an important frontier of the country, namely, the sea frontier and those responsible for the defence policy of the country have been so absorbed in the question of the North-Western Frontier that they have tended to neglect a vital sphere of national defence, namely, naval defence. India has a long coastline of over 4,000 miles and while it is bounded by land frontiers, it is almost entirely dependent on sea-communications for its external trade. India has been and can be invaded from the sea so that the control of maritime power is fundamental in any scheme of national defence. Nevertheless, few persons are perhaps aware of the existence of a Royal Indian Navy which is an annual charge on the Indian Budget and which was converted, or rather reconverted, into a Navy from a Royal Indian Marine only four years ago.

India has had a long and proud record of maritime activities from ancient times. Over two thousand years ago, Emperor Chandra Gupta, for example, had an elaborate organisation of the Naval Department and the Admiralty. During medieval times, the Indian Naval Force was highly developed and well-organised under the Moguls and especially under Akbar, while the growth of the Maharatta power was accompanied by the formation of a formidable Naval Fleet which received a great impetus under Shivaji, in whose time Kanohji Angria became the Admiral of the Fleet, when the Maharatta naval power reached its high water-mark.

The sea-fighting service existing in India at present dates back to the earliest days of the East India Company which established a Marine in 1612 for the protection of the Company's trading ships and its factory at Surat. Since then, with different titles and under varying conditions, there has always been a Sea Service under the British Government in India for three hundred and twenty-five years. From 1830 to 1863, it was, in fact, called the "Indian Navy" and from 1892, it enjoyed the description of the "Royal Indian Marine" upto 1934. From 1612 to 1863, *i.e.*, for 250 years of its history, the Service was a combatant force but since 1863, it was a non-combatant Service until 1934. Its main functions have been the defe of Indian seas, coasts and harbours, but it also liable for service elsewhere as part of Naval Forces of the British Empire. It interesting to recall in tracing the history of Service that many of the ships belonging only to the Indian Fleet but to the British Na were built in the dockyard in Bombay. It recorded that in 1802, the British Admira ordered men-of-war for the King's Navy to constructed at Bombay. They intended to h sent out a European builder but the merits Jamshedji being made known to their Lordsh they ordered him to continue as the mas builder. Capt. Sir Edward Headlam, the Director of the R. I. M., stated in an article the London *Times* in 1931 :

> "The success of the shipbuilding was due to the covery of the value of teak as a substitute for oak to the skill of the Wadia family as constructors who over a century, were in charge of the building of naval other vessels in the Government Dockyard."

The India-built ships were superior to tho built elsewhere not only in point of durabil but also of cheapness and Bombay became "t grand naval arsenal" while Calcutta was t centre of merchant shipbuilding. In all, War vessels and 144 Merchant of Governm vessels were built in the Government Dockya at Bombay, one of which, the "Ganges," afte wards served as the flagship of Sir Edw Codrington at the battle of Navarino. A Fren traveller, Baltazar Solvyns, writing in 1811, p a warm tribute to Indian shipbuilding:

> "In ancient times, the Indians excelled in the ar constructing vessels, and the present Hindu can in respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that English, attentive to everything which relates to na architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many impr ments which they have adopted with success to their shipping.....The Indian vessels unite elegance and uti and are models of patience and fine workmanship."

The question of reorganising the Roy Indian Marine as a combatant force was un the consideration of the British Admiralty ev since the last War. In 1919, the British Gover ment appointed two Committees, one un Lord Esher for the reorganisation of the Ar and the other under Lord Jellicoe for the organisation of the Navy. The Jellicoe Co mittee held that the Imperial Navy should

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established only as a unit of the British Navy to whose cost India would make a contribution. But while Lord Esher's Report was placed before the Legislative Assembly which passed a series of Resolutions about it, the Jellicoe Report was never placed before the Assembly. In accordance with the Report of the Rawlinson Committee, however, the Viceroy announced in February, 1926, that the Government had decided with the concurrence of the Secretary of State and the Admiralty that a Royal Indian Navy should be established. Accordingly, in 1927, a Bill was passed in Parliament amending Section 66 of the old Government of India Act, which made provision for the bringing into existence of the Royal Indian Navy. This amending Act provided, among other things, that the Indian Legislature would have power to apply, with necessary modifications, the British Naval Discipline Act to the proposed Indian Navy. Consequential legislation was, therefore, necessary in the Indian Legislature to apply the Naval Discipline Act to the Indian Navy and a Bill was introduced in the Legislative Assembly in February, 1928. It was, however, opposed by the non-official members and was rejected by one vote. But the same Bill was re-introduced in the Assembly in 1934, when it was passed as the Congress had not re-entered the Legislature.

In his last Budget speech, the Finance Member of the Government of India made an important announcement regarding the agreement concluded by the Government of India with the British Government on the subject of Naval Expenditure and Naval Defence of India. Under long-standing arrangements, India pays a direct contribution of £100,000 a year to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom towards the Naval Defence of India and the protection of trade in alien waters and also defrays various miscellaneous charges amounting to Rs. 2 or 3 lakhs a year on behalf of the vessels of the Royal Navy. In view of the conversion of the Indian Navy into a combatant service and the measures proposed to be taken by the Government of India to build up their local Naval Defence, the question of development of the Indian Navy had been under the consideration of the Government of India in conjunction with the Admiralty. The agreement which Sir James Grigg announced and which was subsequently confirmed in a *communique* issued by the India Office in London stated that the British Government would forego the annual payment hitherto made on condition that the Government of India maintain a seagoing fleet of not less than six modern escort vessels which will be free to co-operate with the Royal Navy for the Defence of India and in addition fulfil their responsibility for local Naval Defence of Indian ports. The announcement evoked widespread interest as well as considerable criticism because it was presented as a *fait accompli* to the Legislature and the public and did not disclose what these escort vessels would cost in capital and running expenditure and whether such vessels would be the maximum required for the Defence of India. In other words, the agreement did not make clear the full implications of the arrangement, including the present and future liabilities of the Indian Exchequer in this respect. The public are not aware of the reasons for the termination of the arrangements prevailing until April last nor of the terms and conditions on which the arrangements have been revised. Unless naval expenditure is votable by the Indian Legislature, no revision of the long-standing arrangements with His Majesty's Government involving increased charges on the Indian revenues would be acceptable to the public in this country.

But the emergence of new forces in the oceans which are the principal trade routes of the British Commonwealth has altered the entire balance of sea-power. Imperial naval policy now demands the creation of an ancillary combatant force as an adjunct to the British Navy in Indian waters. When the Bill on this subject came up before Parliament in 1927, Mr. Lansbury suggested that the British Government desired to create an Indian Navy for the purpose of the defence of the Pacific while another Labour member, Mr. Barker, stated that the Government should honestly tell the House that "they are creating this Navy to supplement the Base at Singapore." He added:

> "It is an insult to the Indian people to say that we are creating this Navy for the purpose of giving prestige to India. It is sheer humbug and the Government know it very well."

The Indian Navy, as constituted at present, consists of 5 sloops, 1 survey ship, 1 depot ship, 1 patrol vessel as well as a target towing trawler and a number of small vessels, tugs, etc., employed in harbour service. The functions of the Navy in peace time are to train personnel for service at sea in War, to organise the Naval Defence of Indian coasts and harbours for the protection of trade in Indian waters in time of War, to carry on marine survey work in Indian waters and to carry on sea transport work for the Government of India in respect of conveyance of troops, stores, etc. The Indian Navy maintains a Dockyard at Bombay to deal with all work in

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connection with the repair, maintenance and refit of vessels. The nett annual expenditure on the Indian Navy amounts to about Rs. 60 lakhs which is increased to about Rs. 73 lakhs in the Budget estimate of 1938-39.

What are the principal tests to be applied to any scheme of an Indian Navy? They are, broadly speaking, three: who will bear the cost of the Navy; who will officer it; and who will control it? To take the question of cost first. It is well-known that the Defence Budget of the Central Government has always been the subject of public criticism on the ground that it is a heavy burden for a poor country like India. On the other hand, there has been a feeling of late, especially in view of the present international situation, that the Defence of India on Land, Sea and Air should be adequate to protect the country in case of an outbreak of war. It has been suggested that the Defence expenditure might be redistributed so as to concentrate more on the development of Sea and Air Defences. Pandit Kunzru suggested in the Council of State last March that

"the Indian Navy should be equipped with cheaper types of vessels like the surface torpedo craft and the submarine, on which increasing reliance is being placed even by first class powers. For, the need of strengthening the Naval Defences of India has been recognised by the Government."

The question of Defence expenditure is, however, closely inter-linked with the question of control and manning of the forces as also with the question of direction of the foreign policy of the country. Once the question of control is solved satisfactorily and the national feelings of the youth of the country elicited for national service, the question of cost, although undoubtedly important, would not be an insuperable difficulty in building up an efficient Indian Navy. The question of control is, therefore, fundamental. This was one of the grounds on which the Indian Navy (Discipline) Bill was opposed by Labour members in the House of Commons in 1927 and was rejected by the Legislative Assembly in 1928. For, it was felt that the supreme control of an Indian Navy should be vested in the Indian Legislature. The Commander-in-Chief stated last year in the Council of State that

"if we do start a regular organisation for local naval defence, it should be placed as far as possible in the hands of Indians themselves."

The Resolutions passed at the Imperial Conferences of 1923 and 1926 explicitly stated that "the naval forces of each Dominion will be used for local purposes" and it should, therefore, be made clear that the Ind naval forces should not be used for any purp other than that of the defence of India and so used, it should be done with the consent the Indian Legislature. In fact, the rece agreement mentions that these escort vess will be "free to co-operate with the Roy Navy" and from our experience of the use Indian troops outside India, we know the sig ficance and implication of this phrase. T Indian Navy is, of course, not on the same ba as the Navies of the Dominions which are un their control, apart from the fact that Dominions have a maritime status and powers legislate in regard to shipping which are den to India.

Not less important is the question of manning of the Navy. There are 127 offic in the Indian Navy, of whom 13 are India Every year 9 officers are recruited to the Na of whom 3 are Indians. Indians not o excelled in seamanship and navigation in past but have also proved their worth in Indian Navy and in the mercantile marine present. Sir Humphrey Walwyn, the la Director of the Royal Indian Marine, stat that "if there is anyone who says Indians ca not make very good seamen, give him my nam and address". Lieut.-Col. Lumby declared i the Legislative Assembly when the Navy Bi was being considered that the cadets from th "Dufferin" were excellent and did very well a officers of the Indian Navy. The prese Commander-in-Chief has also acknowledg that there will be no difficulty in finding suitab men. It is, therefore, essential that the Indi personnel in the Indian Navy should be speedi increased.

It must, however, be pointed out that th main ground of recruitment for naval officers other countries is the mercantile marine. F example, the Commander-in-Chief observed the Council of State last year that

"in setting up an organisation of the kind I refer to (i a Naval Force), most other countries depend largely their Mercantile Marine and on Volunteer Naval Reserve

and that

"in India at present we have no Naval Reserves and Mercantile Marine is still, so to speak, in its infancy."

The Indian Mercantile Marine Commit stated that it was almost the unanimous des of all Indian witnesses who appeared before that

"the creation of an Indian Navy capable of defending coasts, harbours and commerce of India should proceed ha in hand with the development of an Indian Mercan Marine."

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In March last, Mr. Ogilvie, Army Secretary, replying to an interpellation in the Central Assembly stated that

"the Government of India are very well aware that the existence of an Indian Mercantile Marine would be a great assistance to the Defence Department"

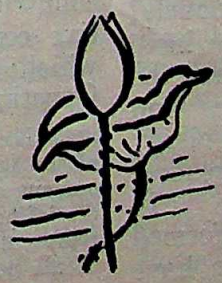
and that

"the Defence Department would very much like to see a flourishing Indian Mercantile Marine."

The merchant fleet is an element in the sea power of a nation and is essential to the security of a maritime country. Admiral Mahan who wrote on the influence of sea-power upon history held that the fundamental need of a maritime country was a merchant navy. It is difficult, indeed, to have a fighting navy without a merchant navy; Mahan, for example, considers that the French Navy in the time of Louis XIV withered away because it had no roots in a healthy merchant marine. What Lord Craigmyle recently described as "the Navy of supply" is as vital as the Navy of defence. The last war showed the preponderant influence of a merchant fleet and of sea power. Sir Arthur Salter, in his *Allied Shipping Control,* shows how during the last war shipping became the very centre of the Allied problem and shipping control the centre of its organisation. He observes:

"Certainly the supplies of the Allied Forces could not have been maintained without the Naval protection of Merchant Ships, particularly without the amazingly successful systems of convoy. It is equally certain that no system of Naval protection would have been sufficient without the continuous and unfailing skill and courage of the officers and men of the Mercantile Marine."

A merchant marine is not only a training ground and feeder of a Navy but a reserve and second line of defence. Even a well-organised Navy with its battleships and cruisers, its destroyers and submarines would be seriously handicapped if it were not adequately supported by the mercantile fleet providing transport for troops, munitions and hospital ships, auxiliary cruisers mine-sweepers, submarine chasers and other vital necessaries of naval warfare. It would serve to protect the flow of commerce, both coastal and overseas, from interruption as well as to prevent a blockade of ports. Nor has the development of air power rendered useless sea power as a means of defence. In several respects, aircraft has tended to modify the conduct of operations at sea but it has not supplanted naval power. As Mr. Shakespeare, the Secretary to the British Admiralty, declared recently, "air power by itself is unlikely to win wars: the main burden falls on the Navy." Even apart from the length of India's coastline as a criterion of the need of naval strength, the flow of India's commerce depends upon the freedom of entry and departure at a few great routes of sea-borne commerce. It is owing to a recognition of this vital importance of the strength and efficiency of a mercantile marine as the complementary agent to a Navy and as a means of national defence that the development of shipping has become an instrument of national policy in every important maritime country of the world since the war. The British budget, for instance, annually provides for special appropriations for naval reserves such as retainers which assist manning of the merchant fleet. The British Admiralty has also paid from time to time subventions to certain lines with a view to utilize their vessels as auxiliary naval cruisers or transports in times of war. If India is to be a strong maritime unit of the Commonwealth contributing its share for the maintenance of sea communications and holding its place in the maritime trade of the world, it is essential that India should build up a system of coastal defence maintained by a Naval Force of its own. But it is not possible to build up a genuine national Navy without the development of national mercantile marine. And for the development of India's national shipping, it is essential for the public to appreciate our dependence on the sea and for the Government to have a positive mercantile marine policy.



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PORTUGAL'S NEW CONSTITUTION

By A. C. FERNANDEZ,
Professor of Politics and Economics

The remarkable financial achievements of Portugal under the New State have created world-wide interests in the political and diplomatic life of the nation which for a long time, prior to 1926, was known on both sides of the Atlantic as the 'sick man of Europe.' This interest of the world in Portugal's New State is manifested not only in the frequent articles on Portugal in the European and American Press, but also by a number of books on the corporative state which have appeared in English, in French and even in German.

The strategic importance of Portugal under the new conditions created by developments in the air defences has intensified this interest. The Belgian King will shortly pay an official visit to Portugal's embassy and important problems dealing with the foreign policy and defence and colonies are expected to be discussed in the Belgian metropolis.

Recently Portuguese waters were honoured by visits of naval divisions from England and Germany which remained in Lisbon for a considerable time. Just at present there is an important British military mission in Lisbon in deep consultation with Portuguese High Command. It is expected that at this meeting between naval and military experts of England and of Portugal a large number of moot points relating to the defence programme in the case of a European war will be threshed out in detail. Even America is showing its interest for the purpose of using the Portuguese colony of Azores and Lisbon itself as important stages in her services across the Atlantic between Europe and America.

The Catholic world has also evinced special interest in Portugal's recent political, financial and economic renaissance, since all these have been based on such principles as have the sanction and support of Catholic ethics and religion. The contribution of Portuguese clergy to the country's moral and economic regeneration has not at all been inconsiderable. In fact it has been doubted in many well-informed quarters whether Dr. Salazar could ever have been able to achieve his remarkable national reconstruction if he had not the continuous and loyal support of the whole Catholic clergy of Portugal.

The new Constitution of Portugal which has recently been amended is, in many respects a unique document of peculiar political and constitutional interests. It is based on the corporative principle and shows many special features which deserve study and consideration.

The Constitution is neither parliamentary nor presidential, neither unitary nor federal, neither completely democratic nor essentially despotic. It has for its basis the principle that Government are ultimately responsible to the people from whom they derive their power and their sovereignty. At the same time, the principles of parliamentary government and liberal technique have been profoundly modified in their application to the reorganization of the leading organs of the State. The Constitution is a semi-rigid document, fully written, but, its amendment does not require any special constitutional machinery or any kind of excessive formalities. Even recently it was amended with the same ease with which the Portuguese Parliament passes any ordinary legislative enactment.

In the opening part of the Constitution are mentioned the rights of the Portuguese citizens. These rights follow the lines of enunciation of the civic rights as you find them in the constitutions of liberal democracies like France, Switzerland and Belgium. The right of life, to reputation, to liberty, to the free expression of thought, to contract, to property, to public meeting, to associations and worship are points which the Portuguese constitution has in common with every written constitution of democratic countries. What is peculiar in the new corporative constitution of Portugal is the importance which section 4 gives to the family. The Constitution says:

> "The state shall ensure the constitution and protection of the family as the source of the maintenance and development of the race, the parliamentary basis of education and discipline and social harmony, and by its association and representation in the parish and the town, the foundation of all political and administrative order."

The rights of the family which have been given a definite and distinct political, juridical

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and even economic status in the new Constitution consist of the rights for marriage and legitimate offspring, equality of the rights and duties of husband and wife between themselves and towards the legitimate children and such protection in the civil and criminal law of the country as is essential for the healthy growth of family life throughout the nation based on the principle of service to the country and nursed by the ideals of Catholic religion.

The Constitution undertakes:

(1) To encourage the establishment of separate homes under healthy conditions, and the institution of the family household;

(2) To protect maternity;

(3) To adjust taxation in accordance with legitimate family obligations and to promote the adoption of the family wage;

(4) To assist parents in the discharge of their duties of instructing and educating their children, and to co-operate with them by means of public institutions for education and correction, or by encouraging private establishments destined for the same purpose;

(5) To take all precautions likely to avert the corruption of morals.

In one of his memorable speeches Dr. Salazar explaining the basis of the new Constitution and its moral and social background, its hinterland, vigorously attacked the myth of the citizen as an obstruction on which political liberalism of the 19th century had been based with such disastrous consequences to the moral and political heritage of the world. 'The citizen,' he said, 'wrested away from his family, from his class, profession and from his life, is an enormous fiction, an unfortunate myth.' On the contrary, the living reality, the eternal verity is the *family* which is not only the cell of the social organization, but also the original nucleus of the parish, of the district and therefore, of the nation itself. 'It is for this reason,' said Salazar, 'that the Constitution must guarantee the effective formation, the full preservation and complete right of all the members of the family as a distinct unit on which the very nation is based.'

The next important unit to which the new Portuguese constitution devotes considerable attention is the corporative organization of the group as a distinct, independent, complete and co-ordinate organ of federal society which is a great human reality as opposed to the abstract general will on which the whole of political Rousseauism has been based. The new Portuguese State revolves round the recognition of the group organizations. The meaning of the corporative system given by the Catholic Union of Freiburg in 1884, when the corporative system was defined as,

> "a regime of social organization having for its basis groups of men and women held together by the natural and common interest, by their social functions and, therefore, having as a natural corollary the right for public representation in the different political and other organs of the State."

Article 16 of the Constitution states that it shall be the duty of the State to authorise corporative organizations for intellectual, social and economic purposes and to promote and assist their formation. Such organizations may have for their object scientific, literary, artistic or physical activities, relief work, charity, technical improvement, trade union spirit or other common interests in which groups of citizens are involved in their legitimate and proper social functions.

Several decrees passed either by the Protuguese executive or the legislature have implemented this article of the Constitution by elaborate rules and regulations governing labour organizations, national syndicates, people's houses, importers' and exporters' organizations, fishermen's houses, social insurance and other forms of group-life to which at one time Follett had given significant importance in her philosophical and political criticisms of liberal democracies.

Dr. Salazar in commenting upon this principle of corporative organization of the New State makes it clear that Portugal was exceedingly backward in her group-life and in her trade unions. This was so, because the economic conditions of the country were almost primitive whereas, therefore, in Germany and Italy corporative organization aims at the suppression of trade union feeling and at the removal of unfriendly and hostile relations between capital and labour, the Portuguese constitution seeks to build up what was not at all existing and to base social and economic functions of the State on the creation of a strong, healthy, autonomous groups working harmoniously together for the purpose of common weal. "The thought" stated Salazar, "which should dominate the corporative organization is to co-ordinate the corporations, unions and federations of an economic character both of labour and of capital existing either spontaneously or created by the State so as to remove them from the slippery path of internal competition and struggle and to harness them to the higher and nobler interests and services of the State."

At the same time it is necessary that the

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State should protect the moral and material rights of the working classes and should recognise that labour is a great factor in the creation of wealth and therefore, has a right to be *associated* with all wealth-creating activities. It is on the realization of this principle that progress and social peace will depend. But the State reserves to itself the right to regulate in the way it best thinks fit not only the inter-relations among the different groups but also the relations between capital and labour and these two to society. But it does not interfere with normal economic activities of the citizens unless they are of a dangerous or excessively acquisitive character. 'As long as' says Article 35 of the Constitution, 'property, capital and labour fulfil a *social* duty in a system of economic co-operation and in accordance with the natural interests, the State will leave them alone.' But any exploitation of one by the other will call forth the State's active interference so as to redress a grievance or injustice. Collective labour contracts with a minimum wage have also a place in the Constitution. The system of compensatory economy is the case of the economic policy of the State.

Section 10 of the Constitution determines the relations between the Church and State. After guaranteeing the Catholic religion the right for public and private practice and for its own organization, discipline and association, the Constitution states that the State shall maintain the regime of separation in relations to the Catholic Church and any religion or cult, and practice within Portuguese territory. It also adds that Portugal shall maintain regular diplomatic relations with the Holy See, and grants to the Church the right to acquire, hold, sell or dispose of any type of private property. The old Constitution had withheld these rights from any religious associations. They have now been fully restored.

The second part of the Constitution deals with the political structure and organs of the State. The form of the executive is semi-presidential with a president elected by direct suffrage for a period of seven years. He is directly and exclusively responsible to the nation for actions and policies pursued in the discharge of his duties. The National Assembly has no control over the presidential powers and cannot compel him to resign his mandate by any kind of tactics, legislative or financial, much less by vote of no-confidence. The President selects ministers, dismisses them, opens, adjourns, prorogues and dissolves the National Assembly, orders general elections and by-elections. In this respect the powers of the President under the New State come very close to the powers of the American President. He has privilege to represent the nation, to direct the foreign policy of the country, to conclude international treaties and allowances, commercial treaties, the privilege to grant pardon and commute punishment and to promulgate decree-laws and decrees resemble him to the Viceroy of India, except for the fact that all his acts must be counter-signed by the President of the Council and by the Minister to whose department the particular act has a reference. Since the President himself selects the Prime-Minister as well as the other ministers his executive and even legislative powers are not only extensive, but even effective, provided he is a strong man capable of guiding, inspiring and supervising the whole Portuguese executive. At present General Carmona, the President of the Portuguese Republic has allowed his ministers complete executive autonomy and has shown no inclination whatever to interfere in any way with the policy, programme and administrative methods of Dr. Salazar.

With a view to enable the President to discharge his responsible duties adequately, he is surrounded by a Council of State which is different from the Cabinet. This Council is made up of the Prime Minister, the President of the National Assembly, President of the Corporative Chamber, President of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Attorney-General together with five eminent men of outstanding ability appointed for life by the President himself. According to the spirit of the Constitution the head of the Portuguese State has to exercise his more important political, legislative and executive powers in consultation with his Council of State, which must compulsorily be convened before he interferes, in any way, with the National Assembly or shapes his Foreign policy. The legislative organ of the State consists of the National Assembly which is the Upper Chamber together with an expert body called the Corporative Chamber which has important advisory functions of an expert and technical character. The National Assembly consists of 90 deputies elected by the heads of families. It has wide legislative powers like the making and suspension of laws, the passing of the budget, the grant of credit, sanction of laws, approval of treaties and international conventions and other functions like those dealing with currency, exchange, banking, defence, education and other national subjects. It has been the practice under the

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new Constitution for Government to introduce most of the legislation after the model of parliamentary democracy and of cabinet government as is found working in France and in England. The legislature has, so far, introduced very few of its own bills but has passed a very large number of those that have been submitted for its approval by the executive. The members of the Assembly all belong to the National Union and in the last elections no candidate from any opposition party, open or secret, was admitted by the polling officers. The Government organised a single list of deputies which was voted upon not only in Portugal but throughout the Portuguese Empire. This is a very novel electoral method. It consists in confining the candidates to the members of a single party and in considering the whole country together with all the colonies as one single electoral college voting for the totality of the members of the legislature. As there was no chance whatsoever for non-members of the National Union to put up their candidates, elections of the Government candidates had a smooth and easy passage and secured a very large, almost universal support.

The National Assembly is assisted in its legislative tasks by the Corporative Chambers composed of representatives of local autonomous bodies and of all social, economic and cultural interests. Members of the Corporative Chambers are themselves elected by different groups, institutions, associations, universities and labour unions. The main function of this Chamber is to report on all motions, bills and other subjects including treaties placed before the National Assembly either by its individual members or by Government. The Chamber is divided into about 16 important Committees, each section specialising itself in one kind of work. The National Assembly does not embark on any of its more important work before it has in its possession the views and reports of the Corporative Chamber on subjects on the anvil of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic inspite of his extensive powers is after all the titular head of the State. His legal powers are generally latent, a kind of a fiction, but they may spring into activity in times of crisis. Ordinarily the executive is under the control of the Cabinet consisting of about 10 ministers responsible to the President and cultivating a system of collective responsibility. The executive not only discharges its ordinary administrative and fiscal right to draw up decree-laws on questions of urgent public interest. It has also large powers for making rules and regulations which really mean legislation. But any law which affects revenue or expenditure must have the counter-signature of the Minister for Finance. All laws made by the executive have to be submitted to the National Assembly for its ratification. The executive also appoints the judiciary and controls the whole of the defence and diplomatic services of the Empire. Though the Cabinet has very large powers it derives the breath of its life from the President and therefore, it is subject to the dismissal by the President. At the same time every minister is personally responsible for his actions both to the President and the legislature.

It is difficult to compare the Portuguese legislature and executive with those of the presidential or parliamentary forms of Governments. The Constitution seeks to make an ingenious compromise between these two forms of Government by subordinating the legislature to the position of an inferior political and legislative status. The President is given ample powers which at present are exercised on his behalf by the Prime Minister Dr. O. Salazar. The National Union itself is a large one-party organization which is supporting him in all his activities. Such a constitution will work well as long as the element of personal leadership is accepted by the nation and its legislature, but the system does not promise any smooth working the moment a multiple party system springs into existence. The whole Constitution at present revolves round and is dominated by one single, strong, powerful personality. The centrifugal tendencies are decisive and Dr. Salazar has behind him the support of the army. The Portuguese Parliament has, under the new Constitution, played a very insignificant part in shaping National policies.

The judicial organization of the State is a somewhat complex and incoherent one. There are in the first place, ordinary courts of law, the Supreme Court of Justice forming the apex of the pyramid. It interprets, applies and enforces all ordinary laws regulating the relations between citizens and citizens. All disputes between the public servant and public citizens are decided by a special set of laws and courts, called Administrative Courts. These courts enjoy very wide and ample jurisdiction over all institutions, organizations and all activities of the public servants in their relations with the citizens. Neither the ordinary nor the Administrative Courts have any constitutional jurisdiction over laws made by the National Assembly or by the Cabinet. The legality of this can be questioned

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only by the Parliament. But all the administrative actions and decisions including those of the Cabinet ministers are subjects which may form the basis of law-suits in the Administrative Courts by private citizens or by corporations. Thus the executive is deprived of arbitrary powers and of the discharge of arbitrary functions. The personal equation, the individual prejudice and political passion are in this way considerably reduced by granting to the Administrative Courts considerable jurisdiction over the legality of the decisions of the executive.

Portugal is the fourth largest colonial power of the world. Three hefty slices of Africa, a colonial population of over 10 millions encompassing an area of about a million square miles form the Portuguese Colonial Empire. She has important colonies in East and West Africa in addition to the smaller ones in India, the Atlantic Ocean, and in China. These colonies have been attached to Portugal for several hundreds of years and have formed part of the Portuguese Empire more or less as equal members, since Portugal, a little over a hundred years ago, liberalised her constitution and introduced parliamentary institutions. The establishment of the Portuguese Republic in 1910 saw the development of semi-parliamentary institutions in the colonies with considerable administrative and financial decentralization. Unfortunately the New Corporative State of Portugal has reversed in a great measure, the traditions of liberal government which had been pursued by Portugal in the last hundred years. There is now a very close financial and administrative control. Previous to the establishment of the Portuguese dictatorship, Portuguese finances in the colonies were in a perilous condition. Financial disruption, administrative inefficiency, the system of spoils, political jobbery and corruption, recurring deficits, inefficient and dishonest financial administration were the features since the end of the last War and the rise of dictatorship. Salazar's administration selected Dr. Armindo Monteiro, the present Portuguese ambassador at St. James, as the first Colonial Minister who even visited the colonies to personally supervise the financial reforms which he decreed and which were designed to meet the colonial def and to purge the administration of its m obvious defects. Unfortunately these meas of financial hygiene and sanitation were lowed by colonial legislation of a racial t based on the princple of superiority-comp and of unequal treatment. The Colonial Act t away the fine tradition of Portuguese liberal and promised to Portuguese colonies a per tual tutelage under guidance and control Portugal. It also invented a number of zenships, thus creating two broad distinct between what had always been considered citizens of the same empire—continental citi ship of Portugal and Colonial citizenship of Empire. In addition to that the military and organisation have given a subordinate p to the inhabitants of the colonies whether are descendants from Portuguese families or the indigenous inhabitants of the country. Portugal itself the atmosphere in political administrative circles has not been o friendly to such peoples of the colonies wh virtue of their education, industry and acti are able to compete successfully with the P tuguese in their own home-land. The local ad nistration in the colonies is excessively centr sed and the Colonial Councils of Governm have very few legislative functions. They advisory bodies that have got restricted le lative powers subject in the first instance the veto of the Governor and then to the of the Colonial Minister.

Such political situation which has for basis and inferior status even to those colo which like Portuguese India compare favourably not only with other colonies of P tugal but with Portugal herself, has cre naturally widespread discontent which manifested itself in slender enthusiasm to great achievement of the Portuguese dicta ship in the mother-country. Corporative p ciples of economic organization have not a been in any way implemented in the Portug legislation dealing with the colonies. And it happens that though the colonies achieved financial equilibrium, their econ progress has been insignificant and their nial status has suffered a decline.

12th March, 1938.

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WHY KARNATAK SHOULD BE SEPARATED

By V. B. KULKARNI

"The creation of Karnatak as a separate province cannot be resisted on merits."—M. K. Gandhi.

Since I last wrote in *The Modern Review*[1] emphasizing the necessity for creating Karnatak into a separate province, the march of events during the past few months has taken us nearer the goal of realization. Apart from the intrinsic value of unanimous popular demand, as manifested in the resolutions recently passed in the legislatures of Madras and Bombay, the recognition of the claims of Karnatak by the Governments of these Provinces has indubitably elevated our case for separation from the plane of mere desire and demand to one of practical politics. It is true that similar resolutions were adopted in the legislatures of the Southern Presidency on previous occasions, but under the diarchic system of Government, popular demand however decisive, had slender chances of becoming effective. Karnatak's claims for separation were pigeon-holed every time they were urged. The resolutions of March and April last and the *imprimatur* they have received at the hands of the Congress Governments of Madras and Bombay are, therefore, in our view a milestone in the history of our struggle for self-determination.

While the recent happenings have proved remarkably helpful to our demand becoming a *fait accompli*, they have at the same time not failed to cause needless disquiet in quarters opposed to separation. The debates and discussions that followed the resolutions on separation, betrayed a singular lack of understanding of the real import and implications of the demand. Karnatak has made out a strong and unassailable case for reversing the existing order of things and for remoulding her destiny in a manner best suited to her interests and well-being. She is satisfied and is prepared to convince honest doubters that she has with her in plenitude all the material necessary for rearing up a provincial edifice. In short, she advances her claim with a full sense of responsibility and does not seek the authorities to become guilty of any sort of political enormity by conceding her demand.

The sponsors of the unification movement have drawn up their demand on the basis of certain data which in their view are unchallengeable. They have placed their cards on the table and invite criticism from those who are opposed to a reversal of the *status quo*. It is significant that this challenge remains yet unaccepted, although we have had no dearth of unreasoned criticism reinforced by sentiment, passion and prejudice. Nevertheless, we might assume, if only to make our case the stronger, that there cannot be more formidable objections to the creation of a new province than on the following issues:—

(i) Is separation financially feasible ?
(ii) What are the disadvantages under the present arrangement and what benefits accrue from a reversal of it ? and
(iii) Does not the creation of a new unit tend to retard the forces of nationalism ?

For purposes of convenience, I shall take up the second objection first, namely, "what is our grouse under the present arrangement?" To a casual observer from outside, the spectacle of the Karnatak community remaining under the protective wings of powerful provinces like Madras and Bombay, not to speak of the tutelage of numerous States big as well as petty, is apt to look like a desirable consummation. But, like the toad under the harrow, we alone know where exactly the tooth-point goes. Nothing could be more intolerable and suicidal for a homogenous and culturally and historically conscious people, who in their own time played a significant part in building up the civilization of their country, to be wantonly cut into mincemeat and thrown away only to be grabbed by no less than twenty-two different administrative units.

Without burdening the reader with needless historical detail, I might at once state that Karnatak's history dates back to the 2nd century B.C. and its people held their hegemony in the Deccan with more or less continuity until the dissolution of the mighty Vijayanagar Empire in the Battle of Talikot. The dismemberment of Vijayanagar conduced to the setting up of numerous petty principalities all over Karnatak, which, despite its great mutilations, was able to conserve its cultural and linguistic individu-

[1] See my article, Is Karnatak Unification Feasible ?, in *The Modern Review* of November, 1937.

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ality as best as it could till the advent of the East India Company on the scene. With consummate skill the Company Sarkar introduced an era of "divide and rule" and finally succeeded in establishing its unrivalled sway in the Deccan by dislodging Tippu from the throne of Mysore. With the fall of this valiant soldier in the Battle of Serirangapatam, all hopes of reviving Karnatak's glory were shattered. Then followed the heart-rending spectacle of Karnatak being torn limb by limb and annexed by a multiplicity of States as the spoils of war. Thus we see today Karnatak obliged to bow its head to its masters who are more than 20 in number![2] We are, however, told to take comfort in the knowledge that our dismemberment was undertaken with a view to reconstruct a brighter and better political map of India!

I shall now illustrate what this dissection means to the people of Karnatak. Thrown into the midst of a plethora of States and Provinces, each in differing stages of evolution, from medieval despotism to farcical provincial autonomy, the Kannada population is nowhere in a majority, the exceptions being Mysore and Coorg.[3] The genius of Karnatak has been dealt a severe blow by the dispersal of its population, which, in the absence of a common unifying force, has lost its community of interest and the consciousness of its cultural and historical greatness. Instead of enriching and ennobling her own heritage and transmitting it to posterity, Karnatak has entered into a long spell of stupor, content to play the role of a camp follower and make votive offerings to the greatness of others. Her numerical inferiority and inertia have hushed her voice and nearly strangled her distinctive existence under every administration.

Apart from our cultural conquest, even our own language was until recent years, under a ban.[4] Most of us had our schooling in languages other than our own mother tongue, Kannada. Till about 1923 Bellary, which, even according to that unsatisfactory and unacceptable Kelkar Award, belongs to Karnatak, had no High Schools where Kannada was taught. T position of Belgaum, the northern bord district of Karnatak, was much worse. overwhelming is the influence of Marathi ov the Kannada population here, that even tod the trading class of this community maintai its accounts in Modi, a kind of Marathi scri which has much likeness to Kannada, as i Chinese script has to English. Even today no Karnatak institutions in Karnatak refuse pl form to Kannada in their activities. The who sale "conversion" of hundreds of Karnat families into Marathi-speaking families carried on with a vigour which should ma the missionary blush. It has been estima that in one census alone about 2 lakhs Kannada population was absorbed by other

Here are some interesting facts, unearth from old archives. Schools were opened in t Bombay Carnatak early in 1856 and Mara was taught in them. Not until 1865 could t Bombay Department of Public Instruction co to know that the language of Karnatak w not Marathi but Kannada! Describing t situation Mr. Russel, an Educational Officer the Southern Division, wrote in 1865 thus:

"The Deputy Inspectors and English Masters in t Division are none of them Kanarese and there are very fe Kanarese men even among the vernacular schoolmasters the Districts. *The Kanarese language has never be taught or cultivated in this Division as the Gujerathi Marathi in theirs.* Therefore, the indifference of the Kan rese people in general to schools in which the books a teachers are mostly Marathi can hardly be wondered at."

Nobody took notice of this anomaly t the coming of Mr. Russel. Referring to th Mr. V. R. Katti then wrote thus:

"Before Mr. Russel's appointment, the Divisi possessed no Kanarese books of its own excepting t first three reading books of questionable utility..... translation exhibitionership was transferred from Poona this Division at the time of Major Waddington, and it w held at the time of Mr. Russel's arrival by a Maratha m who was to prepare Kanarese books for Governm Schools."

Further on we come across the m interesting statement that a non-Kanna knowing man was deputed to write Kanna books for use in Government Schools!

This is an old story, but even today t position is not much better. Except for a seco grade College at Mangalore, Madras Karnat has no College of its own, while in Bomb Karnatak, with four big Districts, there are o two Colleges. Small wonder therefore, th many of our young men who can afford, emigra to places outside Karnatak where they co obtain better education. Again, Andhra has h own University and even Travancore will so

[2] Karnatak of today is divided as follows: Bombay Karnatak, Madras Karnatak, Cantonment Karnatak, Coorg, Hyderabad (Dn.) Karnatak, Karnatak Jagirs in Hyderabad (Dn.), Mysore, Kolhapur, Karnatak Jagirs in Kolhapur, Sangli, some portions of Aundh, Miraj (Senior), Miraj (Jr.), Kurundwad (Sr.), Kurundwad (Jr.), Jamkhandi, Mudhol, Ramdurg, Akkalkot, Jath, Savanur and Sandur.

[3] The populations of Mysore and Coorg are 6,557,302 and 1,63,327, respectively, out of a total population of 11,206,380.

[4] Even today in many Southern Mahratta States which are an integral part of Karnatak the medium of instruction is Marathi.

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ve one. But who is to listen to the cry of arnatak? Our representation in the Senates the Bombay and Madras Universities is gligible. Despite all these obvious disadvantges, we are told that our "partnership" with e premier presidencies of Bombay and Madras of incalculable benefit to us, which we are dvised not to lose in a fit of emotional thusiasm for separation.

Being condemned to a position of permanent inority, Karnatak has scarcely any share in e governance of the Presidencies of Madras nd Bombay, although she makes substantial ontributions to the Provincial revenues. Even nder the new dispensation her representation n the legislatures of these Provinces is utterly adequate. It is significant that there is not single Karnatak Member in the Cabinets of ither Madras or Bombay even under the Conress regime.[5] With her dismembered territories acked on to inland and far-flung regions, Karnatak is denied those advantages which roximity to seats of Governments usually rings.

There are no industries worth the name in Karnatak, although it abounds in raw materials.[6] Even its mineral wealth remains yet unexploited, s local private enterprise is almost nonexistent. There are many States in Karnatak ut their resources are utilized by their non-Karnatak rulers for purposes in which it is little nterested. We are poorly served with rail and oad communications, thus seriously hampering ur trade and commerce. From 1818 to date Bombay has spent nearly 55 crores on irrigation works, out of which a paltry sum of Rs. 8-10 lakhs has been spent in Karnatak.[7] Famine conditions in the Districts of Bellary and Bijapur are almost chronic. Tinkering with the problem is all that has been done so far.

We are cautioned against the guilt of impeding the forces of nationalism by seeking "needless" divisions. This is a poser which will deceive none. Let us not forget that the creation of the N.-W. F., Sind and Orissa into separate provinces was not considered unnecessary nor as calculated to dry up the fountain of nationalism. We refuse to be singled out for these sanctimonious homilies. Karnatak has always remained a redoubtable champion of the Congress cause and her eulogy is best recorded in the words of Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel. Says the Sardar:

> "The brave peasants of Karnatak have vied with you in their sacrifices, in the loss of their lands and property and in their privations and suffering. The tales of their bravery and their sacrifices have filled me with admiration and pride, and the news of their sufferings sometimes unhinged me."

This is the record of a Karnatak chained to a multiplicity of masters. None can doubt that she will play a nobler part when she becomes the mistress of her own house. This is a consummation which both Madras and Bombay should endorse in their own interests, for, a weak divided Karnatak as their partner adds to their heterogeneity and complicates their problems. By ridding themselves of their unwieldiness they can fight their battles more effectively than at present. Let us not miss the significance of recent events in Orissa and the C.P.

"Is the separation of Karnatak feasible financially?" Before I answer in the affirmative I quote here what Mr. Gladstone said about needed reforms, although I shall certainly not take shelter behind his observation. Says Mr. Gladstone:

> "Gentlemen, you need not give yourselves any trouble about the revenue. The question of revenue must never stand in the way of needed reforms; besides, with a sober population not wasting their earnings, I shall know where to obtain the revenue."

Our claim for separation is the outcome of unanimous popular demand, and if it is found that until the resources of Karnatak are fully tapped, additional taxation has to be borne, this will be done most cheerfully. But even as matters stand, Karnatak's financial position is sound.

The total revenue of a separately constituted Karnatak from its eight districts and five talukas[8] will be 260 lakhs, and after deducting Rs. 210 lakhs for running a provincial Government we have a clear balance of Rs. 50 lakhs,—a position which compares more favourably than in the Provinces of Assam, N.-W.-F., Orissa and Sind. It is worthy of remark that the last-named Provinces cannot balance their Budgets without heavy subventions. Again, but for its share of Rs. 40 lakhs from Income-tax, even Bombay cannot balance its Budget.

The indebtedness of the Bombay Government is advanced as an argument against our separation. We refuse to submit to the sins

[5] The Hon'ble Mr. A. B. Lathe, the Bombay Finance Minister, is claimed by the Maharastrians as belonging to them although he hails from Belgaum. What exactly is his attitude to this claim is not clear.

[6] See Prof. B. H. Yelburgi's article "Karnatak Occupations" in *Karnatak Darshan*.

[7] Vide *Karnatak Darshan*.

[8] See sketch map showing the area comprising the new Province of Karnatak.

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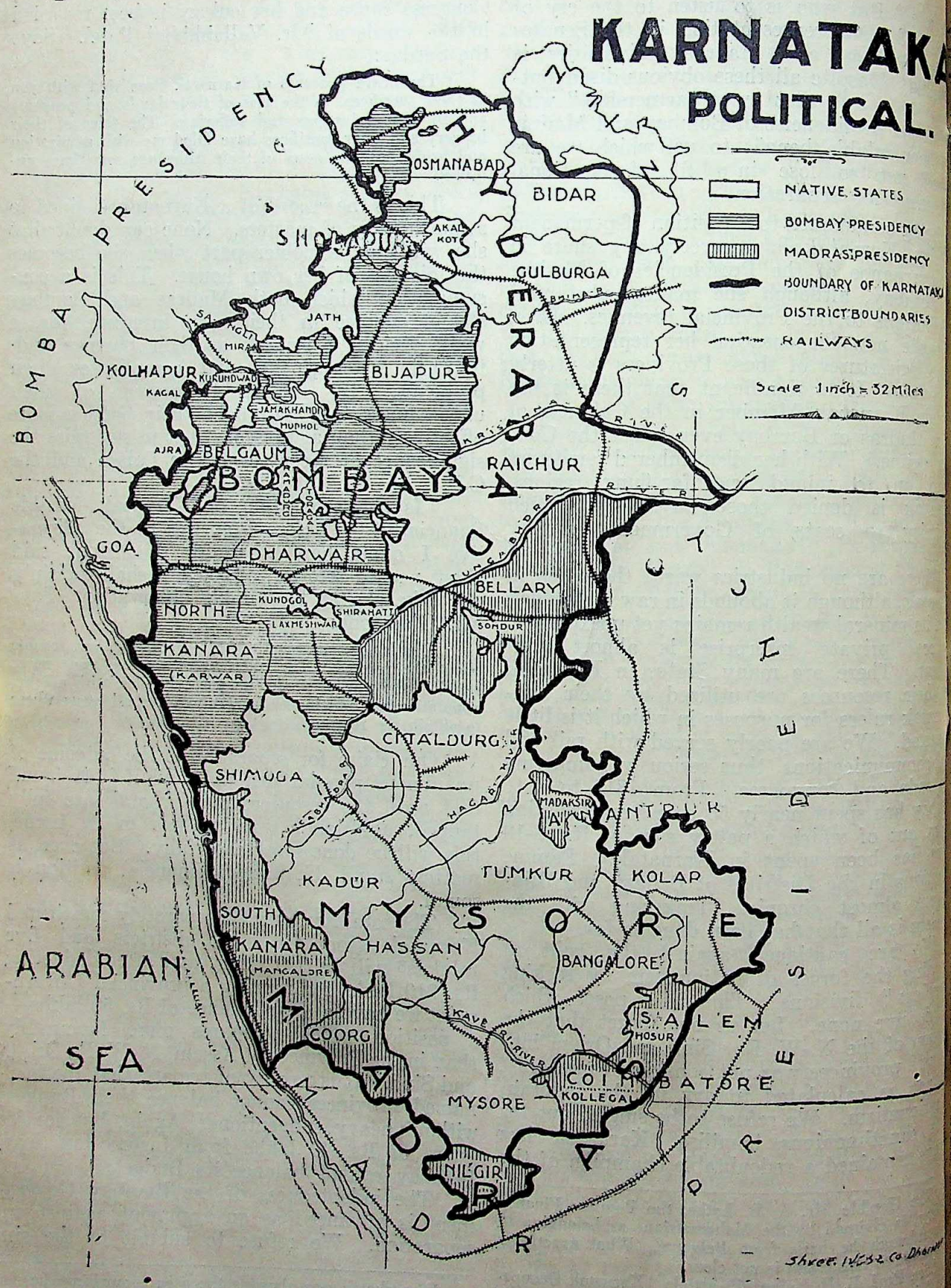

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of others being visited upon our heads. The mad scheme of Backbay Reclamation and such others are not of our making. Bombay Karnatak's population is 12% of the Presidency's total population, and it is worth scrutinizing what proportion of the Presidency's revenue has been spent on Karnatak tax-payers. Any future financial adjustment should be on the basis of this scrutiny.

We have no minority problem, as the minority communities are equally enthusiastic over separation. With such a strong case to support her claim Karnatak is determined to march to her chosen goal. At the 7th Unification Conference held in May 1938 under the presidency of Mr. K. R. Karant, a Parliamentary Secretary of the Madras Government, it was resolved to resort to direct action if such a course was deemed necessary. Karnatak will not stop with mere prayer and petition.

The claim of Andhra is equally just and must be considered along with that of Karnatak.

NEPOTISM

By M. F. SOONAWALA

The public of C. P. has of late been scandalised by the prevalence on a large scale of Nepotism on the part of some members of the Ministry, a charge now admitted by them before Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. Their action has already been questioned and criticised by the Press in unequivocal terms.

The very word "Nepotism" seems to be in bad odour with all and sundry. But it loses much of its obnoxiousness if it is viewed from a different perspective.

Nepotism when practised with due circumspection and dscretion justifying the peculiar circumstances of the cases involved, would rather produce beneficial effects. It is no sin for a person in high position, if convinced of the ability and integrity of some relative of his, to have him appointed to a responsible post. The service concerned also thereby gets the benefit of the personal security of the high personage in case the appointee goes wayward, which is hardly the case if the personage has exercised sound judgment in his selection. Human nature being what it is dictates this policy in every walk of life. Private businesses and enterprises are not devoid of this age-old practice and certain families acquire hoary traditions of founders, promoters and custodians of vast interests with which their names are indissolubly bound up. The goodwill thus attached to firms commands values at times fabulous.

From time immemorial in all lands officials administrating State affairs have been exercising their prerogative by conferring favours on their own kith and kin while making responsible appointments. It is true that under democratic regime public vigilance is too sharp to prevent abuse of such a prerogative. Pitts and Chamberlains and MacDonalds and Butlers have illuminated the dry pages of history of even democratic countries.

Mussolini has his sons and sons-in-law placed in high command and Hitler is wise enough to connive at such weaknesses displayed by his immediate underlings. But Stalin had the rare courage of peremptorily ordering his son to leave for his home-town forthwith and pursue the calling of a cobbler as he was found incompetent to learn any art of diplomacy or industry. The Japanese Cabinet is dominated by either the Aristocracy or War Lords mostly connected by family ties.

The story goes, though I cannot vouch for its authenticity, that when once the eminent versatile genius, the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee was taunted for having succumbed to the weakness, *viz.*, Nepotism, his critic was immediately cowed down by the snub administered to him, "Well, my friend, I plead guilty of the offence of putting the right man in the right place. Hang me!"

Far from merely trotting forth an apology for a practice whose obnoxious character could hardly be mitigated or condoned, this is an attempt to show that it does also present an obverse side, the savoury aspect of which it is desirable to uphold in the best interests of society in general.

The tendency to raise the slogan of "Down with Nepotism" indiscriminately is to be deprecated. Let us be frank and stop the parrot-cry.

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INDIA'S SENSE OF HONOUR AND LORD BADEN-POWELL

By V. M. KAIKINI, B.A., F.R.C.S. (Edin.)

"We put a premium on tyranny by submitting meekly to tyranny", says the poet Tagore. According to Webster, tyranny is synonymous with cruelty, or causing hurt to others, without proper justification. Cruelty may be practised as much in word as in deed. Lord Baden-Powell's remark against Indians made from the high pedestal of an exalted position protected by the privileges of a ruling race, is a type of tyranny practised in word. The gallant gentleman makes an attempt to hurt the feelings of a whole nation by making assertions for which there is no justification. He manifests an ignorance of the simple and elementary words in the Hindustani language when he authoritatively says before the world, that Hindustani does not possess a word equivalent to the English word honour. Of course it is difficult to say that these remarks form a part of imperialistic propaganda carried on, on similar lines, by Mr. Archer in his book *Is India Civilised?*, or by our friend, the notorious Miss Mayo in her book *Mother India*. According to the saying of our great poet-philosopher, the ideal procedure for Indians is to treat these tyrannies in word, with the contempt that they deserve, as thereby we desist from putting a premium on them. One wonders how these imperialistic propagandists do not still realise that false propaganda after all does not serve the cause for which it is meant. On the other hand the effect they produce is quite the opposite. Sir John Woodroff's book in reply to the writings of Mr. Archer put before the world the merits of India more elaborately than they would have been, had not Mr. Archer written his book in that manner. Miss Mayo need not be specially reminded that India has now advanced much nearer the goal of Swaraj, than she was when her book was written, notwithstanding her propaganda. One need not be accused of exaggeration if it is asserted that such anti-Indian propaganda has helped to stir up the dormant qualities of Indians and accelerated their pace toward their desired goal. "Always have a calumniator as your neighbour. Calumniator's mouth is like a soap-cake, it helps to cleanse one's mind," says a poet-saint of Maharashtra.

If one looks back over the pages of ancient history, one finds that when nations start a campaign of blind hatred against other natio they usually show a tendency towards decli By looking at the drawbacks only of the ot nations, instead of trying to assimilate their g points, these nations isolate themselves from rest of the world. "The fate of India was sea when the word 'Mlechcha' was invented," s Swami Vivekananda. The downfall of In began when she started looking down u other nations and thus isolated herself practica from the rest of the world. The same th happened to the Chinese, when they star calling the other nations foreign devils a their own country "The Celestial Empire". O wonders if history is repeating itself in the W in this respect. Only a few months ba American tourists visiting Federated Mal States flashed news through Reuter, to the fo corners of the globe that they had seen Mick Mouse being worshipped by the Tamil cool in a temple at Singapore. Naturally t "Mickey Mouse" was nobody else than t ubiquitous village deity Hanuman, who is wor shipped by Hindu villagers in the temple of Go Rama. What the American tourists gained b publishing this ludicrous news one fails imagine. Instead of trying to know that t Tamil coolies worshipped "Mickey Mouse", they had made an attempt to learn from the heathens that cleaning one's teeth before havi a bedside cup of morning tea, and having regular daily bath are very hygienic, they wou have derived some benefit from their visit the Tamil cooly lines during their tour in t Federated Malay States.

However, Lord Baden-Powell may be r minded that the equivalent for the English wor honour, exists in many words in Hindustani o of which "Izzat" is the most commonly know to and used by the man in the street. Edmu Candler, the well known war correspondent, sa in his book *The Sepoy*, "The words Izzat an Jiwan, are constantly in the mouths of offic and sepoy. 'Izzat' is best rendered by hono or prestige". As it is difficult to estimate th comparative value of the words, honour an Izzat, it is better to quote examples which w give an idea as to what value is allotted to th word 'Izzat' by the Indians. Lord Baden-Powe being an army man and a Britisher, anecdote

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re quoted here from the Indian army narrated y the gallant soldier's own countrymen.

The historian James Grant, in Cassell's *istory of India*, quoting Sir John Malcolm ays:

"Neither the Hindoo nor the Mahomedan sepoy could e deemed of revengeful nature, though both were prone deeds of extreme violence, especially in points where ey deemed their honour—of which they have a very een sense—slighted or insulted or their character stained. of this spirit two or three examples may be given. In 772, a sepoy of the 10th Native Bengal Infantry, suppos- g himself injured quitted the ranks and approaching apt. Ewens commanding, with 'recovered arms,' as if to ake some request, shot him dead, and then quietly waited the death he merited. Captain Cook of the Madras avalry once struck a sentry for allowing a water bullock o enter his tent. The man waited calmly till relieved rom his post and then seeking the Captain, shot him ead with his carbine. He made no attempt to escape. e had avenged his honour thus terribly for a blow given.

"A sepoy of the Bengal Native Infantry was accused y one of his comrades of having stolen a rupee and a air of trousers. The Sergeant-Major before whom the harge was brought was both unable and unwilling to ive it credence, as the sepoy had always been remarkably onspicuous for his bravery and upright conduct. But nvestigations had to be carried out. On examining the napsack to the utter astonishment and regret of the hole regiment the stolen property was discovered. None owever, looked more thunderstruck than the sepoy him- elf. The Colonel told him that though the circumstances ere so fearfully against him he would not yet pronounce im guilty, as it was not impossible he might be the ictim of some malignant design. In a few hours, the epoy was found to leave his little hut and walk with urried steps to a neighbouring field. Suspecting the urpose of his present visit to so retired a spot, a comrade llowed him, but unfortunately too late to arrest the and of the determined suicide. The poor fellow lay tretched on the ground, with his head hanging back and he blood gushing from open throat. He was taken to the ospital and carefully tended. He lingered on for fifteen ays till he died of starvation. Two days before he died, t was discovered that a low class servant had placed the tolen goods in the sepoy's bundle and then urged its wner to accuse him of the theft. The disclosure of this ircumstance appeared to give infinite satisfaction to the ying soldier."

Edmund Candler, in his interesting book *The Sepoy*, quotes the following incident which occurred during the last World War in the renches in France.

"Rajput pride 'Izzat' is at the bottom of the saddest tory of a sepoy, I have ever heard. The man was a illman of Rajput descent. After two days of incessant ighting with minimum of rest at night he fell asleep at his post. On account of his splendid service and his xhaustion at the time which was after all the tax of allantry, the death penalty was commuted, and the man as sentenced to thirty lashes. He would have much referred death. However, he took his lashes well. He ent about his work as usual and was in two or three ore actions in which he acquitted himself well. After complete year in France and five months in Egypt came he welcome news that they were returning home. On he afternoon, the day he disembarked at Bombay, the Rajput shot himself. He had chosen to live when there was work to do.....And when he was a bare three days from his family and home he chose to die. Was English 'Honour' or Indian 'Izzat' at the bottom of this tragedy?"

Below are given a few incidents which are quoted not from any book on history but which actually took place in some of the military stations in India in recent times. They may give an idea as to what comparative value is allotted to the English word 'honour' and the Hindustani word 'Izzat' by the respective users of the two languages.

The first incident to be quoted happened in Kohat in the summer of 1919. Cholera had suddenly appeared in an epidemic form in Kohat and three I. M. S. officers and a military assistant surgeon had been hurriedly summoned from Peshawar for cholera duty. They were staying in the Kohat traveller's bungalow and it was the second day of their arrival there. A few yards to the north-western side of the bungalow was the post office, and the front courtyard was occupied by the staff of the brigade head-quarters. Two of the I. M. S. officers and the Assistant surgeon were occupying the rear portion of the bungalow. It was a hot stuffy night typical of the Frontier summer, and the doctors were sleeping in the courtyard. Just after mid-night they were roused from their sleep by loud screams mixed with moans, coming from somewhere near the bungalow. They hurried back to the verandah of the bungalow, to await developments. However the confusion soon ceased and the doctors went to bed, thinking that the disturbance was due to some Pathan thieves having entered the post office. Next day it was found that a Pathan raider had entered the Signal company's tent in the brigade head-quarters camp, and snatched the rifles from two British signallers. The two Tommies getting frightened had run out of the tent and in doing so had trodden over the bodies of the servants of a Royal Engineers officer, as they were sleeping in the open. The Pathan next entered the tent of the Gurkha guard, and grabbed at the rifle of a sleeping Gurkha sepoy, who had kept it slung on his arm. The Gurkha felt the jerk and finding that a Pathan robber was trying to snatch away his rifle grappled with the Pathan in his half sleepy condition. Both of them stumbled out of the tent and before the Gurkha could take out his Kukri to hit the Pathan the Pathan stabbed him with his dagger and leaving him badly wounded in the chest bolted with the three rifles. The Indian Gurkha sacrificed his life for the sake of his 'Izzat', as losing a rifle

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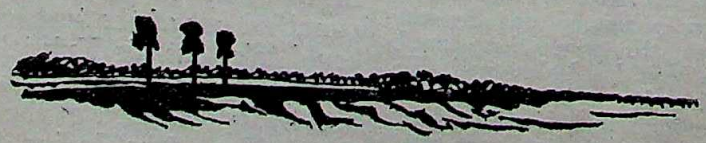
by a soldier is considered a dishonour in the army.

The second incident happened also in Kohat in the same year, but a couple of months later in the cholera camp. Cholera had taken a terrible toll of the sepoys and camp followers in the regiments stationed at Kohat. The mortality was appalling in the hastily improvised cholera hospital conducted by the three I. M. S. officers assisted by about four military sub-assistant surgeons and about half a dozen military ward orderlies, and some sweepers. Gradually the epidemic subsided and the hospital workers had some respite. The ward orderlies consisted of Sepoy Laxman Pawar, a Deccani Maratha from 128th Pioneers, Sawar Yakub Khan, a Hindustani Mussalman from Skinner's Horse, Sepoy Tiwari, a U. P. Brahmin from the 3rd Brahmin Regiment, and Sepoys Dularam and Narsoo Singh, Rajputana Gujars, from the 43rd Deoli Regiment, all under the command of Havildar Darveza Khan, a Sagri Khatak Pathan from Bannu. In a hastily improvised military unit, especially a hospital with patients dying of a disease where treatment was not of much avail and a lower staff selected at random from different regiments, discipline could not be expected to be perfect. There was reason to believe that the relations between the non-commissioned officer Darveza Khan, and the other five sepoys were far from cordial, and Sawar Yakub Khan, (who was nicknamed Bewakoof Khan by the Havildar), was supposed to be at the root of this internecine trouble. One afternoon the ward orderlies were unloading the Supply and Transport cart containing the provisions for the hospital. Some sort of wordy warfare started between Sepoy Dularam and Havildar Darveza Khan, which culminated in Dularam throwing down the Pathan Havildar on the ground and trying to hit him with the handle of a shovel. Naturally young Dularam was hauled up next day before the officer commanding the hospital, Major B. A court of inquiry was held and he was tried for assaulting his superior officer while on duty. He was found guilty and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment. The poor lad half sobbing shouted out, "Nobody listens to what I
What have I done? I was first assaulted by
Havildar; so I hit him back. Why should I
sent to prison?" He was kept as a prisoner
the guard room, before the armed guard fr
the headquarters came next day to take him
the prison. As soon as he noticed the sep
guard of a Punjabi regiment coming to t
him away, from a distance, he snatched
rifle from the hands of sepoy Narsoo Singh,
ran out in the open shouting. He was seen
the two I. M. S. officers kneeling down in fr
of their tent and adjusting the bolt of the r
It was later on found that he wanted to sh
the I. M. S. officer who gave the prosecut
evidence against him and the Havildar Darv
Khan, who was responsible for his prosecut
Narsoo Singh noticing this ran after Dular
but before he could snatch the rifle away fr
him, he turned it toward his own face and pu
the trigger. Luckily it was loaded not with
usual service cartridge, but with game shoo
cartridge containing small shot as is usu
done on the Frontier where the army sent
guarding camps have to deal with Pat
marauders who crawl into the camp under
cover of darkness. So the shot did not kill
but tore off the skin of his face and shatte
his jaw bone. The fair and handsome lookin
young lad's face mangled and covered with blo
presented a hideous and distorted appearan
The poor lad made an attempt to kill himself
save his 'Izzat', which would have been dama
by his being sent to prison.

Finally it may be said that it is high ti
that Britishers of the type of Lord Baden-Pow
realised that they are not enhancing the pres
of Great Britain by running down Indians
their country. Indians have long ago ceased
give any importance to the patronizing opini
about them or their country by foreigners,
have realised that the future of their coun
depends upon their own achievements, and
on the few favours bestowed on them with
condescending smile by those who have taken
themselves the laborious task of bearing
"White man's burden" for the salvation of
human race.



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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

LIBERALITY AND CIVILIZATION: *By Gilbert Murray, D.C.L., LL.D., Litt.D. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 2s. 6d.*

This book contains two lectures given by Professor Gilbert Murray at the invitation of the Hibbert Trustees in the Universities of Bristol, Glasgow, and Birmingham in October and November, 1937. They are informative, and also thought-provoking, as the phrase goes. In the first lecture the Professor explains what he means by liberality. It is not Liberalism in the sense in which that word is used in party politics. He goes on to show the interdependence of liberality and civilization. In the second lecture he considers the problem of keeping alive liberal thought and feeling in a world which seems to have turned anti-liberal. "Civilized thinking means liberal thinking. Liberality is the inner content of civilization."

Readers of *The Modern Review* have already got some idea of the contents of the book from the extracts from it given in the Notes in the last June number under the captions, "Liberality and Free Speech", and "The Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace", pp. 703-704.

D.

HIND SWARAJ OR INDIAN HOME RULE: *By M. K. Gandhi. Printed at the Vithal Mudranalaya, Congress Camp, Vithal Nagar. Paper Cover, Pp. 183, xii. Price As. 4 (1938).*

In a short foreword Mr. Mahadev Desai tells us how this little book which was out of print came to be reprinted. Lord Lothian, when on a visit to Gandhiji wanted a copy of it and at the same time Madame Sophia Wadia, the well known Bombay Theosophist did so. It was written in Gujarati in 1908 in South Africa and then proscribed in India. Translated into English for Mr. Kallenbach it has, continued to attract attention. In it lies in the germ of all that Gandhiji is preaching now. The booklet is worth reading, re-reading, as it shows the Mahatmaji at his best.

THE POWER OF NON-VIOLENCE: *By Richard B. Gregg. Printed at the Navjivan Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Thick card board. Pp. 398 with an index. (1938.) Price Rs. 2.*

This is an Indian Edition of Mr. Gregg's work. He writes from South Natick, Massachusetts, U. S. A., and has fitly dedicated the book to Mahatma Gandhi. In sixteen chapters the whole subject of Non-Violence is discussed in detail from an Indian as well as the Western point of view and the author tells us that it is not a history of the Indian struggle for independence only, but of such struggles elsewhere. The notes to the chapters bear this out as reference is made therein to the works of various world writers. The idea of non-violence is tested with recent findings of psychology, military and political strategy, political theory, economics, physiology, biology, ethics, penology, and education. It has thus embraced a wider scope for the propaganda of Ahimsa than that found in Gandhiji's writings and utterances. The conclusion reached, however, is identical and confirms in soundness of Gandhiji's preachings. It is a scholarly and learned work and deserves to be studied by all, pacificists as well as non-pacificists. Mr. Gregg is a lawyer and has considered the pros as well as the cons of the subject. He is an industrialist also and has stayed in India pretty long. He is thus qualified to speak on Indian conditions too.

X.

HISTORY OF KANAUJ—TO THE MOSLEM CONQUEST: *By Rama Shankar Tripathi, M.A., Ph.D. Indian Book Shop, Benares City. 1937. Pp. XX+420. Price Rs. 7.*

The history of Kanauj is a worthy subject of study for every student of Indian History. With the single exception of Pataliputra, Kanauj may justly be regarded as the greatest imperial city in ancient India. In point of antiquity and length of life Kanauj beats hollow even its proud rival. It was a royal capital for many centuries while the site of Pataliputra was marked by a petty village, and it continued to flourish as an imperial capital nearly six centuries after the glory of Pataliputra had vanished for ever.

During these six centuries Kanauj saw the rise and fall of five empires, those of the Maukharis, the Pratiharas and the Gahadavalas, and of Harshavardhan and Yasovarman. During the same period it was ruthlessly trampled under feet by no less than four powerful hostile armies, *viz.*, the Karnatas, Kashmiras, Ghaznivides and Tursushkas, and its age-long duel with Bengal culminated in the complete triumph of the rival king Dharmapala who had his coronation performed in the eternal city in the presence of all the powerful chiefs of Northern India.

Against this background of political upheavals Kanauj witnessed an outburst of literary activity to which there is hardly any parallel with the exception of the legendary court of Vikramaditya at Ujjain. For few cities can boast of a galaxy of such renowned masters of literary art as Vakpatiraja, Bhababhuti, Banabhatta and Rajasekhara—not to mention lesser names—who have left a permanent mark on Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. As a seat of orthodox Brahmanical culture the fame of Kanauj spread to the furthest corner of Northern India,

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and even today all the high class Brahmins and Kayasthas of Bengal look upon Kanauj as their ancestral and spiritual home.

This wonderful story of political and cultural greatness is told by Dr. Tripathi in the book before us. It is a scholarly work, marked by accuracy, precision, and sound judgment. The author has carefully examined all the sources and placed before his readers an interesting but unvarnished account of the memorable events that centred around Kanauj. His style is condensed and elegant and his criticism is always dispassionate and to the point. He has differed from previous writers on many points, but has referred to their views in moderate and temperate language. He has studiously avoided dogmatic expressions and an acrimonious tone which are unfortunately only too common in modern historical writings. On the whole the author is to be congratulated on the fine piece of work which he has produced.

It is inevitable that there should be room for difference of opinion on many points in a work comprising the history of so many dynasties. But it is very seldom that we can regard the author's standpoint as definitely untenable. In a few instances, however, the author seems to have departed from his usual caution in forming an unbiassed judgment of available historical materials. We shall cite two examples.

The first refers to the coronation ceremony of Dharmapala at Kanauj, referred to in verse 12 of the Khalimpur copper-plate. The meaning of the entire verse is not quite clear. According to Kielhorn's translation, unhesitatingly accepted by the author (p. 216), the main fact referred to in the verse is the installation of the illustrious king of Kanyakubya, presumably Cakrayudha. This is, however, not so clear, and is merely an inference drawn from emended text of the verse. There is, however, no doubt that the verse contains a clear reference to the coronation of Dharmapala himself, a ceremony in which the golden pitcher was held over his head by the elders of Kanauj, and the host of kings—of Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avanti, Kira, and Gandhara—had to nod their heads in hearty approval under the frowning looks of Dharmapala. Leaving aside the disputed question whether the ceremony also included the installation of Cakrayudha, a nominee and protege of Dharmapala, on the throne of Kanauj, which is in any case a subsidiary issue, the presence of the kings in the coronation ceremony and their approval of it, under compulsion, leaves no doubt that they recognised Dharmapala as their suzerain. The author seems to have missed the real issue in his discussion of the topic on pp. 216-17 and p. 230. He thinks that the main object of the assembly was a "settlement of the affairs of Kanauj" to which the assembled monarchs gave their approval. He admits that the incidents described in the verse "indicates the power and position of Dharmapala who seems to have attained in his day the rank of the premier king of the North", but he fights shy of the natural conclusion that Dharmapala conquered those states. It is of course quite possible that some of these states submitted without any actual fight, but there can be hardly any doubt, that the main object of the verse is to indicate that Dharmapala's suzerainty was acknowledged by the states named therein. It is difficult, therefore, to agree with the author that "the passage in question only gives us a list of the principal kingdoms that had dealings with Kanauj, and the assumption that they were subject to it seems altogether fantastic and wide of the mark" (p. 217). Of course the subjection was to Dharmapala and not to Kanauj, which was itself a dependency of the Pala empire. Still more open to objection is the author's view that the approval of the ruler of Avanti was a mere "diplomatic gesture" (p. 230).

The second instance refers to the fact, specifi mentioned in an inscription of Lakshmanasena and inscriptions of his two sons, that he defeated the i of Benares and erected pillars of victories in Ben and Allahabad. The author summarily dismisses claim with the following remark:

"But in view of the position of Benares in Gahadavala realm, and Laksamanasena's (*sic*) cra flight without offering any resistance to the small b led by Bakhtyar Khilji, we may unhesitatingly say 'the monuments of his greatness never existed elsew than in the poet's imagination.'" (p. 325).

It is evident that the author has never cared to the history of Minhaj on which the tale of "craven fl is based. Perhaps it would be interesting to him to k that Minhaj himself has paid the highest tribute Lakshmanasena and referred to him as the greatest of Hind; and further that no unbiassed reader Minhaj's narrative would choose to brand Lakshmana as a coward. Besides, while the author puts so m stress on the successful raid on Nadia, he conveni forgets that Lakshmanasena and his successors mainta the independence of the greater part of Bengal b stubborn resistance to the Muslim invaders for nearly a century after nearly all the other powerful kingdom Northern India, including Kanauj, had been conqu by them.

But even granting that Lakshmanasena was di trously routed by the Muslims in his old age and from Nadia, is it reasonable to infer that the storie his conquest in earlier days were all imaginary? B similar reasoning one would be inclined to discredit story of Yasovarman's victories in Bengal because he so disastrously defeated later by Lalitaditya. Indeed have no ground to disbelieve the specific reference Lakshmanasena's conquests in contemporary inscripti if we accept as true similar references in contempora inscriptions in the case of other kings.

I am afraid this long discussion would lead one suppose that the age-long duel between Gauda and Kan is still in progress, only with the exchange of pen for sword. I therefore conclude with the remark that blemishes as I have indicated above do not take a from the real merit of the book. We have every righ expect more scholarly works from the young author.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

THE POSITIVE BACKGROUND OF HIN SOCIOLOGY. BOOK I: INTRODUCTION TO HINDU POS VISM: *By Benoy Kumar Sarkar. The Sacred Books of Hindus Series, vol. XXXII. Panini Office, Allahabad. Royal 8vo. Pp. 71+697. Price Rs. 16.*

This stupendous volume of 700 pages was origin written as an introduction to the author's English tra lation of the *Sukra-niti*, but considering its size and very wide range of interest, it is, without doubt *magnum opus*. The main object of the first volume, its title indicates, is to consider the manifestation of "positivist" spirit of ancient India in its various for and the author has collected together a great mass material from multifarious sources; but it is in rea a veritable encyclopædic *vade-mecum* of hundreds things connected with India and the world at la from the pre-historic Mahenjo-daro to the historic P Benoy Kumar Sarkar himself, to the last (but not least) of which interesting topic a Preface of 57 pa is devoted! The reader, however, will find very li of the *Sukra-niti* itself, which is professedly the star point of the work, even within the capacious limits of present volume, although there is a great deal of in

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nation of diverse kind on Niti-sastra. Kautalya and connected topics, and the name of Positivist India is not taken in vain! The author, to judge from his profuse references to works in various Western and Eastern languages, is a well-read man; and nothing escapes his notice, specially, from China to Peru and, temporally, from the Assyro-Babylonian to the modern "Indo-Euro-American" *milieu*, whether it be Literature, Culture, Sociology, Politics, History or Philosophy. The Professor has a wonderful facility of diction, and a marvelous gift of coining words, phrases and formulas, such as Vertical Mobilities, Buddha-Kautalya complex, Geometry of Between-Man Relations; but one wonders if it is really necessary to sacrifice lucidity and revel in an imposing array of verbal profundity. In his impatience of scholastic limits our author appears to have a dislike for what he calls "Traditional Indology"; but it is doubtful how far this work of facile copiousness, as a specimen of neo-Indology, will really appeal to a critical and scholastic reader. Let us hope that the general reader will have the time and patience (which the poor reviewer must needs have) to benefit from his well-meant, if somewhat diffuse, popularisation of a difficult and interesting subject.

S. K. De

SIKHISM: *By Professor Teja Singh. Published by Longmans Green and Co. Rs. 2.*

The problem for strife-torn humanity today is not in finding ideals and visions of the perfect, but in forging the missing links between the outer and inner aspects of behaviour. Spiritual wisdom lies enshrined in civilisation, but our conduct follows prehistoric fear and unreason: precipitation of moral law in terms of human relationship has yet to meet the modern demand. We need a technique —call it a technique of good life—not only for individuals, but for organised living; tribal sanctions seeking relief in fratricide can no longer satisfy an age in which wars, holy or unholy, are apt to end in wholesale extermination, and muddling through means sure domination by powerfully planned barbarism. Individuals, in many countries, recognise the world-situation, and would serve the higher conscience—which paradoxically enough, is wider awake today than before—by closing the dangerous gap that exists between hoarded ideals and instinctual living. Societies spring up, menaced by wide-spread atavism, but determined to supply nation and group with an actional basis of humanity.

Professor Teja Singh's book deals with eternal problems but it is also a timely publication. With rare charm and scrutiny he reveals the dual aspect of Sikhism—"the Ideals and Institutions"—and takes us to the borderland where the spirit and the material organisation of life are recognised together in the evolution of a religious community.

Sikhism—as a synthesising order—had to face from its inception the pressure of majority religions; spiritual light had to be given a container which would protect it from the blasts of communal rivalry, and guide followers in the *Panth*, the path of righteous living. Problems of initiation and practice, of attitude towards religious bodies and traditions had to be defined; as a reformist movement, Sikhism had to offer an uncompromising front to harmful social usage, to caste and sectarianism, while accepting the concept of spiritual democracy in which religions meet. The *Guru* gave the Laws, in spheres of conduct and contemplation, and recorded in the *Holy Granth*, the sacred book of the Sikhs, they bear witness to the structural catholicity of Sikhism which made it incorporate truths from diverse religious sources without affecting its original character. Devotion and Service, in each religion, have gone together: true spiritual freedom must lie in accepting the bondage—not bondage any more to a freed soul—of welfare work, but the peculiar contribution of Sikhism is that it insisted on inter-communal service, amidst difficult and dangerous circumstance, as part of the daily work without promising extra-spiritual felicities as reward. Luring recruits by prospects of easeful shelter could hardly be possible in a community which for the greater part of its history has had to struggle for bare existence. Territorial acquisitiveness sanctified by spiritual dispensation could not form the policy of a community schooled by service and sacrifice; this holds true even of the days of Sikh prosperity. At the time of the tenth *Guru*, the *Khalsa* idea was formed; the idea of a purified soul taking up life's duties, undeterred by suffering or persecution.

How did Sikhism organise service? What was the secret of the unitary existence of the community, even though dispersed over a wide area; how to interpret the ideological entity which lies behind the vows and rituals and signs? Professor Teja Singh's book answers many questions and provides a background to which such questions could be referred; he can be critical and yet his writings are saturated with the imperishable traditions of his faith. He tells us how the Sikh Order has saved itself from sectarianism and while he warns his community against fissiparous tendencies, he has no difficulty in tracing the unshakable loyalty to the *Guru* and the *Granth* which has welded the brotherhood into one and made it assert its principles in face of adversity. When one remembers how in recent times the *Akalis* suffered without retaliation, accepting the highest form of Gandhian non-violence and resisting opponents with untarnished spiritual fortitude, one realises what wealth of sensitiveness and power of discipline this heroic community carries within itself.

Professor Teja Singh gives us history, and with admirable economy, presents the essential features of the Sikh religion; he describes the rites and ceremonies, always noting their significance; takes us on pilgrimage to the *Takhts*, deals with the constitution of the *Sangat*, giving us details of the disciplinary organization. *Gurumattas* are explained,—he has some pertinent things to say on their political bearings—and much light is thrown on the nature of decisions thus made by the Executive on problems affecting the whole community. At the end of the book and running right through its pages occur lucid translations of Sikh prayers and devotional songs.

On problems of war-mindedness, and some vestigeal forms of caste in the lower strata of the Sikh community one might need further elucidation; on the nature of the political institutions and of the external signs—the five K's—one would welcome examination in the light of modern standards, but the adequacy of the book as a guide to Sikhism evokes admiration. The organisational side of this welfare-working community demands the attention of a generation baffled by the ethics of "Ends and Means"—Huxley's book is the most significant contribution of our times—and Sikhism, as depicted in this monograph, challenges universal interest.

Reading this book one sees the completeness of Guru Nanak's preaching, as expressed by Guru Arjan, "Without pleasing God all actions are worthless." And again, in the same hymn, "I say, Nanak, if you *exert* yourself in action, you will be saved." (*Gauri Mala.*)

Amiya Chakravarty

SWAMI RAMA: HIS LIFE & LEGACY: *By P. Brijnath Sharga, M.A., LL.B. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.*

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It is an account of the life and teachings of one who was born in poor circumstances, strove to acquire learning by fighting against odds, completed a University career and became a Professor of Mathematics; but who later renounced the world, became a preacher and teacher and ultimately a recluse and died an accidental death at the early age of 33. The story is told in an attractive, though somewhat diffused, style.

THE STORY OF SWAMI RAMA: *By Mr. Puran Singh. Published by The Rama Tirtha Publication League, Lucknow.*

This is another biography of Swami Rama. The difference in authorship has been responsible for a difference in outlook and mode of narration also. Besides, this book has aspired to be a little more critical than ordinary biographies of saints.

THE PASSING OF THE GODS: *By V. F. Calverton. Published by George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., Museum Street, London. Pp. 326. Price 10s. 6d. net.*

This is a remarkable book—remarkable both for the courage with which the author treats his subject and also for the equally bold conclusions that he draws. The author's main theses are: (i) Religion is a "social compulsive" or a social force, and, as such, should be studied sociologically. Hitherto, the approach to the study of religion has been mainly psychological, treating it as an individual reality only. (ii) The influence of religion has depended on the fact that it promised not other-worldly benefits so much as fulfilment of this-worldly interests. (iii) And the classes in society whose interests it served have been the staunchest advocates of it. (iv) In a classless society which appears to be the eventual aim of mankind, religion will have out-lived its usefulness and will be there no more. "Religion is dying today, and the gods are passing, not so much because the human race has no more need of the function they served, but because it has built up superior substitutes for them" (p. 320). The future, therefore, belongs not to religion but to science, not to the gods but to men. Obviously, it is taken as an indisputable fact that the gods *are* passing.

The writer supports his conclusions with a wealth of information and an array of arguments which are bound to compel attention. All his facts are perhaps not accurately stated. For instance, when he says (p. 58) that "among the Brahmans, the King is considered the Creator of the Gods," or that "in Bengal, they openly spoke of *Tshānda Gosain* as a God who could be approached only by the wealthy" (p. 78), he is treading on uncertain ground. But such small inaccuracies do not materially affect his main interpretation of history.

It is not difficult to imagine that many will not accept his conclusions or his interpretation of history. But all his facts are not open to challenge. His chapter on American Culture is particularly illuminating. It gives a lurid picture of how 'God and Christ had become open allies of wealth and station' (p. 259) and 'how the Prince of Peace had been converted into a War Lord' (p. 260).

The book is a Marxist broad-side on organised religion. Guardians of religion in all lands ought to take note of it; and instead of pretending to condemn it in a superior fashion, ought to see if there is no real force behind the attack. Books of this kind are a special need for India where the old fabrics of religion still refuse to be reshaped and where still the cry of "religion in danger" can easily collect a motley crowd of men.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

THE ECONOMICS OF CORPORATE SAVI[illegible] *By J. Ellwood Amos. The University of Illinois P[illegible] Urbana, Illinois, 1937. Pages 136. Price $1.50.*

The importance of 'saving' as an economic cate[illegible] has increased remarkably in recent years. The writ[illegible] of the recent employment-economists have made exp[illegible] sions like 'positive saving,' 'negative saving,' 'forced [illegible] ing' greatly significant in different branches of econ[illegible] study. A book professing to deal with the *economics* corporate saving should, therefore, be a welcome add[illegible] to the increasing volume of literature on the subject.

In fact, however, Mr. Amos has not discussed so m[illegible] the purely economic aspects of corporate saving as statistical difficulties of arriving at a correct measure of saving practised by business corporations. His analys[illegible] the motives for, and the effects of corporate savin[illegible] almost elementary. The chapter on 'some theoretical [illegible] siderations' will disappoint the reader who will exp[illegible] logical discussion after a brilliant exposition of the st[illegible] tical problems.

The value of the book lies in the descriptive cha[illegible] The author has analysed carefully the policies adopted different types of business corporations as regards sav[illegible] and the devices that very often obscure the real savin[illegible] 'de-saving' policy of particular types of business. T[illegible] is a valuable chapter on the effects of the surtax imp[illegible] in the U. S. A. on the undistributed profits of corporat[illegible] under the Revenue Act of 1936. The readers of Mr. A[illegible] book will be grateful to him at least for the mass information he has so carefully brought together.

BHABATOSH DATTA

MATHEMATICS FOR THE MILLION: A POP[illegible] LAR SELF-EDUCATOR: *By Lancelot Hogben. P[illegible] lished by George Allen & Unwin, London. Pp. 648. Pr[illegible] 12s. 6d. net.*

Many people leave school with an inferiority comp[illegible] about mathematics, feeling that it is a 'subject' th[illegible] cannot just grasp. But modern civilisation is based [illegible] science, and mathematics is the language of science. one can become an intelligent citizen unless he can und[illegible] stand the language of experts. Without this understa[illegible] ing he is at their mercy. The author has an amaz[illegible] gift of clarity; his exposition is not only brilliant [illegible] popular; with sound simplifications he has made thi[illegible] which usually bring despair intelligible to the aver[illegible] citizen. In helping the average citizen to become [illegible] intelligent one, he has helped the progress of democra[illegible]

The book teaches mathematics as it grew as ma[illegible] instrument to understand and master his environment; [illegible] building, navigation, surveying, mining, manufacturing [illegible] exploration. It becomes an extraordinarily vivid hist[illegible] of science as it grew in its social uses. The author [illegible] established beyond dispute the existence of a relatio[illegible] qualitative though it may be, between the growth [illegible] mathematical facts and the severely practical problems [illegible] the society that gave them birth. This is in itself a sig[illegible] ficant contribution towards the history of science,—[illegible] a scientific advance in itself. The author makes [illegible] hesitant reader at once an actor and spectator in a sp[illegible] pageant, leading him from the Pyramids to polar expl[illegible] tion, from camel caravan to the steamships crossing [illegible] oceans.

The best thing we can do to the reader is to rec[illegible] mend this remarkable book to him. This is one of [illegible] indispensable works of popularisation we have co[illegible] across since we left college. For example, the auth[illegible] treatment of Statistics or the Arithmetic of Human Well[illegible] is so lucid and elegant that it can be readily understo[illegible] and appreciated by one who has forgotten his colle[illegible]

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mathematics. It reminds the Bengali reader of the late venerable Ramendra Sundar Trivedi and of his popular philosophical and mathematical essays. And we make no apologies for our enthusiasm for the entire 648 pages of the book.

J. M. DATTA

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND JAPAN : *By C. N. Vakil and D. N. Malusta. Published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1937. Price Rs. 5.*

Professor C. N. Vakil, University Professor of Economics, Bombay, has inaugurated a very useful series of handbooks on the economic problems of modern India and under his able editorship twelve valuable volumes have already been published. The present study is the 12th in this series entitled "Studies in Indian Economics" and published by Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd.

The volume under review deals with a subject of great practical importance to the economic life and prosperity of India. It describes the transformation of Japan from a poor, feudal, backward, weak nation to a modern, advanced, prosperous, industrialised, strong and great power. It points out the chief factors which are responsible for the amazing progress achieved during the last 70 years and discusses both the elements of strength and weakness in the economic position of Japan. It clearly brings out the significance of foreign trade for Japan and the consequent importance attached to the subject by the government and the steps taken by it to ensure its stability and progress.

The authors then carefully analyse the trade between Japan and India and discuss the problem of Japanese competition in India. They examine the conditions which necessitated the conclusion of the Indo-Japanese Trade Agreement, first in 1934 and again in 1937, and the provisions of the two agreements and they state their criticisms and conclusions. And the whole work is carried out by the two authors in a scientific spirit and judicious manner and the volume is eminently readable and interesting. It should prove very useful to the commercial and industrial community, the members of the central legislature and to the students of Economics and Commerce in the country.

The main defect of this valuable study is its brevity. For instance the whole subject of financing the economic reconstruction and modernisation of Japan has been dealt with in less than two pages of the book. Similarly, the working of the 1934 Trade Agreement has been examined and discussed in less than 4 pages. Both these subjects are of tremendous practical importance to the governments and the people in this country at the present juncture and a comprehensive discussion of them would have greatly added to the value of the book. I feel sure that the provincial governments would have been particularly grateful to the authors, if from their study of reconstruction and modernisation in Japan, they had pointed out ways and means of financing the programmes of economics and educational reconstruction in Indian provinces. In my opinion, the utility of the book would have also been greatly augmented if the authors had given their suggestions in a concluding chapter for meeting the terribly serious competition of Japan to Indian industry and trade. However, the book as it is, is an important and a very useful publication, and will go a long way in promoting the understanding of the problem of Japanese competition and trade relationship with India. It deserves to be read widely.

GURMUKH N. SINGH

HOW SHALL WE DEFINE LUXURY : *By C. R. Agaskar, B.A., LL.B. Published by the author at Saraswati Bag, Jogeswari. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 4-4.*

The author in this monograph discusses the problem of unemployment. There is a number of suggestions for the removal of the evils of unemployment, but mostly divorced from economic laws and facts. The author's advocacy for free higher education to all, is not a practical one. He remarked that "the cry of the unemployed is nothing but a cry for luxuries" and that a revert to old plain and simple living will end all evils, is denying the hard facts when bare necessaries of life for the vast number of the population is wanting. The question of unemployment is baffling the best brains of the world and is certainly not so easy solution. Unemployment and maldistribution of wealth stand at the very root of the economy of a nation and is a subject which needs more sound and serious treatment.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

A TREATISE ON INDIAN INCOME-TAX LAW AND ACCOUNTS : *By Mr. B. N. Das-Gupta, B.A., A.S.A.A. (London), R.A., Incorporated Accountant, Head of the Department of Commerce, Lucknow University. Published by The Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta. Price Rs. 5.*

In this book the learned author has very thoroughly and carefully discussed the Income-tax Law as it is, analysing the Sections into their essential elements and indicating some of the points where changes in the law seem desirable.

Although in this book exhaustive citations of numerous case laws and Judicial decisions, departmental Rules and Instructions have not been included but still it has included therein all the typical cases. The author has been forced to adopt this method in view of the forthcoming amendment of the Act. The author places before the public an unbiassed interpretation of the Income-tax law as it is at present.

It is a neat handy book showing the practical working of the Income-tax Law, useful both for the busy Lawyer, as well as Accountants, Businessmen and Assessees generally.

The book presents several special features, *viz.*, the present law has been discussed by way of elucidating the provisions of law by applying them to concrete cases, complicated points of law have been explained by illustrations, several suggestions have been put forward for consideration of the public as well as the Legislators and all the important provisions of the law have been collected together for ready reference by all the assessees.

Further, many practical problems relating to Insurance Companies, Bank, Share-broker and Partnership have been worked out in this book.

The book contains a Foreword by the Hon'ble Sir N. N. Sircar, K.C.S.I., the Law Member of the Government of India and an exhaustive Index which enhances the value of the book.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

VILLAGE THEATRES : THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL THEATRE : *By Tandra Devi. With a Foreword by Nandalal Bose. Tandra Devi Publications. Tandrashram, Srinagar, Kashmir. Price As. 10. Post-paid As. 12.*

Srijut Nandalal Bose writes in his foreword :

"There was a time when this art (of puppet or marionette shows) was very popular in our villages, for it is simple, cheap and amusing and makes a ready appeal to the imagination. The author indicates that the Doll

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Theatre may reach also to a high level of artistic beauty and educational value. Every province in India had, in olden days, developed an individual style of this art, suited to the genius of the people. Even now, in a lingering form, it is to be found almost all over India. Lack of sympathy of the educated classes, who import their standards of taste from abroad (unfortunately, not the best Western standards either) has undermined the prestige of this art, as it has done of many indigenous culture...."

The author (well known to many as Mrs. Maude MacCarthy) deserves our gratitude for her efforts to revive this art and everyone will agree with her when she says that "this (puppet) theatre should be brought back in villages and small towns, not merely by reviving the ancient doll-shows, but by the re-birth of the ancient spirit in modern forms of puppetry". But it is difficult to agree with her when she, in her great enthusiasm, observes: "I believe that the National awakening should bring forth the National Theatre, and I hold that that theatre is the Puppet Theatre." It is hard to believe that the highest dramatic and histrionic aspirations of a nation should be asked to find their fulfilment in puppet shows. She commits the same mistake as some other enthusiasts of our country commit when they claim that the folk-art as practised by the *patuas* of Bengal represents Art of Paintings in its best.

PULINBIHARI SEN

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS OF THE EIGHTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE. *Mysore, December 1935, Bangalore, 1938.*

We have here a big volume consisting of two parts. Part One in 152 pages gives a complete report of the Conference, while in Part Two are published the Presidential Addresses of the different sections and about seventy articles—less than one-third the number submitted before and accepted by the sections. Some of the papers published here are highly interesting and useful though many that are left out appear to have been equally so, if not more. It is to be regretted that no indication has been given as to the principle, if any, that has been followed in selecting the papers for publication. This kind of publication of selected articles to the exclusion of others, however, naturally implies, if nothing else to the contrary is definitely indicated, the inferiority and unfitness of the latter, which, however is not generally the case. As a matter of fact, the practice of making room for only selected articles in a volume like this will be always open to criticism, not necessarily unjustified and unreasonable. Several alternatives may be possible under the circumstances. If funds permit space should be made available for all the articles read or taken as read in the Conference. If this is found to be impossible in consideration of the smallness of the funds, as is generally the case, specially in the case of the volume under review, the summaries of the papers along with the Presidential Addresses may be published as is done by the Indian Science Congress Association. If only the names of the papers read in each section are printed referring, as far as possible, to the journals where some of these may have been published, as was done in the proceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford, this will be of considerable use and interest to scholars. Further, this will not only save money but serve to strengthen the various Oriental journals and help to secure wider publicity for the papers as some of these journals reach more people than copies of the proceedings are expected to do.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

SANSKRIT

TANDYAMAHABRAHMANA WITH SAYANA COMMENTARY: *Edited in two volumes by Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri, Professor, Benares Hindu University. Pp. 494+46+612+31, Kashi Sanskrit Series, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Benares.*

We had much pleasure in noticing the *Baudhayana Dharmasutra* edited by Pandit Chinnaswami Sastri, well-known professor of Mimamsa in the Benares Hindu University. Today we are equally very glad to have from him a new edition of the *Tandyamahabrahmana* 'the great Brahmana taught by one Tandin'. It is also called *Praudhabrahmana* or 'Great Brahmana', and *Pancavimsa-brahmana* as it consists of twenty-five chapters (*adhyayas*). For the first time and with Sayana's commentary it was edited in Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica in 1870—1878) and translated into English by Caland (1931). It is to be regretted there is not yet any translation in any Indian vernacular.

The present edition is based not only on that of Calcutta, but also on two MSS. in Grantha script and three in Nagari collected from different parts of the country. That this edition is far better than the first is quite clear. Here a large number of quotations in the text and commentary is traced to their sources and various readings are noticed in the footnotes. Yet there is room for further improvement in this respect. For instance, the Calcutta edition reads (XXII. 18.7)—

"एतेन वै क्षेम धृत्वा पौण्डरीक इष्ट्वा"

The present edition has *Paundarikam* for *Paundarika*. But in fact the reading should be क्षेमधृत्वा पौण्डरीकम् Here the base is *Kshemadhritvan*, a proper name. (See Caland, tr.). The Calcutta edition seems to have led the authors of the *Vedic Index* to interpret the word *Paundarika* as 'descendent of Pundarika'. But in fact *Pundarika* here a kind of *soma* sacrifice lasting eleven days. In his index Pandit Chinnaswami has given its right meaning. His introduction is learned discussing different points regarding the text and showing the relationship between the text and the *Srantasutras* of Katyana and Apastamba. There are different indexes enhancing the value of the book.

VIDHUSEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

DHARMA-KOSA: *Edited by Laksman Shastri Joshi with an Editorial Board. Vol. I, pt. i. Vyavahara-khanda. Vyavahara-matrika. Published by the Prajna-Pratisthana Mandala, Wai, Satara, 1937.*

This ambitious publication, which includes in its scope the comprehensive and critical compilation of the entire material found in Sanskrit texts, with regard to the history of Hindu legal, political and social institutions from the works comprised in Vedic literature down to the commentaries and treatises composed towards the end of the 18th century. The stupendous mass of material, culled not only from printed literature but also from unpublished manuscripts, is classified and arranged, according to general and special headings, in chronological order as far as possible, and presented as an exposition of the historical conclusions that may be gleaned from it. No important text is omitted or ignored, and the extracts are so digested here in their original words that the reader will find in orderly sequence the evolution of a particular idea or institution relating to Hindu religious and customary law and usage. In the words of the Editor, the work to be completed in several volumes, will include a detailed study of the family rites and religious usages, of the expiatory rites, of the sacrifices, of the festivities and modes

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worship, of the fasts and the pilgrimages, of the religious faiths and of the Gods, of metaphysical speculations and philosophies, of the rules governing the individual conduct towards the family, the caste, or society, of ethics, law and politics, and of all social institutions of the Hindus." The work is, thus, not a mere laborious compilation of the mechanical kind, but, essentially, a study in cultural evolution, for which the learned Editor and his Board of Assistants and Advisers appear to be fully competent. The work, when completed, will form a monument of patient and critical learning, indispensable to all who are interested in the social and religious institutions of ancient India. The present volume consists of more than 700 quarto pages but deals only with a part of Vyavahara or legal procedure. It is noteworthy that not only printed texts are utilised and quoted, but sometimes their incorrect and doubtful readings are amended. Also, the very large number of quotations, found in the commentaries and digests, from Smriti works which are now lost, is collected together; and in this way, half a dozen or more old works are partially restored from citations. The work was started in 1925 by Narayan Shastri Marathe, but on his retirement from Garhasthyasrama, his worthy disciple, the present editor, is carrying it on with unabated zeal and energy. The first volume augurs well for the volumes to follow, and the enterprise certainly deserves wide sympathy and encouragement, as being at once a popularly useful as well as a strictly scholarly work.

S. K. De

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

SVETASVATARA UPANISHAD: *Translated by Swami Tyajisananda. Published by Sri Ramkrishna Math, Mylapore, Madras. Pp. 131. Price As. 12.*

Although Svetasvatara Upanishad is not one of the ten Upanishads of which Sankaracharya wrote commentaries, yet it is none the less important as is evident from the references made to it by the commentators in their commentaries of the Brahma-sutras. The book contains the Sanskrit text and its English translation together with explanatory notes. The intrinsic value of the book is further enhanced by the separate rendering of each and every textual word into English. The book, we hope, will be of much use to those who are not well conversant with Sanskrit.

Ananga Mohan Saha

BENGALI

SVARA-BITAN: *Part 3. By Rabindranath Tagore. First edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This book contains fifty of Rabindranath Tagore's songs, with their musical notations by the late Dinendranath Tagore, the poet's grandnephew, who was a distinguished musician. It has been edited by Sailaja-ranjan Majumdar, a noted musician of Santiniketan. Lovers of Bengali songs will appreciate this publication very much.

SAMAJ or SOCIETY: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Fifth edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-8.*

This is a collection of fourteen essays or articles by the poet and some imaginary correspondence between an imaginary grandfather and an imaginary grandson.

The fourteen papers are on the following subjects: The course of History in India, Miserliness in Giving, Indian Marriage, Woman's Education, Woman's Humanness, Unity of Hindus, Tyranny of Custom, Sea Voyage, Noose of Luxury, Oriental and Occidental, Reference for the Undeserving, East and West, What to Call Oneself, Hindu Marriage.

All the essays and the letters are noted for their distinction in style, power of original thinking, and occasional unexpected humour. They should be widely read by both men and women, young and old, all over India.

KSHANIKA: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a well-known book of poems by the author. The poems are written in a playful, half-humourous half-serious vein in light measures, but are not on that account devoid of serious import. Their re-issue in a handy volume printed in big type will be much appreciated.

RABI-RASHMI, or SUN'S RAYS: *Part I. By Professor Charu Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A. Published by the Calcutta University. Price not mentioned.*

The meaning of the name of this welcome bulky volume will be easily understood. Rabi, the name of Bengal's poet, means the Sun. His poems are styled his rays by the author.

Professor Bandyopadhyaya's two volumes, of which the present work is the first, are a study of and commentary on the poet's poems and plays. This, the first part, deals with those which were written up to some 40 years ago. The second part will bring the study up to date. It is in the hands of the printer.

The work will be of great help to the general reader in understanding and appreciating the poet's works. In it the author has given the reader not only the fruits of his own devoted labours for years but has laid under contribution other serious students and commentators of Tagore. The Poet himself has occasionally helped to remove the author's doubts and difficulties. What the Poet has written is of peculiar value. Very interesting and helpful are the parallel and illustrative quotations from Sanskrit, Persian, Hindi and English authors by the writer.

Bengali literature has now to be read by candidates for the matriculation and intermediate examinations of some of our universities, and for the B.A. and M.A. degrees, and Calcutta University has now prescribed an honours course in Bengali for the B.A. For all these some works or other by Tagore are sure to be prescribed. As Professor Bandyopadhyaya's book is sure to be of great help to teachers in teaching Tagore in class and to students in mastering his works for examination purposes, he has earned the gratitude not only of the general reader of Tagore but also of our student community.

Our publishers do not usually publish bulky and expensive works of this description. The Calcutta University has earned the thanks of the author and the public by publishing it. We only hope that it will hasten the publication of Part II of the work. The printing and publication of the first part, of some 452 pages royal octavo, took five years. That was rather slow work for a big press.

D.

GUJARATI

VIJNAN-SRISTI: *By Revashankar O. Somapura, B.A. Bhavnagar. Price Re. 1-11.*

A collection of about twenty articles on topics like rubber, motor car, the art of printing, telephone, radio, the solar system, etc., not specifically for schools but for general readers. The accompanying illustrations are few, and not very well executed either, but more to our interest

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is the author's attempt, mostly successful, to render technical terms in pure Indian language.

KALPA-BRIKSHA : *Umiashankar Thakur. Published by Gitamanjari Granthavali Karyyalay, Anand, Gujrat. Prices Re. 1 and Re. 1-4.*

A children's book, suitable for use as a school text also, but entirely on a novel plan: the letters of the alphabet are treated, by apt alliteration's artful aid, to the exquisite delight of the reader, and woven into a Pauranic story—thus combining story interest, Pauranic grounding, humour and enriched vocabulary in a strange assemblage of words, etc.

The sketches are well done and the printing good.

The novel attempt is well worth examination by educational experts.

RAGHUVAMSA : *Nagardas A. Pandya, B.A. Badval. 1937. Price Rs. 2.*

The nineteen cantos of Kalidas's immortal *Kavya* have been rendered into Gujrati verse; the translator has tried to be faithful not only to the spirit and language of the great poet but also to his metrical scheme—different towards the end from the prevailing metre of the particular canto. Word-notes are given in explanatory hints at the foot of each page as occasion arises, and in the introduction Pandit Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri tries to fix up Kalidasa's date—that debatable question in which scholars delight.

P. R. SEN

MARATHI

KASHI-RAMESHWAR YATRA : *Printed and published by Govind Chimnajie Bhate. Pages 200. Price Rs. 1-8. Profusely illustrated.*

This well-printed book is the sixth publications of the Principal Bhate's travel-series. Though originally meant to serve as a rapid reading text for the school-boys, the book does not lack literary merit. In its flowing style, fringed with light touches of humour, the narration all over has skilfully avoided the bore, which is so common with such travel-tales. Immense historical information about this well-known old route from Rameshwer to Benares comprising a variety of descriptions ranging from the ancient temples at Madura and the nature's bounty on the Nilgiris, to the Buddha at Gomateshwar and the ble rocks of Bhedaghat, has been given in a waymar way. Leaving such defects as the out-of-place quotati repetition of the Queen's Proclamation in the chapter Allahabad, the book has indeed added to Marathi trav literature and can be safely ranked along with the alrea famous travel-books of Kale and Kelkar Tikekar a Kalelkar, etc.

VIMYACHA SANDESH : *By Manibhai Gopaljee De Gujrath Vidyapeeth. Published by the Author. Pages Price six annas.*

This booklet named 'The Message of Insurance' w originally written in Gujrati, and it was warm received in Gujerat. And passing through two e tions in the original, it has now appeared in translated form in Marathi. It contains a general inf mation about the economic principles underlying Insura and the progress of insurance activities in India, as comp ed with other Nations. Rules guiding insurance age and persons getting insured, Gandhiji's 'aparigrah' a insurance, insurance and woman's rights are some of t instructive chapters. Surely, the booklet shall be ve useful to those non-English knowing hundreds who becom insured without surety.

JAPANCHYA PRAVASHACHEE SHIDORI : *By V. Velankar. Publishers Shree Gajanan Mills, Sangli. Pa 193. With several photographs.*

Being intended to serve as a guide for persons desir of visiting Japan, the first half of the book is devoted primary information regarding Japanese language a grammar, with an elaborate Japanese-Marathi Dictionary words of every-day use. This part of the book is inde very helpful, though such a book in Marathi was alrea available named 'Japanese Bhasha' by S. V. Paranjap The latter half contains all through a businessman's supe ficial point of view in touring over Japan, giving so interesting details of the customs and formalities of t Japanese people. One chapter wholly unnecessary in su a book like this, sermonizes the Indian youths with t oft-repeated advice that they should take more interest industries, ignoring all other limitations.

P. B. MACHWE

KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

The Celestial Hair-dresser

"On the left sits Buddha in the act of removing his three-pronged tiara. In the centre, the Heavenly Hair-dressers advances holding a razor in his hand; while the God Indra stands behind him with hands pressed together in sign of adoration. Chapter XVIII of the *Abhiniskramana Sutra* tells how Buddha, in preparation for the period of his austerities, lopped off his hair with a sword. .....The five little figures who kneel in the foreground must, I suppose, be the five Brahmans whom Buddha afterwards secured as his first five converts. The whole scene, highly florid and sumptuous in the original versi of the story, is admirably simplified and secularised the sober hand of the Chinese painter."—Waley, *Chin Painting.*

Portrait of Kublai Khan

Kublai Khan (1214-1294 A.D.) was a great patron the Confucian Temple and he restored the Temple in 1 The picture is now in the collection of the Confuc Temple at Confucius's birthplace, Chu-fou in Shantung

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Fusing of Different Linguistic Groups

Dear Sir,

In the April issue of *The Modern Review* in the Notes columns, on page 483, you write, "Gujaratis dwelling in Maharashtra have not become fused with the Maharashtrians, nor the latter living in Gujarat with the former".

But in reality the case is not so. In Karachi there are hundreds of Gujarati-speaking families, but the names of castes of a part of them is Bhopatkar, Kirtikar, etc. They are not few in number, there are thousands of such people. Such names of castes are not found in *real* Gujaratis. When you ask these people about their history, they tell that their forefathers belonged to Maharashtra. But now they do not speak Marathi. To them Marathi language is as foreign as it is to me or to you. They marry their sons and daughters with the Gujaratis, and are completely mixed with Gujaratis. One of them, Dr. Popat Lal Bhopatkar, was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket in the last general election.

Similarly there are about 800 families in Sind, who speak Sindhi and live like Sindhi Hindus. But their castes are like Punjabis. They also marry their sons and daughters with Sindhis. They can't speak Punjabi at all. Many of them have much reputation in Sindhi society. One of them also was elected to Sind Legislative Assembly on Congress ticket from Sukkur.

There are thousands of Punjabis living in U. P. from last hundreds of years. They also can't speak Punjabi, and speak and live like United Provincians. They have completely mixed themselves with the people living in that province.

The examples are not finished yet. There are two to three hundred Sindhi families living in Multan and adjoining districts from unknown period. They speak Multani, and have relations with Multanis.

Last of all I come to myself. I am told by my Kulpurohit (family priest) that about five hundred years before our forefathers were residing in the Multan district and districts adjoining Multan. Today I can speak and understand English, Hindi and Gujarati. Punjabi we have adopted as our mother-tongue. But we can't even understand Multani.

Many more such examples can also be found if research be made.

I am not of the idea that Bengalis should also mix with Biharis or Assamese, and speak Maithili or Assamese, or any other such thing. What I want to say only is that the lines above quoted and possibly written by you, are not correct. Because generally whenever people speaking one language went to other places and settled there permanently, they cut all their connections, or, say, were forced to cut the connections, with their former language and society, and adopted the language and culture of the people among whom or the places where they settled.

An admirer of yours
I am Sir,
Sadu Jiwat Lal Bhardwaj.
Prop., Punjabi Chandu Halwai,
Karachi.

Editor's Note

The observation quoted from our Notes by our correspondent was made with reference to recent times, when travelling is comparatively cheap, easy and rapid, but *not* with reference to days past when travelling and migration were difficult.

We do not know whether the facts and figures given by our correspondent are quite correct. But there is nothing improbable about them. We know there are Brahman families in Jaipur (Rajputana) whose ancestors migrated from Bengal centuries ago. But at present they do not speak Bengali or dress or live like Bengalis or intermarry with Bengali Brahmans of Bengal. We do not know whether they intermarry with any indigenous Brahman families of Jaipur. Similarly the Kashmiri pandits of U. P. speak Hindusthani, not Kashmiri, but they do not generally intermarry with other U. P. Brahmans. There are numerous Bengalis in Bihar proper whose ancestors migrated from Bengal some centuries ago. They bear Bengali names. We have read, many of them do not speak Bengali, but personally we do not know. Perhaps they do not intermarry with Biharis of their own castes. In Bengal there are numerous Kanaujia and Bhumihar Brahmans, and Rajputs, whose ancestors settled in Bengal long ago. They all speak Bengali as their mother-tongue and dress like Bengalis, but they do not intermarry with indigenous Bengalis. In Orissa there are Bengalis who cannot speak ordinary correct Bengali. They are known as 'Kera' Bengalis. Their ancestors settled in Orissa long ago. Some Maharastrian families—e.g., that of the late distinguished Bengali journalist Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, came to Bengal long ago and adopted Bengali as their mother-tongue.

We do not know any considerable number of recent emigrant families in any province who have given up their mother-tongue and adopted that of the region where they have settled and who intermarry with the local indigenous population.

Mr. J. B. Kripalani on Two Indian Movements

My attention has been drawn to the comments made in the Notes of *The Modern Review* of May last, on two passages occurring in my book the *Gandhian Way*. The passages in question are quoted from *Navavidhan*, which paper seems to have criticised them. The Editor of *The Modern Review* writes, he has not seen my book. He has, therefore, not seen the passages in their context. Evidently he did not think this necessary before indulging in adverse criticism.

In the first passage my sin has been to style the third rate copy of western civilization produced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of British rule as 'bastard'. I have further said that this civilization "like the mule it looked strong and serviceable but not creative". *The Modern Review* writes, "we are not inclined to comment on this coarse, if not vulgar, passage". I am sorry that even after being pointed out by the Editor I am unable to see the coarseness if not vulgarity of calling an unassimilated caricature copy of a foreign culture as bastard and mulish and uncreative. Evidently the learned Editor considers the use of these words in any context as vulgar. He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable. The Editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan* are shockingly surprised that "Mahatma Gandhi has done the author (myself) the honour to write a foreword to his book". It has occurred to the editors that perhaps the words 'bastard' and 'mule'

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used in that particular context may not have struck Mahatma Gandhi as coarse and vulgar and he saw no objection to writing the foreword.

The passages in question occur in a speech which I delivered in the year 1931 at a Students' Conference at Calcutta. The speech was widely quoted in Calcutta papers then. It was reproduced in the columns of *Young India* from where my publishers have taken it. After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passages. It is a fruitful activity. I am but a poor scribbler but if the Editor runs through history, plenty of material of this sort will be found for his facile pen. He will find enough material of this sort in the religious books of the east and the west. He will find it in the literature of the world, ancient and modern; in Kalidas and Shakespeare and in such modern masters as H. G. Wells and Bernard Shaw, not to speak of others. "Vulgarity and Coarseness" in language seems to be common enough if the standard is set by the editors of *The Modern Review* and *Navavidhan*.

Further it is stated in *The Modern Review* that *Navavidhan* feels that the above passage has reference to the Brahmo Samaj. Some Sectarians so work themselves up that they think that their particular denomination is being ever run down. They then become supersensitive and take offence where none is meant. In the passage quoted above as is clear I have not alluded to the Brahmo Samaj but to the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British. I may here say that I am not even original in my criticism. Similar criticism will be found in Bengali authors of note, Shri Rabindra Nath Tagore, D. L. Roy and Bankim Chatterjee and others.

I have talked of the Brahmo Samaj in a different context and fortunately the passage in which I have done so is also quoted by the two journals. My thesis was that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramkrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former. Every religious movement is of course influenced by what goes on, the world over, at the time. But some movements are more purely of native origin than others. About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: "It could not create a movement India-wide or permeate the masses or draw the busy world's attention to itself". "This", I have said, "was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramkrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda". What I have given is a critical study of the two movements. I have meant no disrespect to the Brahmo Samaj. I count many Brahmos as my dear friends. I have great regard for the Brahmo Samaj, its founders and its achievements. It is quite possible that my Brahmo friends and other members of the Samaj may not agree with me in the critical estimate that I have made of the two religious movements, the product of the genius of modern Bengal. I am at the same time certain that the followers of Ramkrishna will find mine a true estimate. However that may be, I fail to understand how my estimate is falsified by quoting to me the high esteem in which Vivekananda held Rammohun Roy and his debt of gratitude to the latter. Vivekananda has recognized his obligation to western science and literature. Does it, therefore, follow that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the west or that western thought was superior to his? Anyway, I have no quarrel with those who hold that the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramkrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses. My criticism is objective and I leave it to the students of modern religious history to judge between me and the learned editors of *The Modern Review* and the *Navavidhan*.

Again I am reminded that the Congress took up the work of untouchability at the suggestion of Mr. V. R. Shinde. As if I am concerned to prove the priority of conception of Gandhiji or the Congress in any field. In the same speech if the editor of *The Modern Review* will care to consult my book, which by the way may be in his collection of books for review, he will find that I have not credited Gandhiji with any such priority. I have said "some will doubtless say that these ideas were there ever before Gandhiji. Some items were in the old programme of the Bengal and Poona nationalists. I am not here concerned to establish the priority of Gandhiji in the field of discovery. My point is proved if I can show that he has brought them more forcibly before the public and has in every case seen to it that some organised constructive work is done".

I am sorry that objective critical estimates have been given a sectarian tinge and passages have been torn out of their context and meanings put into them which I never imagined. I am sure no unbiased reader of the speech "The Two Revolutions" will put on it the interpretation put by the two learned editors.

J. B. KRIPALANI

Editor's Note

In criticizing a sentence or a passage, extracted from a book, the ideal to be followed is certainly to do so with reference to the context. But this is not always practicable. In the case of Mr. J. B. Kripalani's *The Gandhian Way*, I got to know that it had come to my office for review, only after my note on the two passages extracted from it had been printed. It has been given to one of our reviewers for review.

It is to be understood that in what follows I write only for myself. The editor of *Navavidhan* is not responsible for my comments. Nor was he responsible for what I wrote in the May number.

I am sorry, what Mr. Kripalani has written has not convinced me that the passage relating to the "bastard", the "mule", etc., is not coarse or, possibly, vulgar.

Mr. Kripalani observes: "Evidently the learned editor (of *The Modern Review*) considers the use of these words *in any context* as vulgar." I am not learned. What is "evident" to him is not evident to me even after his attempt to open my eyes. Mr. Kripalani is wrong here. I am not so foolish as to consider the use of these words vulgar *in any context*.

Mr. Kripalani continues: "He will perhaps find their mention in a dictionary equally objectionable". Mr. Kripalani is wrong here, too. I have sense enough not to "find their mention in a dictionary" "objectionable" in the least.

There are many words in dictionaries which may be and are used quite properly in legal and medical or other scientific works, but which may not be used with similar propriety in many other kinds of writing. One may be sure, Acharya Kripalani knows this.

"Bastard", when applied to men, or often when used with reference to things human, is an opprobrious epithet. It is calculated or likely to give offence to those with reference to whom or whose notions, talk or doings it is used.

I do not like to repeat Mr. Kripalani's unsavoury sentences containing the word, but I must say the creative process described by him with such objectivity is unknown and incomprehensible to me.

I was not at all shocked that Mahatma Gandhi has written the foreword to Mr. Kripalani's book. My view

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is that, as Mahatma Gandhi, being an apostle of *ahimsa*, does not and will not use offensive material weapons and verbal weapons (i.e., offensive and abusive words)—that is my idea of the Mahatma, so his disciples, too, are expected to refrain from using such material and verbal weapons. As Mr. Kripalani is such a person, he is expected to be 'non-violent' in the use of words. I was not and am not concerned to speculate what might or might not have struck Gandhiji as coarse or vulgar.

Is there no word in the English language to mean the product of the mixture of different cultures, breeds, etc., without any implication of moral reproach? One may be sure, the Acharya knows there is. He could have used some such word instead of 'bastard.'

Mr. Kripalani says the passage occurs in a speech delivered seven years ago in Calcutta, which was widely quoted, and that "After seven years the Editor of *The Modern Review* has discovered the vulgarity of the passage. It is a fruitful activity". As I have not yet had the advantage of reading a single speech of Mr. Kripalani's through or more than a few sentences of some speech or other, if any, it comes as a great revelation to me that I had been perhaps engaged during the last seven years in the fruitful activity of discovering the vulgarity of a single passage in a single speech of his.

Any amount of coarseness and vulgarity in the ancient and modern religious and secular literatures of the East and the West will not make them desirable literary commodities used indiscriminately in other contexts.

Mr. Kripalani says that in the passage quoted he did not refer to the Brahmo Samaj. So far as I am concerned, in this matter, I accept his word as final. But it was not I who said that he had referred to the Brahmo Samaj. If the Editor of *Navavidhan*, who did so, thinks he ought to say something on the subject, perhaps he will do so.

Mr. Kripalani says, "In the passage quoted above", he has alluded to "the type of culture that was introduced in India among a section of the educated after the advent of the British." This is rather vague. Unless the section is definitely named and described, there cannot be any fruitful discussion of Mr. Kripalani's observations. Some may think this section was meant, some that. But as the section or its culture has been thought worthy of castigation by him, it is perhaps not nondescript; it ought to be possible to name it and some of its noted representatives.

Says Mr. Kripalani:

"My thesis was that only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and creative. Talking of the modern religious movements I have taken the examples of the Brahmo Samaj and the Ramakrishna movement. The latter I consider more clearly indigenous than the former." "About the Brahmo Samaj I have said: 'It could not create a movement India-wide, or permeate the masses, or draw the busy world's attention to itself. This', I have said, 'was done by purely Indian movement, I mean the movement drawing its inspiration from Shri Ramkrishna and unfolded by the genius of Vivekananda'."

I have no desire to minimise the achievement of the Ramakrishna Mission or to criticize it in any adverse spirit, or to institute a comparison between the Brahmo Samaj movement and the Ramakrishna Mission.

Mr. Kripalani's thesis is that "only such movements that kept to the Indian genius have been powerful and *creative*". In two different sentences he describes the Ramakrishna Mission as "more clearly indigenous", and as "purely Indian movement", and implies that, therefore, it has created "a movement India-wide", "permeated the masses", and "drawn the busy world's attention to it". Of course, no movement in India is *literally* India-wide or has *literally* permeated the masses. In spite of their entirely non-indigenous origin the Christian missions are perhaps more 'India-wide,' in a relative sense, than any Indian movement. So the extent and spread of a movement may not be due solely or mainly to its Indian or non-Indian origin and character.

From what Mr. Kripalani says, it seems he thinks the Brahmo movement has not been powerful and creative. That it is not powerful now is plain. *But in the spheres of literature, science, philosophy, art, industries, education, and spiritual productions such as hymns, men and women who are known as Brahmos have been creative—some of them among the most creative among Indians.* Is Mr. Kripalani ignorant of their names? It would be considered officious on my part to try to ascertain the position of the Ramakrishna movement in these fields of creative activity. Mr. Kripalani may do so, if he likes.

In the thoroughly anglicized Indian Christian community of earlier years, Michael Madhusudan Dutt was Bengal's greatest epic poet and one of the greatest of Bengali lyric poets, and Miss Toru Dutt, Bengal's greatest Bengali poetess in English.

Even among Eurasians there has been at least one man of genius, Derozio, if not more.

I do not know which other *section* or *sections* of people Mr. Kripalani had in view when he used the words "mulish" and "uncreative."

I quoted Vivekananda's tribute to Rammohun only to show that the former, whom Mr. Kripalani considers the unfolder of a "purely Indian movement", "claimed himself to have taken up the task that the breadth and foresight of Rammohun Roy had mapped out". That is to say, the unfolder of the "purely Indian movement", took up the task mapped out by the originator of what Mr. Kripalani thinks the *not* purely, or *not so* purely, Indian movement.

I have never said that western thought was superior to Vivekananda's or that Vivekananda's movement was inspired by the West. Nor do I hold or have said that "the Brahmo Samaj was a more purely Indian movement than the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda movement, or that the former penetrated more into the masses." Why does Mr. Kripalani attribute to me by implication opinions which I have not expressed and do not hold? There are controversialists who ascribe to their opponents easily refutable views which the latter do not really hold, in order to have the satisfaction of smashing them. Acharya Kripalani is not expected to be one of such persons.

I hold that the Brahmo Samaj has worked and still works for the masses and is in contact with them—though it may be to a very small extent. Any comparison with other religious bodies was remote from my thought.

I mentioned what Mr. V. R. Shinde has done, not to establish the priority of conception of the Brahmo Samaj in any field of work, nor to minimise Mahatma Gandhi's very great work for the depressed classes. I wanted simply to point out that the Brahmo Samaj has thought for the masses, worked for the masses and continues to do so, though its achievement has not been imposing. It is beside my present purpose to inquire why the Brahmo Samaj has not achieved greater success.

Mr. Kripalani complains that I have put wrong interpretations on some passages in his speech. In this rather long note I have tried to explain what exactly I meant and mean.

A few words more in conclusion. Mr. Kripalani has used expressions like "purely Indian movement", etc. And he has cited the names of Rabindranath Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, etc., in connection with his own adverse remarks on a certain unnamed movement of a certain nameless section of Indians, which he has given a bad name, with reference to whom those great intellectuals

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never used abusive words like bastard, mulish, etc. It may, therefore, be interesting to state here, that in his essay on "East and West," pp. 213-215, *Samaj* (new edition), Tagore says :

"The greatest thinkers in our country in modern times have spent their lives in bringing about the union of the West with the East." (Translation.)

And then he proceeds to describe what Rammohun Roy, M. G. Ranade, Swami Vivekananda and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee did with that object in view. Of Vivekananda he writes :

"....Vivekananda also was able to stand in the middle keeping the East and the West to his right and his left. To keep India permanently contracted within the narrow Indian culture and tradition, denying the West in history of India, is not the lesson of his life. He had genius to receive, to unite and to create. He dedica his life to the making of a path for giving India's *sadh* to the West and accepting the *sadhana* of the West India."

Of Vivekananda's Master, Ramakrishna, too, it been said that in his *sadhana* he combined by his spiri chemistry the non-Indian Islamic and Christian *sadh*

Rabindranath Tagore writes in the introduction to very recently published Anthology of Bengali Poets modern Bengali poetry and fiction owe their origin to inspiration derived from European literature. So that of creative activity also is not purely Indian.

WORLD AFFAIRS

India's "China Day"

On hundreds of Indian platforms on the 12th of June last, Indians assembled to express their deep sympathy for the Chinese in their fight against Japan and thus celebrated the "China Day" as directed by the Indian National Congress. These demonstrations, as we noted formerely, signify but the interest which India in common with other lands, is forced to take, and willingly take, in the world affairs today. More and more we realise that our fate is somehow linked with that of others, and, more and more we are, though a subject people, making it plain to others that the Indian people have a right to have their say, on the big things that are shaping the world. May be our voice is ineffective—is not the voice of many mighty people today as much impotent?—but the great and significant fact is that we are discovering our voice.

China particularly has a bearing on our future political development as we all can easily understand. For India, apart from all other considerations, China is both a lesson to read and a warning to mind. She bears a close parallel to India in many respects—in bulk, in population, in the inheritance of an ancient civilization not altogether different, and in the possession of a social organisation with the family as the unit. Both share an ardent desire to adopt their life to modern times, and both lamentably betray a lack in the capacity for organisation and technique which dooms every attempts of theirs to failure and frustration. Hence, India in her unconscious mind dimly perceives the closeness of the parallel, and, in conscious life is stirred by the tragedy of China.

Just about the time the tragedy for the Chinese is not any way relieved. Canton on south is witnessing daily bombing; and is p paring against a serious Japanese invasion. the centre, Japanese army after the fall Suchow and the virtual occupation of the m railway systems of China were pushing furt west. It threatens Hankow now. It w supposed that the Japanese would stop Suchow to consolidate and gather together th long and strained line of communication. masters of the vast territories they would weld gether North China, Manchukuo, Jehol and new conquests of East Central and maritime p vinces. Contrary to all suppositions, Japan warships steamed up the Yangtze with a wa ing to foreign powers to keep clear of the s against any untoward incidents that mi occur as a result of engagements with enem and Japanese army swept on, penetrated furt and further east along the Yellow River. "W has the Yellow River", a Chinese proverb is s to state, "has the whole of China". Was this saying and the truism that it embodies, cause for Japanese advance? Perhaps Japanese people at home, living on doled o official news of war and victories, wondered long why the war did not end and last questioned why the worthless Chin opposition was not yet blotted out. A q answer to that was planned. It was ech through the bombing operations on non-co batants in Canton. It was to be broadcast b loud and resounding victory along the rivers the very heart of China. For once, howev Japan has been robbed of this happiness by Chinese river god. Hankow may be saved some time by the Yangtze. Whoever ag

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be responsible for the breach of the dykes, the Yellow River burst forth, and a long wall of water marched on the Japanese forces which had to beat a retreat. Japan had for the time being to tell the world the story of its noble 'relief works' in that area while, along with it, the world read of the bombing of the Cantonese Red Cross workers by Japan.

Chinese Preparations for a Prolonged Struggle

Thus the war drags on in the front. In the rear the Chinese Government are meanwhile trying to organise themselves for a more protracted struggle. If time is on their side, they realize time is not to be lost in the front alone; it has to be utilized behind the lines in planning for a long war, for a regular supply of men, money and munition. The people's life has to be placed and settled on a war basis. The measures devised by the Chinese Government for that end have been described in a recent issue of the *Hindusthan Standard*, by a Chinese, Mr. C. Kungson Young, late director and editor of the China Press, Shanghai, and we recount them briefly here:

First, China's human power is inexhausitible. Japan has roused it to an unprecedented temper of sacrifice; even, women, it is known, vie with men in joining colours, and in doing their allotted duties otherwise. It only needs direction and organisation. Millions of Chinese are therefore being trained for the front, modelled on "Chiang's Own"—the well-known army of the Generalissimo that had modern training under foreigners. Mobile units are growing out of the militia too to continue the guerilla war in which the 'Red' units are so experienced.

But China's real difficulty is in arms and munition. From outside has flown in inadequate purchases. But except from Russia, as Dr. Wellington Koo pointed out in the League Council on May 10, China had no considerable help from any other power. The recent Sino-Soviet understanding places China on a better footing in this respect. But transport is bound to take up long weeks even though the attempts to shorten it by making new roads succeed. China, therefore, must organise her own arsenals. From Hankow the big Hanyang Arsenal and Hanyang Iron and Steel Works have been removed to a distant interior, machineries have been installed for the assembling of field guns and tanks, and plans completed for the manufacture of heavy field guns and tanks of their own. An airplane factory is about to come into existence.

'War Cabinet' also for the exigencies has produced compactness and efficiency with Chiang as commander-in-chief; H. H. Kung as premier of the War Cabinet; Dr. Wang-Ching-Hsi; Oong Wen Hao, Chang Chia-guna, and Chen Li-fu forming the nucleus of this War Cabinet.

By far the most formidable need, however, is the economic and financial stability of the state. Here, Kung's currency reforms of 1935 are standing now in good stead; foreign exchange regulations have now been promulgated, and subscriptions are pouring in from the Chinese outside. "Kung has announced the floating of a war loan of 500,000,000 dollars Chinese currency *plus* an approximately equal amount in Customs Gold Unit and foreign currency." These financial measures are of high importance. If these fail, Chinese collapse is bound to follow. The *Foreign Policy Report* of the U.S.A. (April 15) on 'China's Financial Progress' enumerates the measures and concludes: "For the near future, at least, there seems no reason to believe that China's military resistance will collapse for lack of financial resources."

The economic programme of the Chinese Government, outlined below, is to supply the basis for this Chinese resistance:

(1) Development of the nation's industries in the interior provinces to meet war time needs.

(2) Increase of exports to maintain, the present currency stability.

(3) Exhaustive study of China's natural resources, agricultural, industrial and transport conditions in the interior provinces of Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan, Kuangsi, Hunan and Shensi.

(4) Establishment of textile factories, paper mills and modern sugar refineries in the Province of Szechuan.

(5) Establishment of factories for the manufacture of radio, telephone and telegraph equipment.

(6) Erection of factories for the repair of locomotives.

(7) Extension of railway system into the present inaccessible districts in the interior.

(8) Construction of railway to link the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow and Kuangsi.

The exhaustiveness of the above programme is beyond doubt. Its fulfilment would certainly mean a war in which China will hold its own and emerge out of it a modernised state, nay, a world power, like the Soviet Russia. But the very immensity of the task and the Chinese failure at organising themselves as evident from their history of the past few decades raise doubts as to the possibility of the programme being fulfilled in practice. The very expanse of the territories that stretches out from the Yangtze valley, now under Japanese occupation, and the undeveloped condition of it, would appear as a herculean task for even the skill and efficiency of a first class modern power. For a people like the Chinese, lacking like ourselves the training

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in the technique of the organisation of the vast and complex modern bodies of war and war equipments, the problem becomes almost baffling. Yet, China has hopes. Chungkian, the temporary capital of China, is about a thousand miles from the war front, and, however quick and sweeping may be the Japanese victories, it is bound to take a long time for the army to traverse this vast and undeveloped land. "It is this immensity in territory, this immensity in human power, fortified, so to speak, with a united determination to resist conquest, that justify at least a cautious optimism in China's ultimate victory."

China to be Doped and Destroyed?

Still one has to be remember the warning of Mr. Vernon Bertlett, recently returned from a tour in the Far East, that 'China may lose the war, even if Japan does not win it'. War has destroyed much of Chinese wealth and prosperity; Canton has seen the mad orgy which it will not be easy for it to forget; but a more malignant and more fiendish measure is already being devised by Japan to work the doom of the Chinese. This has taken two forms: first the legalisation of the opium traffic in North China as in Manchukuo; and second, the ousting of Chinese-owned and foreign-owned cotton mills in the areas Japan controls by military-backed enterprises of Japanese adventurers, as recently described in the *Manchester Guardian*. This last is but sops from Japanese militarists for the Japanese business interests, which are not very enthusiastic on this military adventures of the over-bearing soldiers. This also signifies an attack on the foreign interests. But it is the natural fate of the foreign enterprises, the governments of which, though they never put any faith in the Japanese promises of maintaining their interests untouched, suffered China to be beaten rather than face Japan to resist in a joint encounter. The plight of the Manchurian foreign interests was there for them to read. The 'Open Door' in North China was banged before their very eyes. Whatever promise or understanding the British diplomats might have secured on the status of the Shanghai Maritime Customs, they knew that Shanghai's

> "open-door was being closed tighter by the widespread smuggling activities of the Japanese, the admittance of Nipponese goods duty free in occupied areas, and the host of nonsensical restrictions on trade imposed on shippers and consignees in Hangkow and Yangtzpoo districts.

So, 'Japan removes', as *The China Weekly Review* called, 'the open door's welcome Mat'.

Opium, it was noted by *The China Wee Review* in April last, was appearing in Shang market in considerable quantities after the c fell. It is not legalised there as in North Chi but enters the area from various sources. T Japanese army in Nanking was found selli opium to the public through its 'special servi departments', somewhat resembling army ca teens. The Imperial Japanese Army was th proved to be in the narcotic business. "T objectives are two-fold: Revenue and doping of population—Japanese military meth of pacifying subject peoples."

For China, freed or enslaved, legalisati or revival by Japanese encouragement smuggling of the opium traffic in the occup territories is bound to spell a disaster. It nothing short of condemnation of a people a moral death by a process of moral si poisoning.

Japanese Position

While in the front line Japan is winni she is behind time too. The time-lag is not wi out effect, moral and economic. The Japan Finance Ministry has just announced the bud for the year 1938-39. It provides for a reve of £372 millions and expenditure of £ millions—a decrease of £20 millions in reve and an increase of £17 millions in expendit compared with 1937-38. The figures of course not include the extraordinary military budget £283 millions. War is a costly affair. T "China incident", not a 'war' although accord to the Japanese, is proving so to them even an 'incident'. The former Japanese Fore Minister, Koki Hirota, had admitted this May 7 last:

> "In the present circumstances, Japan must be re to make enormous sacrifices in human lives as well as financial resources. It is not possible to envisage future with optimism if we consider the turn internati situation is taking in respect to Sino-Japanese conflict

Already the economic pressure had b severe on his people. The "Agence Tele phique", R. U. P. reports thus that, as regar U. S. A., December arrivals from Japan w down by 28 p.c. compared with 12 mon previously; January arrivals down 35 p February arrivals down 52 p.c. This is, *Nichi Nichi* reports, due "to an intense busin depression there and to America's feeling agai Japan in connexion with China incident".

Japanese trade, as disclosed, has sunk sl ly. According to *The Times* Tokio corresp dent it records a setback to the level of years ago. "Exports for the first three mon of 1938 amounted to only 569,700,000 y

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against 701,000,000 in the corresponding period of 1937...imports for the same periods are down, from 1,007,000,000 yen (1937) to 624,100,000 (1938)." "Japan's weakness in War is that she cannot tighten her belt much",..so opines the correspondent—which, incidentally, may prove an untrue prognosis. But to quote on: "almost the whole of her normal overseas expenditure is for raw materials for manufacture and when these are reduced her income shrinks, and the heavy demands of munition factories, coming when her earning power is reduced, cause a lack of balance which is more dangerous than actual recession."

That Japan is worried to some extent is evident from the reshuffling of its Cabinet last month. General Ugaki's (the new Foreign Minister's) talk of traditional friendship with Britain is not without significance from this point of view. But there is always a weakness on the part of China's friends exaggerating these tendencies in Japan. It will not do to forget the temper and peculiarity of the Japanese people. They can stand many privations; they are fired into a more brutal fury as their time-table fails; their pride and ambition are inordinate. *The Times* Tokio correspondent for once, we believe, is right when he reminds the readers on the moral and economic effect of the War on the Japanese. "Both are cumulative. Neither is really important."

Japanese Social Rift

Yet undoubtedly there is a danger lurking behind the apparent calm of the Socio-economic life of Japan. We need not repeat that this highly industrialised country has still enthroned an old and traditional autocracy, or rather a militarist oligarchy embodying the ideals of Bushido and Samurai chivalry with modern imperialistic expansionism. In the plan and pattern of political life the big capitalist plays today a minor role; the militarist has on his side the teeming population, the peasantry, which supplies the soldiers and has no love for the bourgeoisie and its profiteering politics on the parliamentary chess-board of Japan. War as an adventure is welcome to the militarist, and opens a promise to this populace hungering for lands to settle and cultivate and live and toil; but the adventure has to be paid for by the industrialists who has little share of the political power. Hence,

"the more we deplete the profits of Big Business by the boycott, and the clearer it becomes to them that there is no hope of British or American loans or credits the more inclined they will become to call a halt to aggression. If they waver, if the ruling class is divided in its policy, the mass of the Japanese people who are without political rights or means to express their desire for peace, will be able to assert themselves and stop the war,"

thus hopes the *News Chronicle* in completing its survey of the position and in analysing the conflict that rages beneath the surface between the Japanese militarist expansionists marching on to Fascism and the Japanese, big capital, afraid of the State control of their giant enterprises and taxation of their enormous gains that such Fascism is bound to enforce. The gulf is widening no doubt between the militarists with the peasantry behind them, and the industrialists with the vast modern enterprises of their own utilized to further the militarist objective now. The War drags on, the economic conditions deteriorate, the exports fall off, and a boycott abroad slowly makes its influence felt on Japanese business. Yet, the rulers are not blind to its implications. Is not their enterprise meant to assure the limitless expansion of the Japanese capital in China and clear the Chinese market of all opposition? Already, the foreign economic interests are being suppressed and weeded out and the field thrown open to Japanese interests. If they only look to it there, Japan can finance her War in China from the territories already under her occupation. That would mean a War without economic strain on Japan. If the Japanese plan to pay from their new Chinese investment for this War on the Chinese succeed, the Chinese hopes, built on a prolonged struggle, of course, will be shattered. But altogether investments take a long time to pay their way, longer still to pay a dividend adequate for a military adventure. What returns from Manchukuo or North China, Japanese capital is getting are still doubtful. Japanese big business cannot be, therefore, reconciled easily to a long War. As regards the Japanese proletariat, which might be expected to break away first from this anomalous social order, nothing is certain. Thousands are behind the prison bars, we are told; but the feudalist structure of the Japanese Society is still strong. So, China should not count from that quarters in near future. It is a revolt of the bourgeoisie that may be expected.

China and the U. S. A.

From India, China can in the very nature of things expect nothing more than sympathy. But nations in more fortunate position have also offered China no better help. America after the *Panay* incident went into silence with the compensation in the pocket, though the *Current History* (June) admits that "the Sino-Japanese

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situations reveals the futile, impractical side of our latest adventure in prescribed neutrality." The 'Alternative American Policies' in this connection are examined in the *Foreign Affairs* (April-June) by Mr. Tyler Dennett, who thought that the U. S. A. had now before it in the Far East a broad choice between non-resistance and coercion—protestations, appeals, etc., and action, independent or associated. Secretary Cordell Hull—now busy in evolving a plan to stop bombing of the non-combatants in Spain and China—had in his mind the example of Manchukuo and other such chapters of international faithlessness when he wrote to Vice-President Garner in January last: "There is a broader and much more fundamental interest—which is the orderly process in international relationships to be maintained." For the present, we find, this fundamental interest is served by the protestations, by occasional expressions of broad liberal and democratic revulsion against agression and terror, in devising plans for the Jewish exiles, or for stopping the air bombings. But the writer in the *Foreign Affairs* is of opinion that though the American people are not now prepared to support a War against Japan.

"Japan would make a mistake to count too heavily on the situation. Nearly three years were required to bring the United States into the World War. All that can be said for the moment is that both Japan and the United States are living dangerously, the one by a policy of ruthlessness, the other by indecision."

In a Naval War, weighing the possibilities it is thought, Japan would be immediately cut off from the use of all-American ports and from the Panama Canal, and if Britain joins the U. S. A., as she would most likely do, Singapore would bar the Japanese door to Europe. Besides, Japan even now is dependent on the U. S. A. for the supplies and later would do so for capital.

"In view of this, the present policy of the Japanese is to be explained only on the grounds that without warrant they have assumed that under no circumstances will the Americans fight. In this the Japanese are mistaken."

May be, but Japan is not mistaken in assuming that *under the present circumstances*, the U. S. A. or any western power will not fight in the East.

China and the European Powers

The U.S.A. have failed to put their economic house in order, and are facing moreover a "trade recession." European peoples are too much entangled in the web of the Spanish War and the Czechoslovakian crisis to think of any effective policy to help China. Britain, it may be presumed, would rather have a China, weak and disorganised, than see Japan swallow it; and like a giant shadowing Australia and the In Empire. But, Britain cannot for the pre make any move in the East, Soviet Russia al has been taking a growing, though guar interest in the Chinese affairs. The recall of valued German experts of the Chinese Army Hitler threw probably Chiang Kai-shek mor the arms of the Soviet. A pact is said to h been concluded, and Chiang, the sworn ene of the Communists, is to accept help ag from the hands which he had bitten hard a the break with the Communists in 1927. may be expected that Chiang will have benefit of service now of the Soviet exp and technicians and propagandists who masters in the art of organising resista Japan, of course, is too busy to go in direct the Soviet enemy, and, it is really necessary the Soviet too to knock out the eastern enemy the Chinese gates before its ally, the Fueh appears at Ukraine or right through Poland Lithuania to the very door of Russia her Once Czechoslovakia is actually attacked Rus will have to fight for her own threatened life the west; and, if Japan remains her old self at t moment, of course, with the Chinese opposit fully crushed, the Siberian Red Army may n prove equal to the task in the east. The Sov will then be fighting on both fronts, east an west, and probably on some more; for, except f the international complications and jealous no power would desire to see the Soviet reg last and flourish even in Russia.

European Conflicts

Czecho-slovakia however has just secu the breathing space, thanks to the tact and vig of her own statesmen, M. Benes and Hodza, s to the British diplomatic *demarche* on the situ tion in Berlin. The municipal elections passed peacefully; the general elections are over well. Father Hlainka's separatist Slovak mov ment is eclipsed, but a thumping majority Henlein has been secured in Sudeten Germa M. Hodza and Henlein's representatives are n discussing the terms of a permanent solution the Sudeten Germany minority question. T situation is not so dark now as on may It is to be seen how the two points view are met and reconciled. The acceptan in toto of Henlein's conditions would, as indicated, reduce Czecho-Slovakia into a we and loose federation of minorities in which German element, and, through them, the Na of Berlin, would predominate until such time

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the State of Masaryk goes into voluntary liquidation or is ordered to do so by the Führer. For the present the Führer is watching, but not idle, as we know. "Hitler will not need to go to war," Benes is said to have told a correspondent, (*Current History*, June, 1938), "if he can win without fighting". It is to be seen if Benes can prevent Hitler winning and maintain the existence of Czecho-Slovakia. It may fall fighting or go into pieces slowly. British diplomacy is having a role of 'pacification' to play here, with French diplomacy to give friendly advice to the Czechs.

Both Britain and France however are equally anxious over the fate of Spain too. Franco has won Castellon, but the Republicans have been strengthened in their fight by a new supply of men and munitions, and hence complete victory is eluding the grasp of the Spanish knight still. Meanwhile, to fulfil their pact with Mussolini, Britain in the League Council secured a permission of the recognition of the Abyssinian conquests of Italy. In the League Council *realpolitik* counted for more. Thus, Britain has anticipated Mussolini's promised withdrawal of troops from Spain. But, contrary to Mussolini's expectations, Franco is not yet the master there, and, Mussolini, it is said, is really anxious to find out a way to honour his Anglo-Italian Pact. The Non-intervention Commission is now earnestly coming to his rescue with a more acceptable and effective (?) proposal for withdrawal of all aliens. This will leave Franco to complete his victories, and, so Mussolini can agree to this, and save his 'honour' and his diplomatic secret investments too.

Britain is engaged at the same time in arranging for a truce between the two Spanish parties while Non-intervention is about to be put into practice, according to Mr. Butler. The peace 'feelers' are certainly not welcome to Italy; but in this matter it is Britain's primary interest not to see Spain fall either into the hands of the Republicans and their Red supporters or pass completely under the sway of Franco, and the Italo-German Fascists who virtually are Franco's masters. She would rather have a Spain divided between the two, each guarding the other, and the Gibraltar way of Britain menaced by none—that is just what Il Duce cannot allow. The Republicans in desperation are just now thinking of bombing reprisals in Italy, this, Italy quickly warned, would not be met by protestations, but swift and quick gunning and war. Are we then approaching this last act in the last days of June?

The Spanish tragedy any way is drawing to an end. It has let loose, however, horrors which other powers would not fail to repeat when necessary. The Japanese are never reported for fine sentiments; so, in Canton they outstripped the Spanish Insurgents' exploits in Valencia, Catalonia and Madrid. Usual protestations were dismissed by the Japanese in unusual and unceremonious diplomatic language. But 'the better conscience' of the world, we may be assured, has been roused. For, are not the British people striken with horror at the inhumanity of bombing the non-combatants? Mr. Chamberlain even is of opinion that even as a method of demoralizing the enemy resistance it is ultimately of doubtful value. Of course, Mr. C. F. Andrews had long ago protested against the same method when applied to Indian frontiers men. Mr. Chamberlain, however, can defend that still, because Britain always warns the enemy beforehand. The Chinese and Spaniards too, he may be reminded, had such warnings after the first occasion of bombing at any rate. And, the Britisher forgets that in the League it was he who stood against abolition of air bombing. Others simply now follow his Indian example, for long unrivalled in the world.

China and Spain, we hope, remember this British Indian chapter now, and, the Spanish intellectuals affirming their solidarity with the Chinese people, or, for that matter, the Chinese people for whom we observe "the China Day", will realize, as they remember this, that "the struggle is one", to quote the manifesto of the intellectuals, and that "the universal civilization is at stake" in China, in Spain and in India too.

G. H.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Congress in Office

Founded in 1885, the Indian National Congress has passed through the various stages of infancy, adolescence and a vigorous manhood. Writes Nagendranath Gupta in *The Hindustan Review*:

The Congress spoke fearlessly of freedom, it accepted without hesitation the challenge thrown out by the Government, it submitted without complaint to lathi blows, but it never thought of accepting office under the present regime. And yet the unexpected has come to pass. The Congress is well astride the saddle of office and its seat is becoming firmer every day. The other day when the Ministers of Bihar and the United Provinces resigned it seemed as if the brief reign of the Congress was over and another period of a bitter struggle was about to set in. Happily, however, the united good sense of the Viceroy and the Governors themselves prevented the precipitations of such a catastrophe, and the Congress continues to remain in office.

By one of those ironies which cannot be explained but which upset our calculations there is no Congress Ministry in Bengal. The President of the first Congress was a Bengali and so is the present President, but the Congress is in a minority in that Province. Not only so, but the Cabinet there is a most unsatisfactory one and there is not one Minister who has the confidence of the people. It is quite on the cards that the Congress may come into power in Bengal and Assam may follow. But the Punjab and Sind will stay out though, all things considered, the non-Congress Governments in those Provinces are satisfactory.

There is a little breathing space and we may halt and look around us. For the nonce, at any rate, the weather is set fair. It is not for us to say when the barometer will show signs of a disturbance again. The Congress Governments have done good work and may do better. They have justified popular confidence. They have abated no jot of their independence and their goal remains unchanged. At any moment they will be prepared to exchange office for prison. What more do you want? Prohibition is assured and the people will become sober and wholesome. Let us criticise the Congress by all means but let us not expect the impossible from it. Let us wait and watch certainly, but let us hope also—hope that the path to liberty is clear and in a few decades India will be free—as free as Britain is today.

Our Heritage

India has bulked large in world thought; its literature, its art, its philosophy, its science, in a word, its culture and civilisation deserve the earnest study of mankind. Writes Hamid Raza in *Triveni*:

Indian civilisation possesses a considerable unity and contains the germs of expansion. It has a peculiar unifying tendency which is manifest in different channels of life and thought. India had a clear understanding of the central unity in the midst of all diversity, and tried to ignore differences of values in different things, for otherwise life would be impossible. Thus Indian culture has given its heterogeneous elements a certain organic unity. All the foreign races—Aryans, Sakas, Kushans, the Huns—were assimilated by Indian civilisation and became, in a sense, its torch-bearers. All the mighty impulses that entered into India were synthesised on the same plan. All religions India welcomed, since she realised from the cloudy heights of contemplation that the spiritual landscape at the hill-top is the same, though the pathways from the valley are different. To us all she says, "Raise your eyes. Things in the valley separate us. Up yonder, high above us, we are all one. The variety of ways has meaning at the foot of the hill, but if we understand what they signify on the snowy summits, we shall know that all are reaching out for God." What wonder, then, that India, with her assimilative genius, may succeed in unifying the different creeds that have met on her soil! Her soul has always yearned for unity underlying the diversity of phenomena.

In conclusion, he says:

To sum up, India is immortal. Her great civilisation teaches us the lesson of simple living and high thinking. Her sciences, arts, literature, and philosophy have ever fascinated the imagination of mankind. Literature and art express India's visions of beauty and perfection. Philosophy and religion contain her most intimate realizations of inner experience. Indian civilisation is a product of centuries of co-operative effort of all those races which settled in India. It is a complex organism growing in richness and content, and the contribution made to it by the British people is an incalculable one. Every aspect of Indian cultural life and activity is as wide as life itself. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu has truly said: "Many nations had contributed to enrich Indian culture and life, and, therefore, they should prove to the world that Indian culture did not merely excel in metaphysical genius and in undying philosophy but that there was a dynamic force in it, namely, the gift of Islam, which had played an important part in their national life as well." We are living today in one of the creative periods of Indian civilisation. As it is active and dynamic, Indian civilisation has endured so long and proved so capable of adaptation to the growing complexity of life. India's living past affords a new vision of her cultural destiny. We should earnestly try to understand and appreciate Indian civilisation, and re-evaluate its traditions in the light of our modern scientific and industrial outlook. Its spiritual heritage has a vital meaning for the modern world. Amidst all her failures and foibles, she has not benumbed her sense of the *divine* in man. But India has to envisage the *Zeitgeist* and to restate her cultural ideals with due regard to her philosophical traditions. Her philosophy *then* will have a new meaning for the modern world.

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Dharma Rajya—Finance

Finance was as important in Ancient India it is today in the West. Observes H. shna Rao in *The Aryan Path*:

Wealth is a necessary appendage of life, individual public. Wealth and wealth alone, says Kautilya, is ortant inasmuch as character and desire depend upon alth for their realisation. "All undertakings depend on finance." But the acquisition of wealth should not be posed to Righteousness.

The land tax, fines and forfeiture constitute the chief ns of revenue. The other sources of income are taxes merchants and artisans. The author of *Sukra Nitisara* ommends :—

(1) Duties (Sulka) : 1/32 to 1/16 *ad valorem*.

(2) Land Revenue : ¼ to ½ of the produce from places igated by tanks or rivers and 1/6 from rocky soils.

(3) Royalty from mines : ½ of gold, 1/3 of silver, of copper, 1/6 of zinc and iron, ½ of gems, after the penses have been met.

(4) Revenue from the collectors of grasses and woods : 20th to 1/3.

(5) Revenue from tax on Livestock : 1/8 of the increase of goats, sheep, cows, buffaloes and horses.

(6) Tax on artisans : one day's work in a fortnight r the State. If the people undertake new industries, cultiate new lands, dig tanks or make canals for their good, e king should not demand anything of them until they ve realised a profit equalling twice their expenditure.

(7) Tax on usurers : 1/32 of the interest collected.

The following classification of taxes may interest the odern financier. Kautilya instructs the collector-general collect revenue from :—

(1) Durga (Fort) : tolls, fines, liquor, prostitutes, ambling, artisans.

(2) Rashtra (Country parts) : ferries, boats, pasture nd and roads.

(3) Khani (Mines) : all minerals extracted.

(4) Setu (Bridges and gardens) : flowers, fruit and getable gardens and wet lands.

(5) Vana (Forests) : game and timber forests.

(6) Vrija (Herds of cattle) : cows, buffaloes, goats, heep, asses, camels, horses.

(7) Vanikpatha (Public highways) : land and waterays.

The Problem of Nutrition in India

Dr. K. P. Basu concludes his informative rticle on the problem of nutrition in India in *cience and Culture* with the following remarks:

Before deciding on the policy of national agriculture, is highly important that dietary surveys should be underaken throughout India so that facts about actual conumption of different ingredients like proteins, carbodrates, fats, etc., per head and the actual defect in utrition may be definitely known.

Another urgent necessity is the establishment of laboraories in different parts of India for the study of and cientific research in human nutrition. The foodstuffs of ndia have got to be analysed, their protein, fat, carbodrate, mineral and vitamin contents and the biological alue of the proteins determined, and the effect of methods f preparation and cooking on their nutritive value inestigated. The nutritive value of diets as actually conumed has also got to be determined. Basic researches n nutrition should be a prominent feature of these laboratories. India is a vast country and the dietary habits of people in different parts are different. It is impossible for one central laboratory to deal with the different nutritional problems of the country.

The problem of nutrition in India is one which requires immediate attention. Compulsory primary education with a view to educate the mind of every individual is no doubt greatly to be desired, but the fact remains that millions of children in India are physically and hence mentally incapable of profiting by any education. The fundamental problem is to make them physically and mentally fit by ensuring an adequate nutrition for them. The State has a very great responsibility in this matter. Provincial Nutrition Advisory Boards, and a Central Nutritional Advisory Committee for all India including nutrition, agricultural, animal husbandry, educational, economic, medical and public health experts should be immediately set up. These Boards will direct diet and nutrition surveys, control and co-ordinate the work of the nutrition laboratories, define satisfactory diet standards which would be of practical use in the country, suggest supplements to correct the deficiencies in diet, advise regarding the dietary aspects of maternity and child-welfare work and control and undertake propaganda through trained workers.

The Indian Research Fund Association is doing valuable work in this direction but the scope of its work should be considerably enhanced.

Corporations, Municipalities, District and Union Boards and also Infant and Child Welfare Organizations can do very valuable work specially by organizing the supply of pure and fresh milk and by disseminating knowledge regarding correct nutrition, so that people in India should not only live but also enjoy the joy of living.

A Survey of Childhood Education in India

In presenting a brief survey of childhood education in India Dr. Satyananda Roy remarks in *The Indian Journal of Education*:

There is a flourishing Montessori School in Calcutta sponsored by Lady Abala Bose. In recent months we have heard of the Nursery School started by Mrs. Mrinmoyee Ray. The Lady Hassan Suhrawardy Creche for working class children is an altogether new institution of its kind in Calcutta. The Sishu Sadan or Children Hospital in connection with the Chittaranjan Seva Sadan which is soon going to have a nursery school of its own and the Ramkrishna Sishumangal Pratisthan are institutions which have the interest of both the parents and their children at heart. The Mental Hygiene Association, the Marriage, Birth Control and Social Hygiene Leagues and the activities of the Women's Educational League—all are contributing to the solving of parent education problems in their own ways. I am glad to announce that we have a few new or experimental schools like those conducted by Mr. Animananda (or Mr. Rewachand Gyanchand of Sindh) and one of our colleagues and fellow-workers, Mr. Ajit Kumar Banerji, besides some well-conducted Kindergartens and Montessori Departments under the direct supervision of the Mothers and Sisters of Christian religious orders.

The work of Parent Education is an extremely difficult task in our country and just a slight bit of spade-work is being done on this side of India though work was begun in this direction in other parts of India more than twenty years ago. The vast illiteracy, the grinding poverty and the crushing burden of social injustice have been instrumental in checking the progress of education. The colossal ignorance of the mothers of the race has contributed not a

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little to the difficulties experienced in launching any project for parental education.

Education of Industrial Workers

Satis Chandra Sen, Workers' Delegate to the International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1937, writes in the course of a paper contributed to the Adult Education number of *National Reconstruction*:

Before launching upon any scheme for that purpose the difficulties and the conditions of life of the Indian workers must be fully understood. Generally an Indian worker begins his work in the factory at 8 a.m. and lays down his tools for the day at 7 p.m. Besides, as he has generally to prepare his food himself he has to spend an hour or more both at the beginning and at the end of each working day for the purpose. So after doing hard work in his factory and making his own food an Indian worker neither feels inclined nor has any energy left to take up any mental work—not even reading or writing. This is the reason why institutions such as night schools could neither attract many adult workers nor be effective for educating them. It will be found that night schools are attended more by the children of the working class people than by the workers themselves.

However, night schools cannot be left out in any scheme for imparting education to the adult workers. It can render some valuable service if situated in the locality where the workers generally reside. In some places it is found that the school rooms are used as clubs for the workers who come there just for a chat with the teachers who are generally labour workers and seek their assistance and advice on various matters.

Services of the especially trained labour workers whom the labourers may look upon as their friend, guide and philosopher may be requisitioned both for the removal of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers. They will visit the workers' quarters in the night and on holidays and collecting them in small groups will teach them to read and to write and create interest in their mind about diverse matters. For the purpose of general education establishment of circulating library, distribution of newspapers and pamphlets amongst the workers, as is being done in Europe, may be undertaken.

But it must be borne in mind that whatever method is adopted it must not put any extra strain on the worker's mind and must not assume the character of a drudgery. After hard and prolonged hours of work no labourer, specially one whose heredity and environment are rather uncongenial for any mental work, will be willing to take lessons unless their interests are specially roused or they find it a pleasure. So education here must combine with recreation. Lantern lectures, radios, cinematograph may prove valuable for this purpose.

So if the work of eradication of illiteracy and spreading of general education amongst the workers is to be seriously undertaken, then opportunity must be created for these workers to learn their lessons during the hours which would be otherwise devoted in the factories. But no wage-earning worker will be willing to come to take any lessons if he is to lose his wage for these hours. So if something like "study leave with pay" is arranged and either the employers or the Government are made to pay their wages to these workers for this period of study leave, then this scheme may be successful. But this, I am afraid, is out of the question now.

Hindu Astronomy

In the course of his article on Hindu Astronomy in *The Indian Review* Asoka C. D observes:

In the golden age of Sanskrit literature, astron shared in the general revival of learning and great str were made in this science.

This period, according to Mr. Kaye, lasted fr 400 A.D. to 700 A.D., and according to Mr. R. C. D from 500 A.D. to 800 A.D.

Three illustrious names stand out prominently this age.

I. Aryabhatta. He was born at Pataliputra in A.D. He was no blind follower of tradition but a respe of truth irrespective of its source. As Mr. Kaye sa "Aryabhatta is chiefly notable as an opposer of cer aspects of the orthodox Hindu teaching of his time, demonstrates that Mount Meru is not high. He tea that the Earth is a sphere and that it rotates on its a

Aryabhatta maintains that eclipses are not ca by Rahu but by the Moon and the shadow of the Ea

For his progressive outlook he has been vilified by orthodox teachers and, perhaps, by none more stron than by Brahmagupta.

II. Varahamihira. He was born in Avanti prob in 505 A.D. and died in 587 A.D. His Panchasiddhan has been referred to, and he wrote other words on As logy, the best known being the Brihat Samhita (edi by Dr. Kern).

III. Brahmagupta. He was born in 598 A.D. represented the orthodox view. As quoted by Alber he says: "All heavy things fall down to the earth b law of nature, for *it is the nature of the earth to attr* and to keep things." Besides his commentary on Ary bhatta's doctrines, he wrote a book called the Brahma phutasiddhanta comprising 21 chapters. "The first contain an astronomical system, describing the places the planets, the calculation of lunar and solar eclips the position of the moon's cusps, the conjunctions planets and stars, etc."—(Mr. Dutt).

The last Hindu astronomer of eminence was Bhaskar charya, born in 1114 A.O. His work the Siddhantashi mani along with the Suryasiddhanta are regarded as most authoritative text-books on the subject in this co try, although there are reasons to believe that the ext edition of the latter book differs materially from the of the old work of the same name.

Two Etchings of Nandalal Bose

In the course of a review of an Exhibiti held in Calcutta last month under the auspices the Santiniketan Asramika Sangha, Mr. Nirm Chatterjee observes in the *Comrade*:

The refreshing atmosphere of reality and truthfulne is nowhere more palpably perceptible than in the secti of Graphic arts. Subjects of these pictures are gener chosen from the most common environment in which th artist spends his daily life, but the newness of the treatm that raises these works from mere reproduction of rea to the category of higher art is the direct result of th artist's original vision.

He is no more a mere delineator, he is a creator in th truest sense of the term. To realise the truth of this sta ment one need only look at Nandalal Bose's etching, Goat."

One can hardly conceive of a more common anim

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but the grace and strength of the curves with which it is drawn and the very peculiar contour of the figure are the product of the magic combination of the artist's keen observation and his bewildering imagination. The real has not been changed into something unreal, it has been re-created into something immensely more real.

The forceful swing of the arms of the girl (in Nandalal Bose's etching, "The Poet and the Dance") seems to awaken a rhythmic swing even in the atmosphere encircling her. The Poet-Philosopher's reposeful attitude in the midst of the whirling surroundings sets an excellent contrast and seems to maintain the central equipoise in a very delicate manner.

A Few Facts About Poland

Poland ranks fifth in Western Europe with her population of 35 millions, and sixth with her territory of 150,000 square miles. Maurice Frydman, in an article in *The Indian Review*, relates a few facts which may be taken as the outstanding landmarks in the history of Poland:

Between the Carpathian Mountains in the South and the Baltic Sea in the North, on a vast plain watered by the mother river of Poland, Wisla, surrounded by countries known presently as Germany from the West, Czechoslovakia from the South-west, Roumania from the South, Russia from the East, Lithuania from the North and Eastern Prussia from the North-west, dwelt from immemorial times Slavonic tribes, of which Polanians were one.

These tribes were worshipping Nature gods in timber, shrines, growing corn, rye and wheat, spinning and weaving, linen, breeding horses, cattle, sheep and bees, living in self-governing and self-depending villages. They were a sturdy, simple and peaceful folk, loving music, song, cooking and painting on wood, ready always to defend their own, but rather careless about invading other people's land. The social system was patriarchal, with a high degree of respect for womanhood. Many goddesses in the old Slavonic faith bear testimony to it.

About 800 A.C. they were still devoted to their Nature gods, but the pressure of less peaceful Christian tribes from the West forced them to enter into defensive alliances and finally, when the Polanian tribe elected one of their wheel-wrights, Piast, as their head for his wisdom and statesmanship, he succeeded in bringing into permanent political union several Slavonic tribes who adopted the name of Poles.

Hundred years later (about 900 A.C.), the Poles were converted to Christianity.

About 1000 A.C. Poland was already a powerful and prosperous country and continued to grow till the middle of the 13th century.

Tartars came to Europe at that time, conquered the Russian tribes, but were stopped by Poland's knighthood, who saved Europe from devastation.

In the 13th and 14th centuries, Poland was rapidly developing. Agricultural improvements, building of towns, opening of mines, founding of the Cracow University, the second in Europe, promulgating of a code of laws, the first complete code in Europe, building of state granaries—one followed the other in rapid succession.

Poland was the only country at that time to give refuge to the Jews, driven out from most of the European States. Towards the end of the 14th century, Poland and Lithuania entered into a permanent political union.

In the 15th century, the Teutonic order of the knights of the Cross, plundering and murdering the peaceful Pagan tribes in the Eastern Prussia for the sake of their souls, was badly defeated by Poland and promised better conduct. In the next century, Eastern Prussia having to choose between the absolute rule of the Prussian king and the democratic Poland, chose the latter and became a part of Poland by voluntary union.

The 16th century was the most brilliant in Polish history.

Already in 1430, *i.e.*, 259 years before the Habeas Corpus Act of England, Poland issued her law that nobody shall be imprisoned unless legally convicted. The Polish Parliament was established in the 15th century, and in the 16th she was a regular republic with kings elected for life but not hereditary.

Poland became a safe refuge of all oppressed people in a most ghastly intolerant and fanatic Europe. All persecuted creeds and opinions found shelter in Poland.

The 17th century was spent in repulsing the invasions of Turks, Swedes and Russians.

At that time there were but two nations—Poland and England who enjoyed Parliamentary government, and in many respects the people in Poland were more free and more safe than in England.

Especially in the 18th century when people began to murmur against the tyranny of the kings, Poland was constantly cited as a country of exemplary freedom.

Internal weakness and mutual understanding of three powerful absolute monarchies, Russia, Germany and Austria, broke down a free and proud nation.

The 19th century witnessed several efforts of Poles to regain their independence, ruthlessly suppressed.

The Great War weakened the oppression. The Poles had prepared their future army about 20 years before the Great War, and when it came, they immediately organised small armed units wherever they could and got their freedom out of the furnace of war. Joseph Pilsudski was the father of Poland's independence.

Freedom was and has remained the key-note of Poland's history.

Aldous Huxley—Interpreter of the Intellectuals

According to S. L. Kaul, among contemporary writers Aldous Huxley is an intellectual *par excellence*. He writes in *The Twentieth Century*:

In method, Mr. Huxley is independent and personal. As a novelist, he is far removed from the caricaturist of the Dickensian school. He does not care for plots. Indeed he does not mind if he is regarded as a novelist or not. Mr. Galsworthy's *Forsyte Saga*, large as it is, has the classic unity and compactness of structure. But each of Mr. Huxley's novels is an assortment of fragments from high-brow life. Brimful of ideas, he is to the general body of the Edwardians and Georgians what Meredith was to the Victorians. He is an essayist, a thinker, even in fiction. He puts himself bodily into his books. He has not the detachment of Mr. Arnold Bennet. The heroine of the latter's *Sacred and Profane Love* speaks of the double personality of the novelist: writer and censor, as if the combination were a fatal gift. Mr.

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Huxley abounds in self-conscious characters. It should, however, be noted that he does not make of them mere registers of immediately changing consciousness like James Joyce, Virginia Woolfe and Dorothy Richardson. He does not specialise in religious psychology like Sheila Kaye Smith. Both in material and psychology, he transcends J. B. Priestly, Hugh Walpole and Joseph Conrad. His *Point Counter Point* has material enough for half a dozen novels of Mr. Bennet or Miss Rebecca West. He does not care to be an artisan of fiction, carefully conserving his observations and ideas, and parcelling them out for a series of popular books.

He goes on to say:

Mr. Huxley writes mostly about the intellectuals of the contemporary age. His characters keep diaries and have read great books and been influenced by them. The chief among them are authors or would-be authors, journalists, artists, philosophers and representative men and women of the age. No writer takes as great pains as Mr. Huxley about the ideas of his creations. He even mentions the books that his men and women have read, and the masters that have influenced them.

Of the present-day writers, it may be confidently asserted that Mr. Huxley is the best interpreter of the intellectuals. His chief characters are intelligent men, the more serious among whom are assailed by doubts as disillusioned men whose work and ideas and amusements are a bore or a mere refuge from boredom, men who cannot resolve the conflict within them and synthesise the ideas that seek to master them.

Huxley is groping for a new integration of values.

What then is going to become of the disillusioned intellectual? Perhaps the only answer to this question for each person can come from the innermost recesses of his own mind. Mr. Huxley has shown in his essays that he is no imitator of St. Francis of Assisi. Of course, his irreverent references to "the Kingdom of God" and to moral values in general are intended only to show up the modern man's loss of faith and cynicism. It is never his ambition to be Mr. Oscar Wilde's Prince Paradox. But to the intelligent reader of his books, it is obvious that the answer to the questions that trouble minds like his cannot be found in books either of religion or science. Each man must find a solution for himself by turning inwards. He has more than hinted at that. This does not mean asceticism. But it is certainly the path of the mystic, of the inquirer within himself, who has shed all the prejudices of his individual mind, prejudices born with him as well as the prejudices that come from book-learning and ratiocination.

Saint Pattanathar

St. Pattanathu Pillai or as he is familiarly called St. Pattanathar was one of those early Dravidian Saints who had exercised such a profound spiritual influence on the life of people in South India by his soul-ele poems and teachings that to this day, even a thousand years, his message is as fresh helpful as when it was first delivered. *Sod* gives a brief description of the life and teac of the Saint:

Our Saint came from a wealthy South Indian mer family and was born in the sea-port town of Ca Pattanam, which was situated somewhere near whe river Cavery flows into the sea.

He flourished towards the latter part of the century or the earlier part of the ninth or at any ra later than the ninth century.

After completing his secular and spiritual educ he married, at the age of about 22, Shiva Kallam young woman who had also finished her education.

The husband and wife lived happily for about 25 years and though they had no child of their own adopted one from a Shaiva family and named him Ma vanar. But the latter who was fondly brought up great care and love by both of them died a bache the early age of sixteen and while passing away palm-leaf manuscript in a small box to be given father after his death, wherein he referred to the e desire for wealth and said that "the amassed wealth not spent for the good of God's children is only as to a person as an eyeless needle." This had such a found influence on the woe-begone father that it br about his renunciation and conversion from the life a holder to that of a *sannyasi* (ascetic).

He began his *sadhan* of conquering the fleeting sures of sense life and continued the same till he had union with his Parama Shiva, which was the ultimate of his existence.

The Parama Shiva of our Saint is the one All-per ing Spirit, with neither form nor earthly frame, whom temple can hold, no book can exhaust, no priest can re no preacher could explain and no philosophy could pound. "He is the Lord God of all ages of all lands of all people, who reveals Himself to His *bha* (devotees) in their own hearts" and shines there and best.

He asked sinners "to cast aside their little self dedicate themselves to God." No wonder he made converts, including among whom Sri Bhadragiriyar who an enlightened king of one of the states in South Indi

Our Saint was "a moral and spiritual rebel" who fo against all shams—false priests, books, traditions and —which stood between God and man. To him Shiva *Anbu* (Love) who cannot be purchased or bribed an behold whom no mediator of any sort is necessary.

He says: "Religious devotion which busies merely in humanitarian activities is superficial, unendu and momentary emotion. Religious devotion which end purely passive contemplation is barren, empty and in dualistic. True religion is the golden chain that conn God and man"—linking the contemplative aspect o bhakta's life with the practical aspect.

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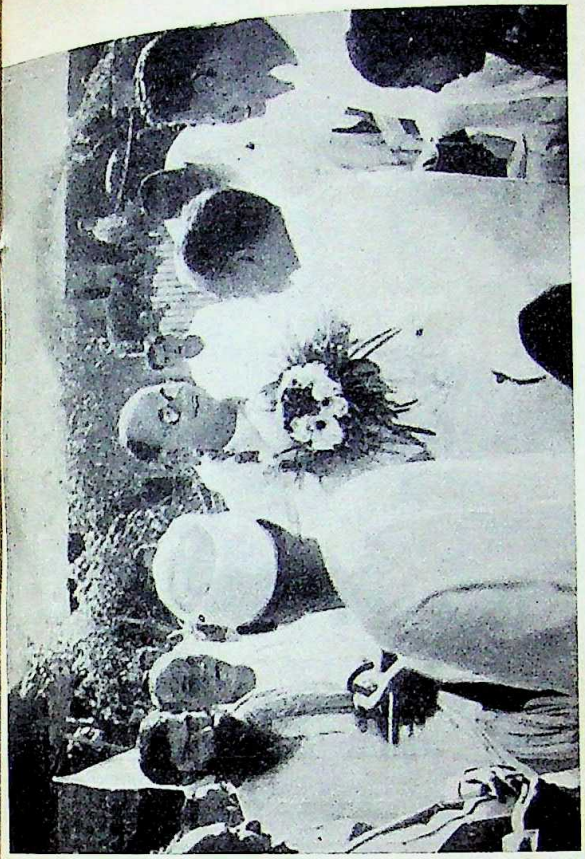

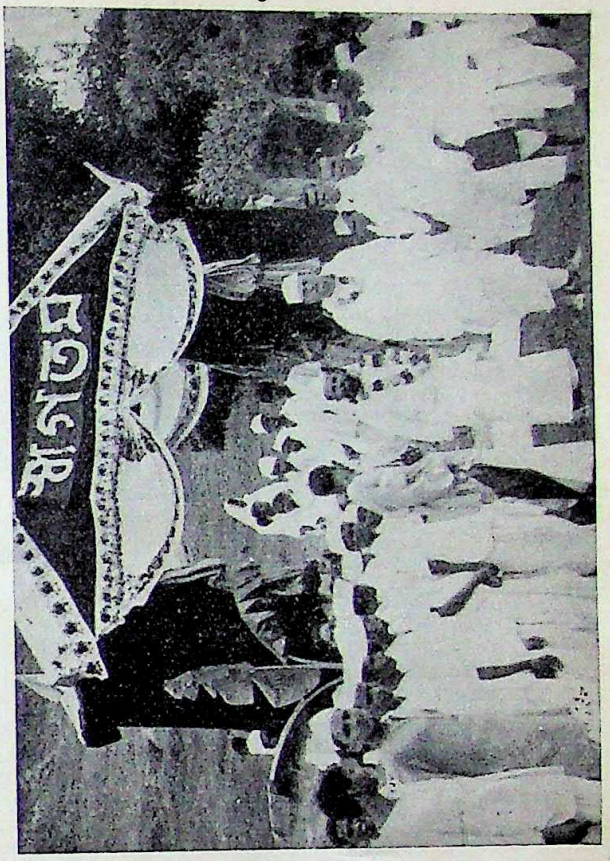

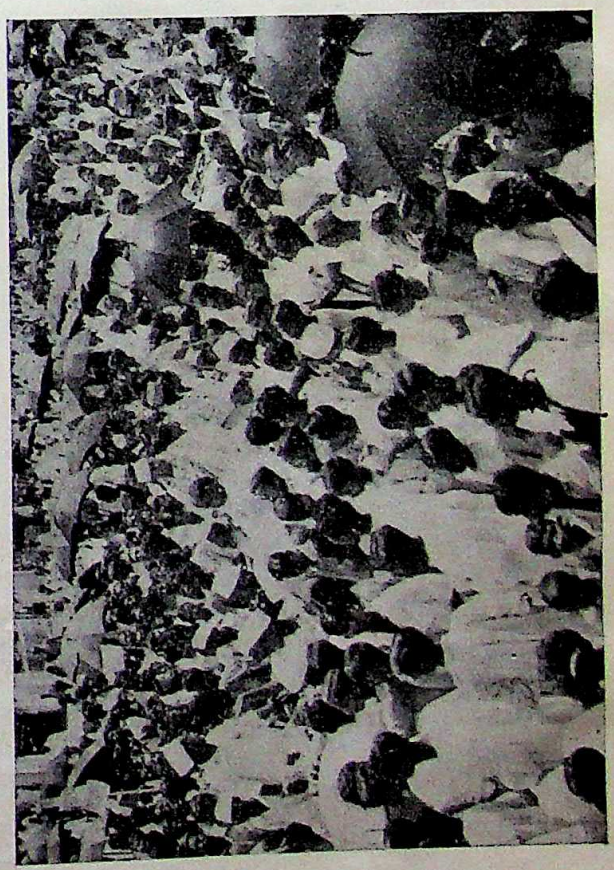

Reception of President Subhas Chandra Bose at Chittagong

[*Courtesy*: S. N. Dutt.

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ROYAL MARRIAGE AT ALBANIA

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Queen of Albania

The rejoicing crowd near the Tirana Mosque

The Queen of Albania is seen signing the Marriage register; King of Albania and Count Ciano are seen standing behind her.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Thanks to Japan

Thanks to Japan, writes Pearl S. Buck in the *Asia*, the great inner provinces of China—the original China in the first place—hitherto almost untouched by modern times and maintaining their medieval civilisation, are suddenly being repopulated by the modern Chinese. As a result of Japanese invasion China is moving into the interior; some may call this retreat, but to do so is to miss the importance of the movement.

As much as two years ago Nankai University began putting up buildings in Chungking and Yunnanfu, in preparation for the very thing which has happened. When the Japanese bombed Nankai University they thought they had destroyed it. They were mistaken. Nankai University was already not there. It was safe, thousands of miles inland. Other great universities have followed its example. And the Ministry of Education itself, in spite of the tremendous military costs to the government for defense, is proceeding steadily with its work. The Central Military Academy is already established in new buildings in Chungking; the provisional schools for students from the war zone, started in Sian, are marching further westward to the country bordering Tibet, carrying on a "moving university" as they go.

Something must come of this return of the young Chinese to their own true country:

They will change the people in old China, and old China will change them. Two distant extremes will meet and mingle. For no foreigner ever has been as remote from the real Chinese people as the modern educated Chinese has been. He has not only not understood his own people, but too often he has been ashamed of them and despised them.

I see a significance which is symbolic in those long lines of the young Chinese marching on foot into their own country. Thanks to Japan, a real Chinese culture may be the result, a culture truly composite of the best of old and new. What no one has been able to do in China, Japan has forced the Chinese to begin to do themselves. While the outer provinces lie a waste of war the rich untouched inner provinces will be developed. And when Japan withdraws, as withdraw she must some day, a new Chinese race will be ready and will come out of those inner provinces to reclaim and to rebuild the whole. What the effect of this may be upon the world of life and art, not to mention politics, can scarcely be calculated. Those who know the Chinese best have long felt the gathering of a new power in her which promised, if it could only come to expression, a real golden age. There was lacking, somehow, the final spark to the tinder. This spark has been given, and it is difficult for the moment to see anything except what seems to be the devastating fire. But when the fire is over, those who survive it will be a stronger race and a better than the one that went in or the one that was there.

No greater benefit could possibly have been given to China than Japan has thus given. I do not say it is worth the war, for nothing is worth the folly of war. But I do say that, granted the war, Japan has opened the whole of China not only to new intellectual forces but to material forces as well. For merchants and bankers are going inland too, and whole factories are moving, with all their machinery. And they are not bottled up in that interior, though for the time they are cut off from old seaports. They are developing new trade routes, opening, as they call them, "back doors" to Europe and the South Seas, which in time may become front doors. Northwest through Sinkiang and southwest through Burma these doors are being opened and enlarged and the Chinese do not feel cut off and isolated from the rest of the world. Thanks to Japan, China may develop a stronger foreign trade than she has ever had, and not with Japan.

Chinese Art

In the course of an illuminating paper (condensed from the *Magazine of Art* by the *Parade*) on how a difference in technique which appears to be merely mechanical has far-reaching consequences in Chinese Art, Lin Yutang writes:

The whole difference in technique and conceptions of line and form between Chinese and Western painting goes back to a difference in tools and materials: the Chinese use a hair brush and ink, whereas Western painters use a pencil or pen or a brush with oil paint. The consequences are extremely far-reaching. It is an æsthetic and not merely a material difference. The basis is mechanical, but the developments are spiritual.

To-day the entire field of Chinese art is profoundly influenced by this mechanical accident. It is a case of accomplishing a great deal with very little.

The Chinese speak of painting as the "play of ink on paper". This paper is so sensitive to the touch of ink that every trace of the brush across its surface is recorded in a way which almost suggests the effect of light on a photographic plate.

There is an entire technique about the handling of the brush:

Either the point or the body is used, its varying impact, whether pausing or lifting from the paper, achieving strength of stroke or sureness or gracefulness or delicacy. Then there is the control of the comparative liquidity or dryness of the ink, so that when laid on paper it can suggest different tones and qualities of surface.

Chinese painting, therefore, begins with the mastery of the stroke:

Chinese contributions to the notion of line and rhythm are important, because line is emphasised in Chinese art, has a more important development there than in Western art, and reveals a greater richness and variety of rhythm. And here we come to the quality which

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is most basic of all—rhythm. The stroke became a means for imitating the irregular lines of nature, for Chinese art is characterised by hatred of the straight line. One of the singular contrasts between Chinese and Western painting is the emphasis on outlines in the former and the emphasis, in the latter, on surface—with consequent obliteration of outlines. In most Western painting the outlines of forms are implied rather than indicated by bold strokes.

The Chinese emphasis on line, then, leads to an appreciation of the linear aspects of nature:

To the Chinese artist, all nature is vibrating with the sensuality of its rhythmic lines, the soothing lines of blue hills and winding rivers, the soft lines of clouds, the rugged lines of rocks, the delicate lines of bamboo, the massive lines of pine trees, the entwining lines of cypress and old giant creepers and the graceful lines of willows. So long as we are not blind to the beauty of lines and rhythm, the beauties of nature can never be exhausted. The secret lies in training ourselves to see these lines, their witchery, their clarity and their grace or strength.

Japan's Foreign Trade and Industry

The foreign trade outlook in Japan is not encouraging, despite the efforts of the Japanese Government to balance imports and exports by curbing imports of non-urgent and unnecessary goods, says *The China Weekly Review*:

Partly as a result of the Government's measures, partly because of trade depression and partial boycott of Japanese goods in other parts of the world, a heavy shrinkage of exports has taken place since the beginning of the year, which cannot fail to exercise direct pressure of no mean proportions on Japanese industries and therefore on Japanese living conditions.

At the same time, the higher prices now demanded by Japanese exporters to meet increased costs largely due to increased taxation and Government interference with trade generally, tend to impede a recovery of the export movement. That the outlook is serious may be gathered from a recent statement in the *Oriental Economist*, leading Japanese financial monthly, that: "If the world depression drags on, Japanese export industries are liable to be hard hit and thus give rise to a problem perhaps even more grave than the China Incident itself."

Nevertheless, the adverse balance of Japan's foreign merchandise trade for the first quarter of 1938 was only Yen 65,900,000, showing a sharp decline of Yen 257,376,000 or 79.7 per cent in comparison with the corresponding period of 1937. Japanese exports for the first quarter totaled Yen 605,220,000 and imports Yen 670,922,000. Compared with the first quarter of 1937, a decrease of 17.5 per cent was shown in exports and of 36.5 per cent in imports. An examination of Japan's export trade for the period indicates that exports of cotton textiles amounted to Yen 97,000,000, showing a decrease of 10.6 per cent from a year ago.

In view of indications that raw cotton arrivals to Japan will hereafter be curtailed, it is feared that cotton textiles exports will show a further decline during the year. Exports of hosiery goods as well as woollen textiles are being affected in the same way as cotton textiles. Exports of such commodities as rayon textiles, canned and bottled provisions, pottery and porcelain and toys for the first three months of this year decreased by from 20 to 4 cent, compared with the first quarter of 1937. O largely to the depression in the United States, ex from Japan of raw silk and textiles have suffered a sh age ranging from 17 to 20 per cent compared with first quarter of last year. In the import group, cotton decreased by 70 per cent, raw wool by 88 per crude rubber by 55 per cent and lumber by 45 per during the same period.

Turkey and Religion

The following note appears in the W *Dominion News*:

The Grand National Assembly made certain am ments to the Constitution of the Turkish Republic o 5th of February last. Article 2 especially was change now reads (in part), "The Turkish State is Repub Nationalistic, Populist, Laic, Etatist, and Revolution These six principles are the fundamental planks in platform of the People's Party.

It is of special interest that the State is declared Laic. The term implies that the State does not reco an official religion, nor does it stand to support particular religion. In the old Constitution an Ar stated that "The Religion of the State is Islam"; th no longer so; no one now interferes with another's rel each respects that of the other; in religion as in intell and political matters fanaticism has given place to m tolerance.

The deputy Bey Nejib Ali, writing in *Ulas*, the of organ of Ankara, warns the Turkish people, however, freedom of conscience is not a limitless freedom. State may interfere in certain situations. He says children under eighteen may in foreign schools be jected to a kind of spiritual compulsion in religion, this in fact has happened and cannot be tolerated. after passing the age of eighteen every individual is fr choose his religion, provided this does not disturb social order. "The State is Laic, and everyone can and believe as he likes, but the young must not be dra into Catholicism, and thereby a culture foreign to thought and feeling be permitted to spring up in the of the Turkish people."

Emil Ludwig on Hitler

Emil Ludwig observes in *The Atla Monthly*:

It is a mistake to say that Hitler is not Germ In his demagogism, he unites just those incentives w goad the German mind to frenzy. He resembles Wag in his histrionic instinct. It is from Wagner that H has adopted his endless melodies—that is, the wearis repetition of the same few themes; the splendor of processions and choruses, the burning thirst for succ the bluster, the brutality and blamelessness, which m Wagner's work so effective can all be observed in way Hitler works on his audience. He is altogether effective in his speeches, and he is the first pop orator modern Germany has ever had.....Hitler is Wilhelm II in so many ways that he might be Wilhelm III. Even physically—draw in the Kais moustache on Hitler's latest photographs, and there is Kaiser again: the smartness, the same histrionic e The history of modern Germany will one day record

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the people let themselves be gulled twice by the poses of neurasthenic.

"Nashevism"

Z. Rowe coins the word "Nashevism", to describe the authoritarian regimes, and comments on the "common front" of Nazism and Bolshevism.

To us the difference between war and peace is a difference in *kind*, whereas to the Nashevist war differs from peace only in degree. Nashevism recognizes no difference between war and peace except that in war all pretense at amicable relations is abandoned; in peace, deference to the pretense of friendship restricts the attack on the enemy to three fronts: propaganda, economic pressure and terrorism. Under these three heads Nashevism conducts various forms of organized lying, fraudulent bankruptcy and violence ranging from murder and abduction to the kidnapping of a nation.

No odium attaches to treaty-breaking because a treaty has only the same significance in 'peace' that the consolidation of newly-won positions has in war. Having scrapped the Versailles Treaty, Herr Hitler extolled the Locarno Treaty—and likewise scrapped it a few weeks later.

As long as we remain blind to the Nashevist common front we will be shuttled back and forth between Nazism and Bolshevism according to the momentary delusions of our own public opinion.

An Irish Seer

"While we strive after happiness, he holds it in his hands"—observed George Moore about A E, the Irish poet and seer. A E has already been placed among the great mystics, and it is only as a mystic that he can be understood, writes "Brother John" in *The Inquirer*:

The belief in the Divinity of Man colours all A E's writings. As also does a second great idea, that came to him on the hill of Kilmashokue. Here it was revealed to A E that the Earth was a living being—veritable Mother of all living things.

"I heard them in their sadness say,
'The earth rebukes the thought of God;
We are but embers wrapped in clay
A little nobler than the sod.'

"But I have touched the lips of clay,
Mother, thy rudest sod to me
Is thrilled with fire of hidden day,
And haunted by all mystery."

The Mother of Life was very real to A E. She has many names—Isis, Ishtar, Artemis, Hertha, and so on. A E called her Dana, for he lived in Ireland and had seen the Paps of Dana.

He was always a student of Comparative Religion, and confessed that he found truth in all the Bibles of the World, and "a singular identity of belief." All the Bibles taught men how they might become as Gods. And this was A E's test of organised religion: "The religion which does not cry out: 'I am today verifiable as the water wets and the fire burns. Test me that ye can become as Gods'—mistrust it. Its messengers are prophets of darkness."

There was a very practical side to this Irish seer. For years he worked for the Agricultural Organisation Society, helping to establish banks and creameries, and talking about pigs and poultry. He edited a farming paper. He also took his part in Irish politics, and represented his country at Conferences. Then he became Editor of *The Irish Statesman*, the leading literary journal of his country.

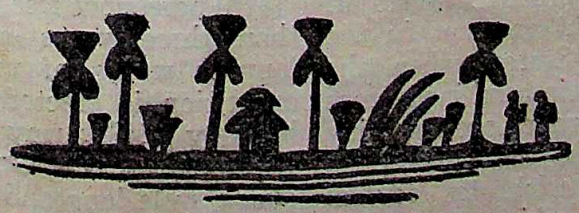
In Dublin, as he grew older, A E was a sort of Socrates. In spite of all the "troubles" he still believed in Ireland, and he inspired men and women to be worthy, not only of Ireland's past, but of Ireland's future.

The Novel of Ideas

Sir Hugh Walpole observes in the *Listener*:

Today the most modern belief of what the novel ought to do is that it should be interesting in the matter of ideas. The modern novelist is out to give you new and arresting ideas. Now why do I think that that is not nearly as good a thing for the novelist to do as to give you characters? Of course, if he gives you characters *and* ideas, all the better, and there is no novelist of any great merit anywhere who does not give you some ideas about which you can think. But I believe that is really his own voice giving utterance to these ideas, and I think he might do that much better in some other form: in written philosophy, or what you please, history even, and, of course, in autobiography. And if he is going to create, he has to create outside himself; he won't have much time for planting his own ideas into his characters, because his characters will become unreal. They won't be naturally the vehicle of his ideas if they are independent people themselves.

For instance, in *Henry Esmond*, by Thackeray, you cannot imagine Beatrix speaking as Thackeray himself, a man of many years later, of a different kind of civilization almost; you cannot imagine her speaking as Thackeray would speak. You cannot imagine, for instance, that Mr. Pickwick was really the young Dickens, almost a boy, sitting and doing his journalism day by day, eager for life, full of vitality, but of a totally different vitality from Mr. Pickwick.



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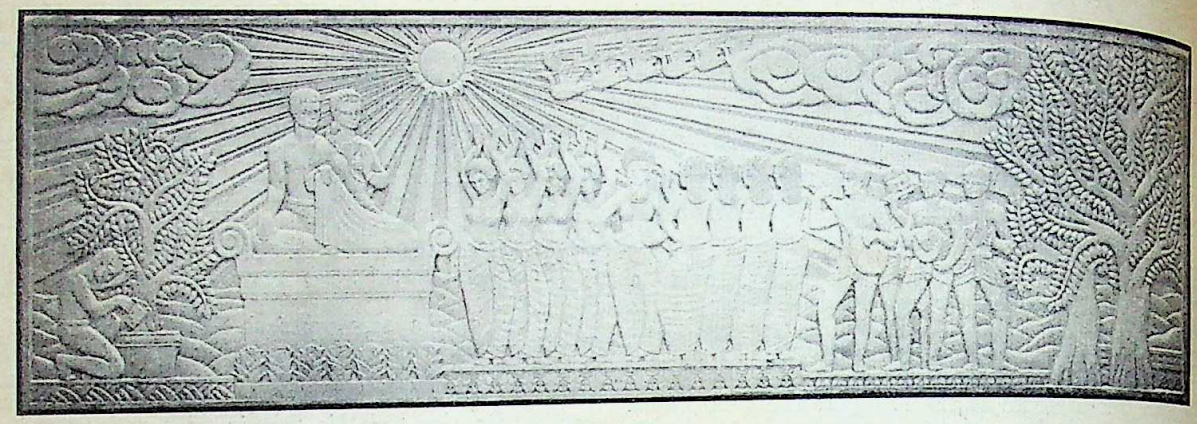

DANCE OF LIFE

The rhythm of life has been depicted in this mural "Dance of Life", a bas relief by Sculptor Jacques Schnier. It will occupy a space 80 feet long and 26 feet high on one of the East Towers. The relief will be covered in gold leaf

AMERICA'S ORIENTAL-OCCIDENTAL EXPOSITION

BY CARLTON KENDALL

IN 1939, the United States is to celebrate the achievements of The New Deal with two great international expositions. One of these is to be held on the Atlantic seaboard in New York State. Its exhibits will depict the trade and culture of the European and South American nations and the industrial and scientific advances of that half of North America lying east of the Rocky Mountains. The other exposition is to be on the Pacific seaboard in California and will be participated in by the Oriental and Occidental nations bordering the Pacific Ocean and the eleven Western States, together with Hawaii and Alaska.

On these two expositions America is spending nearly two hundred million dollars erecting two unique magical cities—the one facing Europe and the Occident; the other Asia and the Orient. Symbols of peace and goodwill, they rise as two beacons to the achievements of a modern civilization being built by a free people whose heritage finds its roots in the age-old cultures of the earth. The Pacific exposition especially reaches out to the peoples of India and Asia a friendly hand of welcome. Many of those who read this article will probably visit it. Coming at a most significant moment in the history of western United States, when the Pacific Coast States (with their combined areas as large as that of western Europe) are emerging from a pioneering period into the dawn of a technological era, it aptly celebrates several recent American engineering achievements that will transform western America from a remote sparsely settled area into one of the fu centers of human civilization. These achi ments are: the completion of the world's largest bridges spanning San Francisco B the inauguration of rapid air transporta (including the trans-Pacific clipper serv connecting America and Asia) and the erecti by the government of three giant water a power projects, the Boulder, Bonneville Grand Coulee dams which will furnish irrigati to millions of acres of rich agricultural land cheap electrical power to an area as large one-half of India.

But beyond these local accomplishme the Golden Gate International Exposition, it is called, will celebrate the awakening of nations bordering the Pacific and Indian oce to a new era of civilization, a new epoch their individual unfoldment, a new quicken of the life pulse of their social organisms. is this deeper theme—"The Pageant of Pacific"—which runs like an overtone throu out the entire exposition, its landscaping, architecture, its exhibits, even the selection the site itself.

Where now rise the vast exhibit halls, than three years ago was nothing but lapping waves of the Pacific Ocean; for exposition is erected upon a man-made isla built by U. S. Army engineers in San Franci Bay opposite the Golden Gate. This island over a mile long and three-fifths of a mile w and rises thirteen feet above sea-level. Protec from erosion by a three mile rock wall, it

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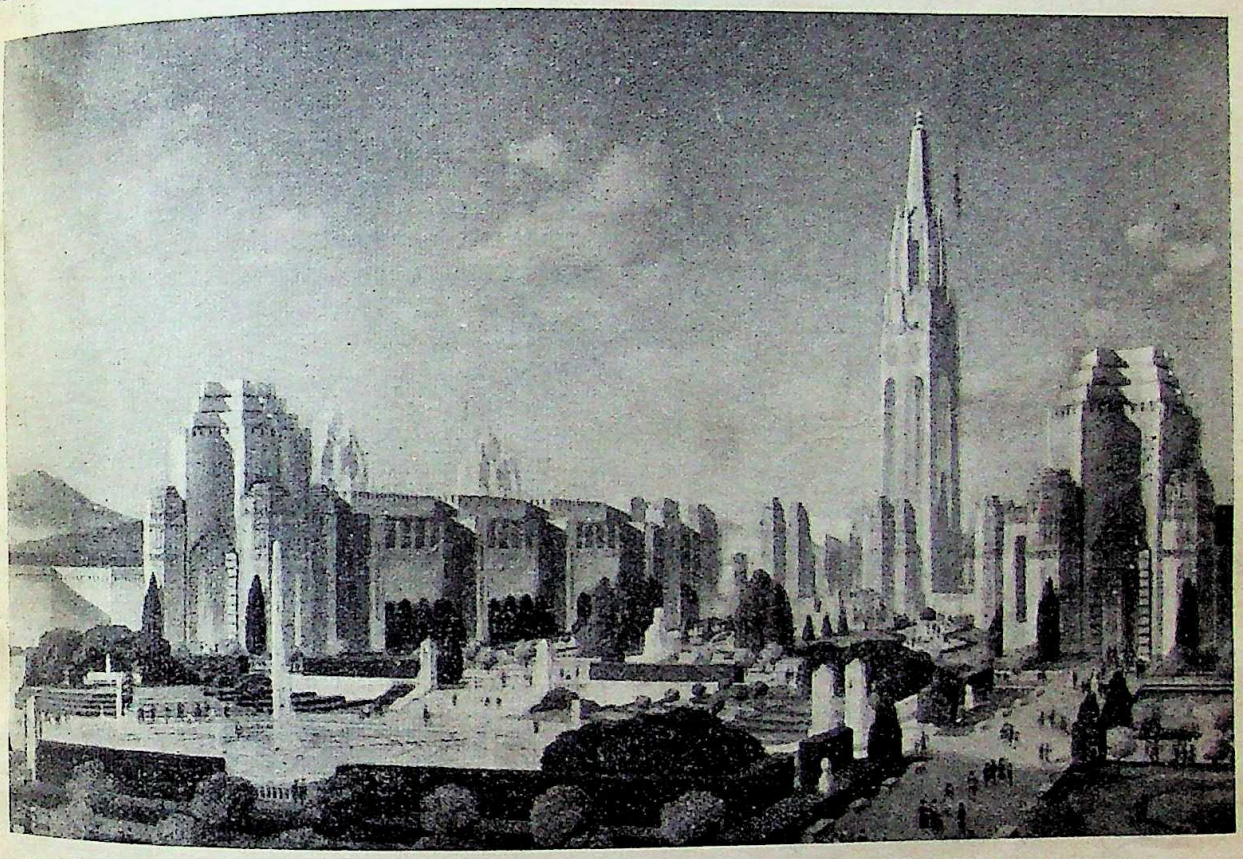
dded 400 acres to the area of the United States, ter, after the exposition, to be utilized as a cen- al airport for the two million people inhabiting e cities surrounding San Francisco Bay. Two of e exposition buildings are giant concrete and eel hangars and another is to become the ermanent administration and terminal head-



Court of the Moon, an approach to the Central Court of Honor, with its 400-foot Tower of the Sun. It is one of the many landscapes with tree-lined promenades and sunken gardens. On the left is the Hall of the Mineral Empire, on the right the Homes and Gardens buildings

uarters for the airport. The landscaping urrounding these permanent buildings is to re- ain, making it ultimately one of the most eautiful air ports in America, a fitting terminal or trans-Pacific passengers and for the fast vernight planes connecting San Francisco and ew York City 3,000 miles away.

To transform a salt-soaked black sand sland into a semi-tropical garden set with pools, ountains and beautiful courtyards sheltered by ream-like colonnades and pastel-tinted pavilions upplied with all the electrical, gas, water and ewerage facilities of a large city was in itself o small task. Charts were made of the salt olerance of the plants, trees and shrubs to be sed and the land washed with fresh water from special reservoir constructed for that purpose, ntil the sand was free from any dangerous saline percentage. By barge, 100,000 yards of rich topsoil was brought from the fertile delta regions of the Sacramento valley where many East Indians made fortunes some years ago by raising asparagus and potatoes. On this earth foundation, crews of landscape gardeners have planted over 4,000 trees (some 60 to 70 feet high), 40,000 shrubs and literally millions of flowering plants, using every electrical and chemical device known to modern horticulturists for stimulating plant growth to its highest beauty. In this garden, risen from the sea, are set the hundreds of buildings housing the exhibits.

While futuristic structures comprise the outstanding architectural features of the exposition in eastern United States, this western exposition, true to its theme, has combined modernism in architecture with the inspirational forms from the older civilizations around the Pacific Ocean, particularly the Mayan, Cambodian, Incan and Malayan. Its designers avoided that stark architectural realism, almost brutal in its conception, that characterizes many attempts to depict the spirit of the mechanistic, materialism today sweeping metropolitan areas

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of western civilization. Instead they tried to achieve an effect that would suggest the romantic lure and charm, the spiritual attainments, the century-old cultural aspirations of the Orient combining with the scientific civilization and

PACIFICA

This is a 70-foot figure by Ralph Stackpole, which will dominate the Court of Pacific Shores. Behind the figure is a curtain of metal bangles that will sway in the breeze to produce harmonious sound and color effects

material modernism of Occidental cities. The approaching visitor nearing the island by ferry is impressed with a massed effect of stepped setbacks surmounted by 400 foot "Tower of the Sun" bearing at its peak a giant golden Phoe Bird, symbolical of the reawakening of Pa civilizations.

The lighting at night embraces several usual recent electrical developments. Dark li is used to enhance the color effects and no dir lighting is visible so that to an observer on Bay the exposition appears a luminous, magi ageless city of mystery risen from the sea bathed in glowing soft colors against a time sky.

The visitor enters through an impos gateway whose ramparts rise in the he masses of two Malayan pyramids converg sharply into Cambodian towers supported formalized elephants. Passing into a wa city, he is confronted with a series of courtya some with mirror-like pools reflecting the ti walls and sculptured details of the buildi others with splashing fountains and still oth a riot of bright-colored flowers. In one s flower courtyard only plants with red bloss are used. The main feature of the horticult effects, is a "Persian Prayer Rug" of mes bryantheum covering 25 acres.

The exhibits, like the buildings housing th are centered about the one idea of showing graphic manner the various cultures develo by the nations bordering the Pacific as a ba ground for demonstrations of the newest adva ces of modern science and engineering, spec stress being placed on those discoveries th will aid man in his civilized evolution, in century-old struggle against the ravages nature, in the perfecting of himself and artificial environment to meet the requireme of the strenuous ordeal of living in a chang modern world. Such recent agricultural devel ments as the newly discovered methods for p fitably raising agricultural products with soil in chemically treated tanks where cr attain unbelievable yields secure against inse independent of seasonal cycles, temperature weather conditions will be shown. Example of latest type of "electrical farms" now transfor ing American rural life, speeding up product agriculture, freeing the long toiling farmer fr back breaking labor and bringing to him all comforts and advantages of the city dwel are among the many exhibit features on disp that will directly influence the future life the rural individual in the agricultural natio bordering the Pacific.

For the exposition the American gover ment has planned a demonstration of the rec developments brought into American life throu The New Deal, of the social changes, of

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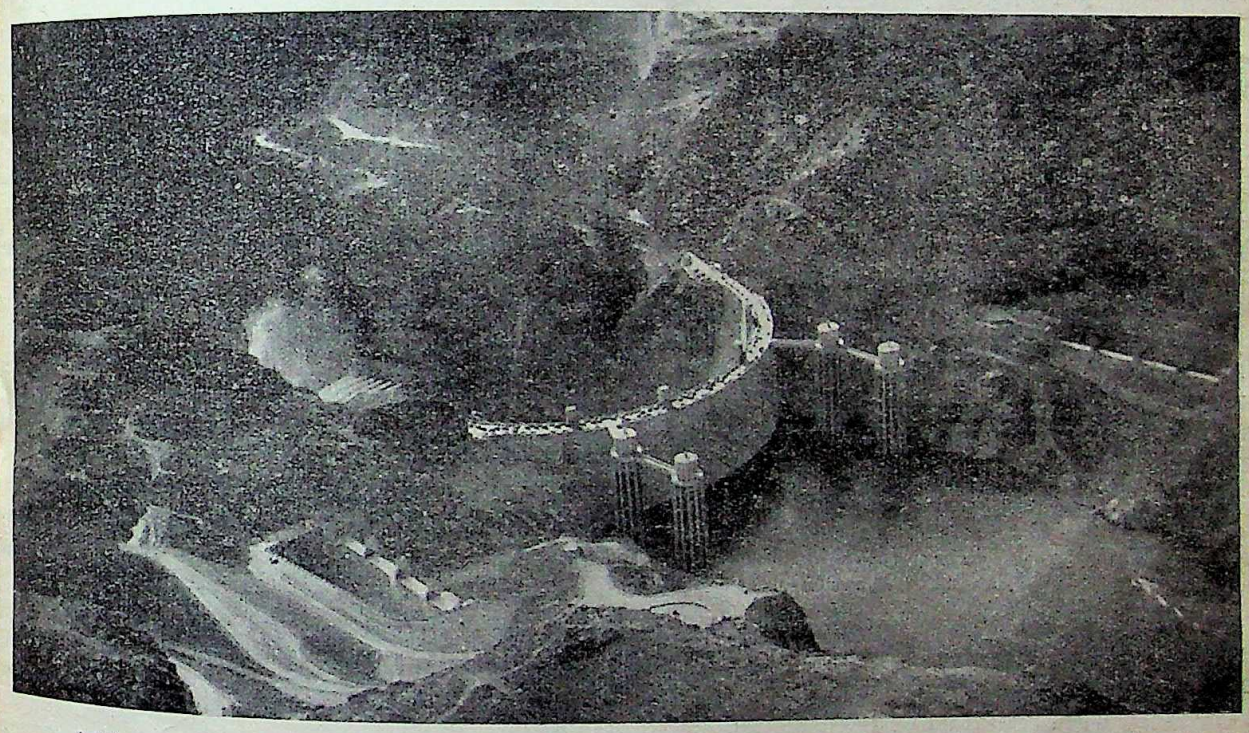
onstruction of planned communities, the programs for clearing city slums, the great nationwide building of public works which is transforming the vast countryside into a network of paved highways, navigable rivers, and modernized farms supplied with cheap electric power. A special community of the new types of American homes has been built. Here visitors can see the latest improvements in house construction and the latest aids to the housewife: mechanical robots that perform much of the housework.

Today in California even many of the laborers' cottages enjoy the newest electrical equipment: automatic washing and ironing machines, electric vacuum cleaners for taking up dust, electric refrigerators for manufacturing ice for the family and keeping foodstuffs preserved at cool temperatures, automatic controlled stoves that will begin cooking the dinner an hour or so before the family expects to return home, automatic radios that can be set a day ahead to turn on and off special programs of music or public addresses that the householder does not wish to miss.

In addition to these things, which are already a part of the everyday life of the average family living on the American side of the Pacific, there will also be shown glimpses into the future homes: "electric eyes" that open and close doors when a person or an automobile approaches or leaves, the new "electric nurse" recently put on to the market in America which watches the baby and informs its mother about its condition at any moment of day or night without her having to go into the nursery or leave tasks elsewhere in the house, the "cold heat" stoves over which meals can be cooked while the top of the stove is as cool to the touch as a dining table—a boon to the housewife or servant of the future who has to prepare meals on hot summer days, or that careless individual inadvertently forgetting that hot stoves burn human fingers that touch their surfaces. These and many other scientific wonders that will transform the daily lives of all of us in the next score of years, will be shown, together with the best in modern art, music and culture. It is an exhibition of the past, the present and the future.



Ariel view of Boulder Dam, which impounds the waters of the Colorado River in the heart of a barren desert region, creating Lake Mead which is 115 miles long and 8 miles in width, thus making it the world's largest artificial lake. The black dots on the top of the dam are automobiles

In all over twenty foreign nations are erecting buildings or arranging special displays, together with the eleven Western States of the United States, Alaska, Hawaii and several British dominions, besides many special scientific and educational displays from American universities, medical laboratories and research institutions. Every important oriental nation, with the exception of India, has already made arrangements to present graphic exhibits depicting its cultural, economic, scientific and spiritual

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achievements and to tell the twenty million or more visitors expected about the wonders of their homeland. Those of us who know the wealth of thought and material accomplishments in India today hope that she too will join with her sister nations of the Pacific and Indian oceans to help celebrate this emergence into the new path of human destiny that ties America and Asia with the common bond of mutual interests.

Structures for the other oriental exhibits are already rising from the sands of the man-made island, some representing expenditures of over a million dollars. Most are uniquely typical of the oriental cultures they depict. The Chinese exhibit, for example, is in the form of a Chinese community, surrounded by Chinese gardens landscaped with rockeries, old bronze statues, pavilions, camel-back bridges and winding lagoons, patterned after an old cormandel screen. At one end of the main garden is a temple with a golden statue of the goddess Kuan Yin; in the center a multi-colored pagoda in which, among other displays, is shown early Chinese inventions antedating many modern similar western discoveries. Outside the village proper are Chinese farms operated by rural farmers brought from the interior villages of China, showing the agricultural heritage from Asia that forms the basis from which modern mechanized agriculture has developed.

The Netherlands East Indies Building is set with bas-reliefs copied from the ruins of Borobudor and intricate Javanese scroll-work. The Johore exhibition contains a Malay Hut in charge of native Malays. The Japanese exhibition is the most extensive ever planned by the Japanese people. The building to house it was constructed in Japan and has been sent over to the United States in crates and erected on the exposition site. It is in the form of an ancient Japanese feudal castle surrounded by Japanese gardens supervised by Dr. Murata. In addition, a Samurai's home is also to be constructed in the gardens. The buildings proper are designed by the three most famous Japanese native architects: Dr. Uchida, Dr. Okuma and Dr. Kishida.

Indo-China's exhibit reflects the great ruins of Cambodia and the Latin American countries on the other side of the Pacific have used as a motif for their exhibits the ancient civilizations built by the Incas, the Aztecs and the Mayas. Japanese Nō plays, Javanese puppets, Bali ceremonial dances, Chinese drama and Indian music will be presented as well as exhibits of all forms of oriental art. Nor will many of the priceless spiritual teachings, so long nouris in the Orient, be forgotten in the array material displays. Special conferences are pl ned and special lectures scheduled to bring th treasures of the soul to the exposition visi for, perhaps of all the Orient has brought man, no gifts are more precious nor more need in the world at this time than those written up generations of human hearts by the great se of Asia.

As a setting for this exposition of the Pa fic, the selection of California was a hap choice. With its months of rainless summ it has always been the home for elaborate o door pageants and for many outdoor symphon operas and plays presented on mountain t and in the giant redwood forests. Its peo have the gaiety of the Italians, the Spanish l for fiestas, the French joy in fêtes and li fairs. Perhaps more than any other part of United States, California has from the old go mining days following 1849, enjoyed a carefr spirit which finds full expression in celebratio Like India, it is a land of fertile valleys, ri with orchards and teeming farms, with the s on one side and the snow-crested mounta forming a natural barrier at its back. In Euro it would have been a separate nation. America it is an integral part of the forty-eig states, though distinct in culture and atmosphere Facing the Orient, it turns to the Orient as we as to the Occident for its inspiration.

Over a quarter of a million East India Chinese, Japanese and Philippinos live wit its borders, each race contributing a measure its heritage to fuse into the vital new civilizat arising there. The Japanese have brought fi or more Buddhist temples to California, t Chinese their Joss Houses and Confuci societies, the Philippinos Mohammedan chur es, the East Indians Sikh and Vedanta temp Sufi and Hindu retreats are scattered here a there amongst its mountains, while in the cit the influence of oriental architecture, househo furnishings and culinary art may be discern on every hand.

Named "California" for Odroñez Montalvo's romantic novel, *Las Sergas Esplandian*, published in Madrid in 1510 a which describes an enchanted island "to t right of the Indies, very near the quarter of t terrestrial paradise", this land, with its gre central harbor entered through the hill-cl straits of "the Golden Gate", is in truth t garden joining Asia and western occiden civilization. To the Occident it turns for t development of its bodily comforts; to t

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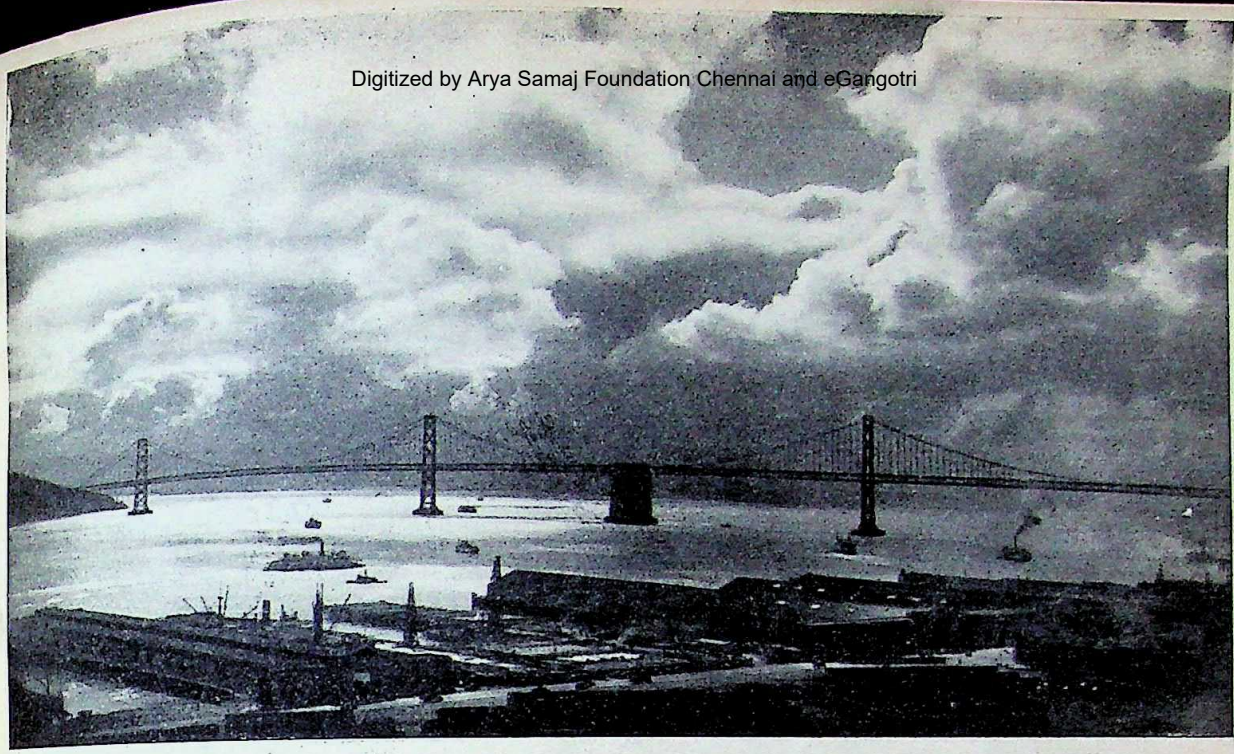

Sunset over San Francisco Bay, recently spanned by the world's longest bridge connecting San Francisco and its adjoining communities. The two main decks of the bridge stretch 4½ miles

Los Angeles is the largest city in Western America

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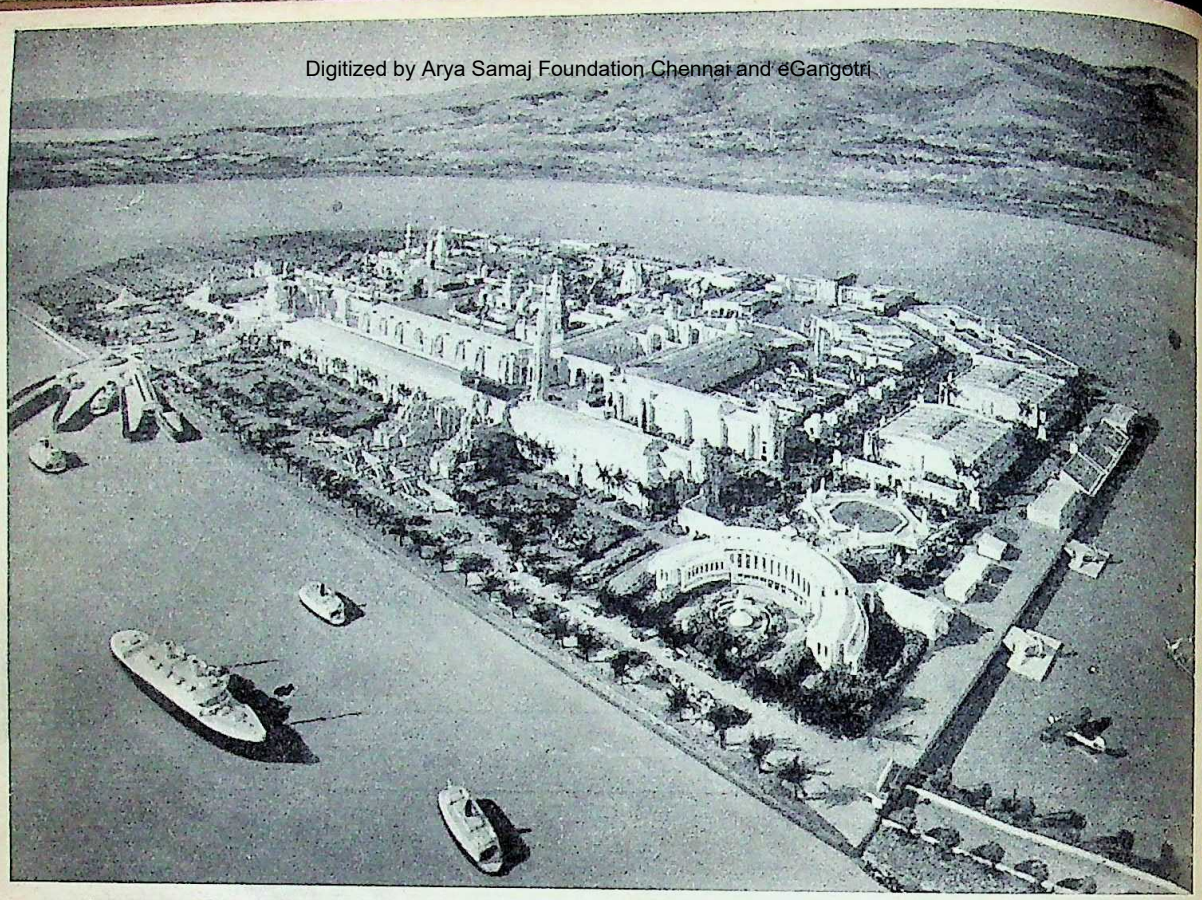

A spectacular preview of Treasure Island, site of the 1939 *Golden Gate International Exposition*, to be held on San Francisco Bay, is afforded by this photograph of an elaborate scale model of the Western World's Fair

The California giant redwoods are some of the oldest living specimines of vegetation upon the earth. The trees grow from 200 to 300 feet high and have a diameter around 20 feet, and a life-span of from one to two thousand years

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ent for the awakening of its spiritual self. o young to be, as yet, completely crystallized the pattern of western industrialism, this cific Coast of North America still reaches for that profound spiritual understanding he function and purpose of human life which countless centuries has formed the seed-atom Oriental philosophy.

As the Orient finds herself developed spiritally far beyond her technological attainments, versely the Occident is beginning to realize t her new scientific discoveries far overadow her spiritual evolution and threaten to slave her populations with the case hardened ains of material power undirected by adequate ner comprehension. She too is fighting for r freedom and, like Asia, searching for that ttern which will bring a peaceful solution of e complex human problems besetting the world today. Beyond race, beyond nationality, moves the common destiny of man. The contemporary struggle of social evolution which grips the nations surrounding the Pacific and Indian oceans, is a community problem affecting all the peoples inhabiting that geographical arena. The reshaping of their respective civilizations, the emergence into a new cycle, a new freedom of life, the completer conquest of man's collective mastery over physical nature and over his own inner nature—these problems draw the people of Asia and the people of western America into closer ties of mutual interests. So, when the Golden Gate International Exposition opens its gates in February 1939, it will be a fitting celebration for the beginning of a new era in the forward progress of the nations inhabiting the Pacific basin.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Miss Gouri Rani Banerjee, daughter of . H. C. Banerjee L.M.S., Saharanpur, passed e M.A. (Sanskrit) Examination of the Benares ndu University this year in the First Division anding First in the University. She appeared this and all other previous examinations as a vate candidate and passed them with credit.

Miss Gauri Rani Banerjee.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The picture of "A Haripura Village Woman" which eared in *The Modern Review* for March, 1938, p. 353, reproduced from the cover page of the special annual number of the *Hindustan Times*. We regret proper acknowledgment was not made in the March issue through oversight.

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INDIANS ABROAD

THE Indian generally goes abroad in search of a living like other people. But the Indian as a rule is only a labourer who, because of the low standard of life he is said to be used to at home, is able to supply cheap labour in the labour-market everywhere. He is thus often accused of underselling his labour and thus becomes the object of hate and derision of his competitors who, whatever be the actual grounds of their defeat, always put it down to the lower Indian standard of life. As soon therefore as the needs of the employers abroad are satisfied, the Indian is sought to be got rid of. The story is true almost wherever the Indian set his foot—in Africa, Malaya, or the Indies. Ceylon of late witnessed a bitter campaign against the South Indian labourer who is said to be squeezing out the very islander himself. The Ceylonese were however neither very scrupulous in their regard for facts nor very wise in forgetting what the reaction or the reprisal from the Indian side may mean to the island's economic life.

Recent informations speak of Ceylon recruiting her own plantations labour from the island itself. It is to be seen if Ceylonese native labour answers to the purpose.

EMIGRATION TO MALAYA

The Malayan planters and the Department of Labour in Malaya imposed, as is known, a 10 p.c. cut in the wages of the Indian labourer from May 1, last, which has meant 45 cents for men and 36 cents for women per day. Because of a cut in the production of rubber a further reduction of the wages to 40 and 30 cents for men and women respectively from August 1, next has been decided on. The Central Indian Association of Malaya submitted a long Memorandum to the Government of Madras pleading for the prohibition of the assisted emigration to Malaya, and 'advocating the stoppage of unassisted emigrants from Madras districts to the Malayan peninsula.' The Memorandum alleges that "at least a majority of them (the unassisted) do not pay their own passages from their own pockets any more than the assisted emigrants". "An adequate minimum living wage for Indian labour, coupled with permanent family colonization seems to be the only course available for the solution of the serious impasse which has arisen in connexion with the emigration of the unassisted emigrants to Malaya".

EMIGRATION TO FIJI

The Immigration Committee appointed the Fijian Government in December last report on Indian immigration and the issu permits and travel documents" has, it is nounced, completed its labour and the re will shortly be available. The Indian immig it is known, still suffers from many s disabilities, and, as there is considerable la shortage in Fiji, if extended immigratio Indians is recommended, Fiji Government sh be made to guarantee for them economic sec as well as non-communal franchise.

A heartening fact is the progress annou to have been made by Indian educatio Fiji. The Fiji Government have promise establish new schools, one at Suva anothe Nadi, and grant £100 for night schools for ad besides assisting the communities that prepared to help themselves by giving buil grants for schools etc.

AFGHAN DRY FRUIT TRADE

Indians were sufficiently alarmed at proposal of the Afghan Government monopo ing the Afghan dry fruit trade. It would ca ruin to many Indian traders. An Afg government order recently abandoned proposal in response to the appeal from Ind and the Government have been grate thanked by the President of the Indian Nati Congress for this.

INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

The story of the riot in the British co of Mauritius and the wounds inflicted there the Indians as a result of the firing by tr about two months ago failed to attract suffic notice outside. The following extracts from interview of Pandit Satyadeo, reported in *Bombay Sentinel*, and quoted by the *In Opinion* of Durban, speaks of the grievance the Indian workers in the Sugar factories, t disabilities and their experiences.

He told our representative that three lakhs of I residents in Mauritius out of the total population lakhs had no representation either in the Legislative or in any civic bodies. Government jobs were d them, their children were forced to toil in the fac their civic liberties trampled over and the Immig Laws hardly enforced.

Describing in detail the two recent outrages that place in Mauritius on unarmed Indian workers who on strike, Pandit Satyadeo said that about 60 workers for the factory, owned by an Indian who was also the

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nominee to the Legislative Council, with a view to put before him their grievances.

At the time about the month of August, last year, sugar export price in the world market seemed to them to be rising, but the cuts in their wages had not been restored in spite of the attempt of the Labour Party society recently formed there.

But hardly had their grievances been heard, when, he told our reporter, shots rang in the air and some persons were injured in the premises of the Indian Sugar Factory owner. The Police inspector who raised his hands to ask the party concerned to stop firing got a bullet in his hand!

Then a prolonged, although to a little extent sporadic strike, he added, followed. Fresh troubles began. The meetings of the workers were dispersed and at one of the meetings, the Police were stated to have opened fire with the result that three died and several others were wounded.

"But the authorities," P. Satyadeo said, "continued long after the incident to ride roughshod over the feelings of the petty planters and labourers and our appeal for humanitarian consideration went unheeded. Although four months have passed, the report of the Inquiry Committee set up in this connection has not been published."

In the Inquiry Committee, he stated, no Indian was appointed.

Indian Farmers in Natal

Indians had gone to Natal Coal and Cane fields as labourers under the indenture system. At the termination of the indenture, Indians recruited from India drifted into various walks of life, "but the majority took to farming," says the *Indian Opinion* (May 13th.), which editorially refers to the danger that the Indian farmer is now facing in the areas because of the dumping of bananas from the Portuguese East Africa under a treaty.

Indians who, at one time lived quite close to Durban, which they looked upon as the only market for their produce, have now gone further afield—miles away from Durban. Motor transport has made distances disappear. That bananas and other produce arrive practically every day at the Durban market from Port Shepstone—a distance of 75 miles—is an indication of what motor transport has done to the Farming industry. Banana plantations are the mainstay not only to those who farm on the outskirts of the boundaries of Durban, but also to those who farm along the South Coast extending to Port Shepstone. The Mozambique Treaty which enabled bananas from Portuguese East Africa to be dumped into the Union, affected the Banana industry in Natal to such an extent that the Natal Indian farmers began to think whether it was worthwhile farming. The Treaty in guaranteeing labour for the Reef Mines, did so at the expense of the banana industry which directly contributed to the development of the wealth of South Africa.

Once the bananas in Portuguese East Africa are ready to be reaped, the markets of South Africa would be flooded.

The Natal Indian farmers would be well advised to consolidate their forces so that in matters affecting their interests they could speak with one voice. The Mozambique Treaty could have been modified if proper representations had been made to the Government at the time. The case of the Indian farmer went by default.

We believe there are two Associations each claiming to represent the Indian farmers.

A strong Association with a membership of at least fifty per cent of the Indian Farmers would be the only adequate safeguard against such dangerous enactments as the Marketing Act. The Indian Farmers should learn to grow on their own strength.

South African Elections

South African elections which resulted in the return last month of the Party in power, the United Nationalist Party, to which Mr. Hofmeyr, known to India for his fairness on the Indian question, belongs. Mr. Hofmeyr's attitude was the cause of many "upheavals" within the Party; so "South Africa needs many more Hofmeyrs before the Indian community of South Africa can have its much deserved rest." The Indians there have been denied franchise, that elementary right of man. Even the so-called uncivilised natives of the country have some semblance of representations in the Parliament, which the Indians lack. It is time for them to make a united demand for it, as one of them, Mr. P. R. Pather, pleads in the following:

Three parties have been in power since Union, the South African, the Nationalist and the United Nationalist Parties. None of these parties has exhibited any feeling for the Indian. Each party has had its share of anti-Asiatic legislations. And none has spared the Indian. We will continue to occupy the position of inferiority so long as we are denied the franchise. Recently the Natal Indian Congress presented a petition to the Natal Provincial Council urging the restoration of the Municipal franchise. That petition has been thrown out. The petition unfortunately was half-hearted, and did not have the backing of the people. By that, we mean that an appeal for the restoration of the franchise should be made not by way of petition signed by one or two persons, but it should emanate from the Indian community of Natal as a whole.

The occasion demands a united front for the Indian community and that is the only sure way of making a bid for the franchise.

Reservation of the Kenya Highlands

The motion of Major Cavendish-Bentinck for a 'White Kenya Highlands' has received a fit warning from that tireless friend of the overseas Indians, Mr. C. F. Andrews, in the Indian press. Kenya papers to hand prove how reasonably and spiritedly the Hon'ble Messrs. Shamsud-deen and J. B. Panday thrashed out every aspect of the question in the Kenya Council to show the hollowness, the insult for the Indians involved, and the disservice to the Imperial issue that is signified by the proposal mooted in the face of all the promises and assurances from the the Secretary for the Colonies which we referred to in our last issue. To bring home the disaster that is impending we recall the opinion of Mr. Andrews:

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When asked what disaster would be, Mr. Andrews said that it would be the very first act of deliberate racial discrimination on a vaster scale than the British Parliament itself had sanctioned and determined. Other cases of racial discrimination of a more doubtful character both in Fiji and in Kenya had already taken place but this reservation of Kenya Highlands by an Order-in-Council would be absolutely glaring. It would mean that the British Parliament had completely abandoned its principle of racial equality and justice. Since 1833, the British had stood for no racial discrimination.

"There have been many acts in which that constitutional principle has been broken, but this, if carried out in Kenya, would be the first flagrant breach of the British Constitution" added Mr. Andrews.

"I think it glaringly inconsistent if one and the same Parliament professing to grant Self-Government to the Indian people in their own country at the same time pass an order which virtually denied the same people their most fundamental and elemental rights in another Colony," concluded Mr. Andrews.

"All Right" at Tanga?

Kenya, it is known, is notorious for its anti-Indian measures. From the smug self-satisfactory talk of the Indians in Tanganyika and Uganda, one might conclude that it is all right over there. The *Tanganyika Opinion* wants our colonists to remember that this is quite contrary to the fact. In the railway and in the English-run and English-patronised hotels the Indian is barred from any equality or social contact with the Europeans.

In civil services this distinction of races goes much deeper and takes the form not of ordinances but of unspoken social rebuffs ond persecution. Why did the only African Assistant Secretary of the Dar-es-Salaam Secretariat throw up his privileged job? Why is an Asian not placed even in acting charge of higher posts? Except a stray case or so, will any Government conscientiously say that they do not consider it unusual that Asians should be placed in acting charge of high offices ordinarily scheduled to be filled up by European incumbents?

Both in Uganda and Tanganyika there are such divisions as European and Asian posts, and we want to know what statutory authority the Government of the Mandated Territory have to divide the civil service into Overseas recruited, Intermediate and Local services.

The Solution of the Indian Problem in South Africa

South African Indians are generally found to be in favour of keeping aloof from the Anti-European Front, the formation of which was announced about two months ago. They consider their problem to be allied to those of the native people, but still distinct in certain respects, as the Indians form a distinct group in South African life. Seth Govindadas was keen on this idea. He had recommended even a scheme of colonisation, 'starting a limited company on co-operative lines'. We were afraid this was hardly the proper method, and, our doubts have been borne out by South African 'Indian Opinion' as well. It probably m the best suggestion for the solution of problem.

If the report in the press is correct, Seth Govind proposes that Indians in India and East Africa s start imitating the imperialist powers in their polic exploiting the backward races. I believe that In in Africa have a nobler mission to perform than adoption of this policy. Nothing should be done b Indians in East Africa by which their relation wit Africans should be strained at any time in the pa or the future.

Helping in the regeneration of the African ra the destiny which awaits the Indians in Africa. Ste to schemes of exploiting the Africans politically a dustrially can never be justified by the Indians here Africa and I am sure that if Seth Govind Das had sulted the Working Committee of the Indian Na Congress or any prominent Congress leader he w have acted in a different manner. Settlement of In in East Africa can be justified only to the extent t remains harmless to the future progress of the Af and to the extent that it actively helps such progress.

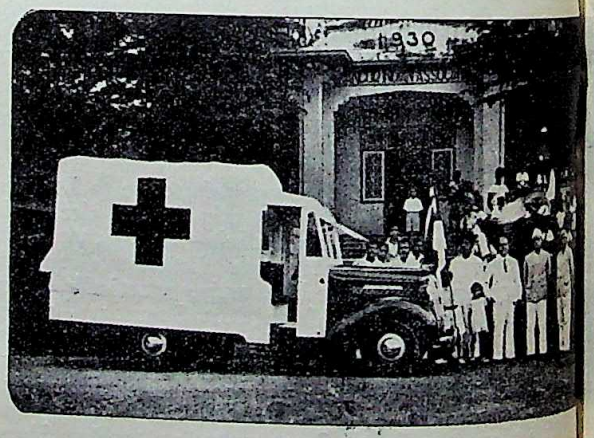
G. I

Ambulance For China

Presented by the Central Indian Association of Malaya

Dear Sir,

In connection with the Sino-Japanese W the Indian National Congress had declared our sympathies should go to China in her pre



Ambulance presented to China by the Central Indian Association of Malaya

struggle against Japanese Imperialism. Follo ing the lead of the Congress the Central Ind Association of Malaya, decided to focus lo Indian opinion to this aspect of the question, a result of which I am glad to inform you t my Association was able to raise suffici funds to present the Chinese Government w an Ambulance for Red Cross Service. The c of the Ambulance as well as the cost of tra port and insurance up to Hongkong is paid this Association.

In one of the photographs of

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MORE THAN

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TEN HORSE-POWER CARS NOW SOLD

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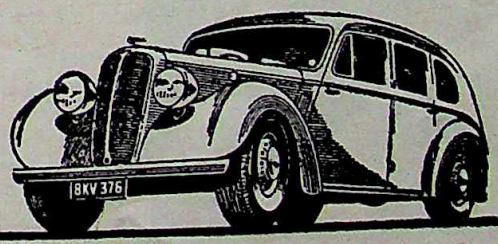
MINX

Official registration figures recently issued shows that of all 10 h.p. cars now sold throughout the United Kingdom, the MINX accounts for no less than 33.7% of the total — and this against some sixteen different makes.

Distributors :

WALFORD TRANSPORT LTD., 71-73, Park St., Calcutta.



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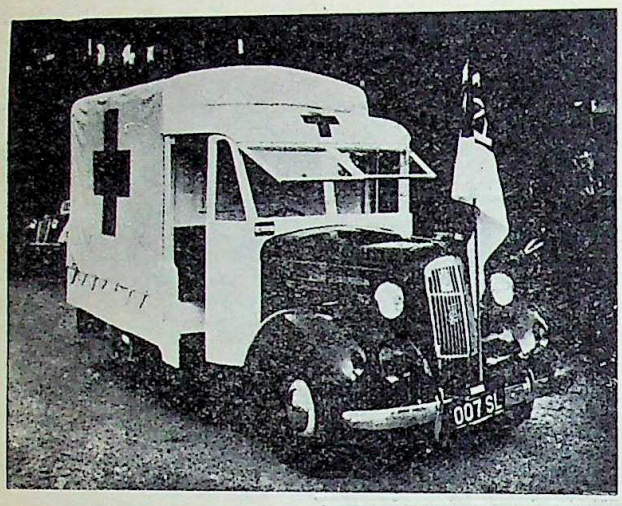

The Indian National Flag is seen fixed in front of the Ambulance

Ambulance you will find the inside view showing the plate with the inscription, "Presented by the Central Indian Association of Malaya on behalf of the Indian Community". In another picture you will find just in front of the driver's seat the Indian National Flag which is fixed in an enamelled plate.

The Ambulance was formerly delivered to the Consul for China, resident in Kuala Lum-

Inside view of the Ambulance showing the inscribed plate

pur and in acknowledging delivery, the Consul has written to this Association as under:—

"I wish to assure you and your community in Ma that my Government is notified of this valuable contrib and feelings of sympathy towards the unfortunate suff in China. I would like to express once more that I deeply moved by this noble contribution and that is feelings of the highest appreciation and deepest grati that I now acknowledge receipt of the ambulance car fr the Indian Community in Malaya."

Yours faithfully,
K. A. NEELAKANDHA Aya
Hon. Secretary,
Central Indian Association of Ma

Indians in Mauritius

As I have told you in my previous comm cation (Vide *The Modern Review* for June, 19 the Honourable Seeparsad Sheerbookun and

Mr. S. Sheerbookun,
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius

Mr. A. L. Osman,
Member, Legislative Council, Mauritius.

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Honourable Abdul Latiff Osman, the newly nominated members of the Council of Government, have been chosen to represent the interest of the small Indian planters at the Council.

They delivered their maiden speeches on Tuesday last while the bill on the Industrial Association was being discussed and although not trained for public life their performance was so remarkable that the senior elected member—a European—congratulated them for their masterly handling of a bill in which legal technicalities were involved.

K. HAZAREE SINGH

6. 5. 38.

ERRATA

The Modern Review for June, 1938, p. 652:
The author of the article, "Congress Cotton Committee's Report", is Mr. S. A. Palekar and *not* S. P. Palekar.

The Modern Review for June, 1938, p. 693, lines 12-14:
For "In the course of his article on the art of criticism Principal P. Seshadri observes" *read* "In the course of his article on the art of criticism *in the Journal of the Benares Hindu University* (Vol. II, No. 2), 1938, Principal P. Sheshadri observes.

A CORRECTION

Dear Sir,

An admiring reader of your "Notes" in *The Modern Review*, may I take the liberty of drawing your notice to an unfortunate oversight that occurs on Page 715, second column, in the current number of the Review.

The lines wrongly quoted from "the Irish poet" really occur in Byron's 'Childe Harold,' Canto 2, ll. 720-21:

"Hereditary bondsman? Know ye not
Who would be free themselves must strike the blow?"

Yours truly,
D. K. SEN,
Professor of English, Krishnagar College.

3,000 YEARS' OLD HINDU FORMULA WORKS FURTHER MIRACLES :—

(1) European gentleman with baldness over 25 years grows hair in 5 weeks.

(2) Indian Lady checks awful falling of hair in a fortnight.

Please write full details of your case (age, health, history of baldness, constipation, etc.) to:

Mrs. KUNTALA RAY,
208, Bowbazar Street, CALCUTTA.

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WORLD'S WOMEN TAKE TO AIR

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"Poor Man's" Wife Earns Two Crores in Business

Free Flights for Women

BY MRS. CHAMAN LAL

We have a lot to learn from our sisters of the West in their enterprising spirit, talent and commercial ability. One woman in New York has earned nearly two crore rupees (7 million dollars).

Mrs. Max Kramer startled American business men a few days ago by producing a cheque for seven million dollars to purchase the thirty-storey Lincoln Hotel in New York. Her husband, Mr. Kramer, went to America from Russia as a poor boy. He started to build small houses, then larger houses, blocks of flats and finally hotels. When he married in 1926, he gave his wife a present of a million dollars. She had organised a hospital in the war, and now runs a successful gown shop in New York.

Neither minds taking a risk. He has the business brains; she has the artistic genius. He owns and runs the five-storey Hotel Edison and from behind the scenes he will superintend the Lincoln.

The purchase price was actually eleven million dollars, but Mrs. Kramer paid cash over and above the first mortgage of four million dollars held by an insurance company.

WOMEN'S AERO CLUB

Miss Amy Johnson and Miss Pauline Gower are organising an Aero Club for Women, which they hope will be affiliated to the Royal Aero Club. Premises have been offered to them by the Forum Ladies' Club in Belgravia and the two airwomen are now trying to build up a list of all the women who have learnt to fly in Great Britain.

Miss Johnson says:

"We believe there is room for such a club. Many hundreds of women have taken their amateur pilot's licence in the last ten years and, although all have not renewed it, my experience is that, once a woman begins to take an interest in aviation, she never lets it go.

"Pauline and I, two of the handful of women pilots who hold the Air Ministry commercial licence, are anxious to hear from all these hundreds of women, as we have not got a list of their addresses."

The Air Ministry, which has a record of all women who have taken the "A" licence, does not divulge their names and addresses.

GORT—REJECTED PLAN

Miss Ursula Waldron's scheme for the training of women pilots to assist the R.A.F. has been rejected by the Air Ministry.

Miss Waldron is a niece of the Marchioness Townshend. She proposed to have women trained to pilot R.A.F. aircraft so that in time of war they could fly on tasks behind the lines.

Lord Sempill approached the Air Minister on her behalf. He was told, there are not enough aircraft available for her plan.

AIR RECORDS BY WOMEN

Three Soviet women aviators, Polina Osipenko, Vera Lomaka and Marina Raskova claim to have established an international record for a women's long distance flight on a circular course.

The women—Osipenko as chief pilot, Lomaka as second pilot and Raskova as navigator—flew 1,160 miles in a single-engined seaplane over a course Sebastopol, Yevpatoria, Ochakov, Sebastopol.

Osipenko afterwards said that her record flights were a fulfilment of a promise she made to Stalin to fly higher, faster, and farther than any other woman in the world.—*Exchange.*

WOMEN'S LEGION

Another plan to enable women to assist the R.A.F. is being prepared by Lady Loch, head of the aviation section of the Women's Legion in London. This section has been given official recognition by the Air Ministry.

WOMAN LIEUTENANT

Eight years ago Polina Osipenko who was working on a farm in Russia, had never seen a plane. Now, a lieutenant in the Soviet air force and holder of three women's altitude records, she is to try for the international flying-boat record.

FREE FLIGHTS FOR WOMEN

An American Aviation Company is giving free flights to "wives," since a survey showed that "36 per cent. of wives do not want their husbands to fly, primarily because they themselves have never flown, and many have never visited an airport." The Company, therefore, invited the wives of men who like to fly to take a free trip with their husbands between San Francisco and Los Angeles.

In Tokyo, there is a Women's Club which gives flight over the city and a light lunch, all for Rupees Two. Will Mrs. Pandit organise a similar Air Club in India?

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THE MODERN REVIEW

(A Monthly Review and Miscellany)

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

VOL. LXIII. NUMBERS 1 TO 6
JANUARY TO JUNE
1938

THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE
120-2, UPPER CIRCULAR ROAD,
CALCUTTA

Annual Subscription in India Rs. 8-8; Foreign Rs. 11-8.

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INDEX OF ARTICLES

Page

Adult Education in India, 1937
K. S. Vakil 278

Advantages of Tube-well Irrigation Where Facilities of Flow-Irrigation Are Not Available
Bidhu Bhusan Ghosh 528

Afternoon with Madame Sophia Wadia, An (*illust.*)
Motilal Das 434

All-India Seva Samiti Scout Mela (*illust.*)
Amiya Roy Choudhury 177

And Buddha Smiled (*poem*)
Muriel Jeffries Hurd 508

Art and Life
Ashoke Chatterjee 253

Art in Primitive and Ancient Life
Ashoke Chatterjee 379

Art of Gaganendra Nath Tagore, The (*illust.*)
Nirad C. Chaudhuri 330

Australian Church, Melbourne 695

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee as a Jurist
Motilal Das 324

Battle of Forms in Art, The (*illust.*)
R. C. Ray 94

Bengalees and Non-Bengalees
Anilbaran Ray 405

Bhola Nath Singh, Professor (*illust.*)
X. 670

Big Nick (*Story*)
Ewen K. Patterson 546

Book Reviews 70, 185, 314, 440, 563, 678

Budget and the Pacts, The
Major D. Graham Pole 641

Build Me a Tree (*poem*)
Muriel Jeffries Hurd 622

Burmese Eras, Year, Months and Days (*illust.*)
Bireswar Gangooly 672

Cambodge, Present-Day (*illust.*) 212

Canning of Fruits and Its Scope in India
B. K. Dhar 659

Child Guidance Clinics
H. P. Maiti 168

Chinese People Arm Themselves, The (*illust.*)
Agnes Smedley 133

Civil Service in a Foreign Dominion
Bool Chand 145

Comment and Criticism 69, 207, 337

Congress and Democracy
S. Ramaswami 276

Page

Congress Cotton Committee's Report
S. A. Palekar 652

Conventions of the Constitution
Bool Chand 32

Cultural Interchange and Mingling
Ramananda Chatterjee 637

Definition of Bengal
R. C. Majumdar 130

Democracy and Public Opinion
Rai Bahadur Bijaybihari Mukharji 525

Dhondo Keshav Karve (*illust.*)
Ramananda Chatterjee 549

Did Buddhism Cause India's Downfall
V. M. Kaikini 534

Economic Reconstruction in Bengal
Dr. Pramathanath Banerjea 245

Educated Unemployment and Large-scale Farming (*illust.*)
Dr. Nandalal Chatterji 52

Electroculture : Its Theory and Application (*illust.*)
Swami Sevananda 17

England's Losing Game
Major D. Graham Pole 493

Escape
Jawaharlal Nehru 498

Exhibition of the Paintings of Manindra Bhusan Gupta, An (*illust.*)
Nirad C. Chaudhuri 209

Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State (*illust.*)
Pandit Binayak Misra and Krushna Chandra Panigrahi 301

Facing the Problems of Youth
Aline Masters 259

Family Dissolution in Malabar
K. M. Ayyath 421

Five Months in the "States"
Bepin Chandra Pal 11

Foreign Experts and the Indian Civil Service
Prof. Naresh Chandra Roy 43

Foreign Periodicals 86, 213, 461, 578, 690

Germany : The Eifel Mountains (*illust.*)
Joy Wright 24

Gogonendra Nath Tagore : The Great Indian Artist (*illust.*)
O. C. Gangoly 327

Hindi as the Lingua Franca
P. V. Acharya 42

Hindi Bhavan at Santiniketan, The
C. F. Andrews 127

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Page

Hindu Middle Class in Bengal, The
Birendra Kishore Roy Choudhury 447
Hints to Indian Students Going Abroad
Capt. P. Bardhan 539
Historic Mission of the Hindus in Bengal and the Effect of the Communal Decision
Surjya Narayan Chatterjee 420
How Egypt Got Rid of Cholera
Dr. Dhirendra Nath Banerjee 295
India's Women Scientists
Rabindra Mohon Datta 388
Indian Archæologist, An (*illust.*) 455
Indian Art in Tibet—Tucci as Explorer and Mystic (*illust.*)
Monindra Mohan Moulik 500
Indian Centenary in British Guiana, The
C. F. Andrews 375
Indian Maternity of the Thirteenth Century, An
Dr. Dines Chandra Sircar 636
Indian Periodicals 89, 217, 338, 457, 581, 692
Indian Railways Policy Regarding Cotton Freight Rates
M. F. Soonawala 399
Indian Statistical Conference, The First (*illust.*)
An Onlooker 203
Indian Womanhood (*illust.*) 95, 208, 467
Indians Abroad 575, 725
G. H. and H. K. Hazaree Singh
International Understanding Through Education
Principal P. Seshadri 407
Interview with Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Eighth Route Army
Agnes Smedley 9
Jagadish Chandra Bose
Rabindranath Tagore 78
Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress, The (*illust.*) 191, 252
K. Narasimha Iyengar (*illust.*)
G. Parthasarathy 557
Krishnavarma Honoured in Paris, Pandit (*illust.*)
Madame L. Morin 437
Language Problem of India and the South and a Solution
G. Thiagarajan 411
Letter to an Indian Friend in Japan, A
Rabindranath Tagore 623
Local Governments in Pre-Buddhist India
Ratilal Mehta 656
Masaryk—The President Liberator
Dr. Sudhindra Bose 125
Match Manufacture for Cottages (*illust.*)
Satish Chandra Das-Gupta
"Militarism" in Modern Japan (*illust.*)
Dagmar Lynn
Musical Life in Austria in 1937 (*illust.*)
Frau Heddy Fulop-Miller
Nanda Devi: Empire's Highest Peak Climbed (*illust.*)
Govind Prasad Nautiyal
National Language for India, A
Prof. Khagendra N. Sen
Nationalism and Minorities in Czechoslovakia (*illust.*)
Monindra Mohan Moulik
New Definition of the Empire (*illust.*)
M. Mansinha
Notes 97, 221, 349, 469, 589,
Our Curriculum and Text-Books
Prof. S. N. Ray
Phthisiophobia and its Effect on Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign
Dr. Boloram Mukerjee
Pistany—The Beneficent Island (*illust.*)
E. Schenkl
Pilgrimage to the Black Pagoda (*illust.*)
K. G. Randell
Plunge, The (*poem*)
Dilip Kumar Roy
Practice of the Buddhist Tenet of Ahimsa in Japan, The
Dr. Raghu Vira
Premature Retirement of the Indian Services
Bool Chand
Prepare for Peace
Major D. Graham Pole
Progress of Rural Reconstruction in the Mysore State, The
G. Rudrappa
Prohibition
Frederick Grubb
Proposed Amendment of the Reserve Bank Act, The
Amar Krishna Ghose
Provincial Finance under the Federation: Some New Sources of Revenue
B. M. Piplani
Rabindranath, To (*poem*)
Dilip Kumar Roy
Rabindranath Tagore (*illust.*)
Ramananda Chatterjee
Ramsay MacDonald, The Late
Dr. Sudhindra Bose
Rationalization of the Study of Arabic
Md. Mujibul Huq
Recent Crisis in Fiji, The
C. F. Andrews

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Page

ecent Indian Crisis, The
Bool Chand 384
elative Readiness of Hindus and Muhammadans to Defend India
Jatindra Mohan Datta 184
eligion and Morality as the Bases of Society
Prof. Umesh Chandra Bhattacharjee 180, 270
oyal Veto in the New Constitution, The
Prof. Dhirendra Nath Sen 83
ural Broadcast in Italy (*illust.*)
Dr. P. N. Roy 676
ural Reconstruction Experiments at Sriniketan
C. F. Andrews 335
ahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup (*illust.*)
B. Chatterji 173
econdary Education in Bengal
A Critique of the Proposed Bill 55
econdary Schoolmaster in the Balkans
John Brown 155
hould the Indian Speaker Follow the British or the American Model ?
D. N. Banerjee 684
isal Hemp in India
J. K. Sircar 45
ocial Illiteracy
A. Aronson 285
ociological Analysis and Forecast of Population Increase, The
Prof. Radhakamal Mukerjee 661
ongs from My Village (*illust.*)
Prof. Devendra Satyarthi 308
peaker and His Party, The
Prof. Naresh Chandra Roy 320
tudents' Strikes
G. S. Krishnayya 417
ymposium on River Physics
Prof. M. N. Saha 625
eaching of Sciences in India, The
R. L. Moore and Beni Charan Mahendra 541
oyama—Founder of Blood-brotherhood (*illust.*)
Dharmvir 554
ravancore University, The
V. Srinivasan 167
ribal Population and Christianity
D. N. Majumdar 513
nsung Shrines of Italy (*illust.*)
Monindra Mohan Moulik 429
ienna's Share in the Research of Indian Art
Frau H. Fulop-Miller 172
ision of History, The
Shishir Coomar Mitra 37
hat Is the Matter with Money ?
Richard B. Gregg 517, 644

Page

Winter in Badgastein (*illust.*)
E. Schenkl 175
Women's Equality
Prof. Krishna Prasanna Mukerji 26, 149, 291
Wooden Sculptures of Ancient Bengal (*illust.*)
N. K. Bhattasali 261
Women as Peace Teachers
Kedarnath Das-Gupta 79
World Affairs
G. H. 342, 451, 570, 696
World Fellowship of Faiths (*illust.*) 307
Yeats-Brown's Caricature of India and Provincial Governments, Major 561
1937 : A Retrospect
Major D. Graham Pole 141

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Ancient Power to Create a New World 219
Ancients, The 89
Art and the Artist 217
Art of Criticism, The 693
Artificial Silk Industry known as Rayon, The 90
Awakening 92
Bankim Centenary 460
Beginning of Telugu, The 460
British Women Won the Suffrage, How 90
China, An Inside Story of 90
Civilization of China, The 340
Congress and National Education, The 459
Dance in India, The 220
Dravidian Racial Element in India, The 459
Earlier Phase of Modernist Verse, The 584
Early Portuguese Account of Bengal, An 339
Eclipse of the International Law, The 89
Education in Ancient India 692
Elephant Lore in Pallava History 586
Examinations—Values and Dangers 217
Explorations in the Gobi Desert 586
Freedom of Reason 339
Gaganendranath Tagore 459
Gold Exodus 458
Heramba Chandra Maitra 693
Heritage in India 92
Hindu Conception of the Motherland, The 583
Ideal of Social Service in India, The 91
India and China 587
Indian Christians in Bengal 341
Inspired Lead, The 219
Is India Over-Populated ? 339
Magic of Words, The 218
Matter 457
Modern Medicine 458
Mysticism in the Poetry of AE 584

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Page

Organisation of Rural Health and Sanitation Work 695
P. E. N. Annual Meeting 585
Peking Man, The 694
Periodical Publications 341
Philanthropy 91
Poetry of Iqbal 218
Poison Gases in Modern Warfare 582
Problems for Haripura 217
Rabindranath on Gandhi 338
Religion in the West 457
Rise of the Himalayas, The 340
Sarat Chandra Chattopadhyaya 694
Scientists of the World, Unite ! 582
To the Painter 220
Wardha Educational Scheme 338
Wardha Scheme, The 692
West Must Learn About India, The 581
Why and for Whom do I Write 90
Women's Place in Hindu Law 584
Worshippers of Buddha 695
Zenda Avesta, The 585

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Accused, The : An International Study 87
"Advantages of War" 88
Alien Antipathy in Europe 214
Dictatorship 578
Ethiopia, All is Not Well in 462
Five Years of Nazi Rule in Germany 462
Heritage of the North China Peasant, The 579
Indian Music 215
Italy's Weakness 578
Japan Rules in China, Where 86
Japan's "Anti-British" Drive 579
Japanese Destruction of Chinese Institutions 86
Laurence Housman's Fight with the Censor 88
Manchuria Now 215
Mongolia, Outer 580
Moslem World in Transition, The 216
New Rights for Women of France 691
Nobel Prize Novel 213
Palestine, The Realities in 214
Picasso : The Man and his Art 690
Spain, Future of 690
Soviet Press, The 213
Story of an Exterminated Race, The 691
Training of the Nazi Leaders of the Future, The 461
We Need a Vision 216

NOTES

Achievement of the Frontier Assembly, An 483
All-India Industries Department 109
Alleged Congress Terms Offered to Shri Jinnah
America Calculating in its Isolation?
American Support For Militarism
Andrews on Keshub Chunder Sen, Mr. C. F.
Andrews' Statement on the Zanzibar Question, Mr.
Anglo-French Talks "Re" Czechoslovakia
Anglo-Irish Agreement
Annexation of Ethiopia and The League
Anniversary Number of Calcutta Municipal Gazette
Anthony Eden Resigned, Why, Mr.
Anti-Gas Precautions India's Greatest Need!
Anti-Phooka Bill Passed
Anti-Semitism
Anti-tuberculosis Fund
Appeal for World-wide Boycott of Japanese Goods
Appeal from China, An
Appeal to Government to Lift Ban on Communist Party in India
Appointment of Officiating Orissa Governor
Asking For Domicile Certificates Illegal
Assam Demands Duty on Mineral Oil
Australian Defence Plans, A Lesson from
Bamrauli Railway Disaster
Ban on "Bharat Me Angrezi Raj" Lifted
Bengal Aggrandized at Bihar's Cost?, Was
Bengal Civil Liberties Union on "Mahatmaji in Bengal"
Bengal Hindu Sabha's Request to Gandhiji
Bengal Provincial Conference
Bengal Secondary Education Bill, Opposition to
Bengalis and Provincialism
Bengalis in Assam Province
Bengalis in Bihar, Another Charge Against
Bengalis Outside Bengal: Inter-provincial Migration
Bengalis in the Province of Bihar
"Bhavans" of Visva-bharati, The
Bhulabhai Desai on States' People's Rights, Mr.
Bible Held not Infallible By Anglican Commission, The
Bihar Congress Ministry's Recognition of "Fissiparous Forces"
Bihar Education Minister's Appeal
Biharis in Bengal and Bengalis in Bihar

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	Page
hta Railway Disaster, The	606
hta Railway Disaster Enquiry, The	114
ndu Goalini's Case	368
ank Cheque That Mr. Roy Would Have Given, The	232
ombay Does Not Want Domicile Certificate	592
ombay Home Minister Criticized	484
ombing of Non-Combatants in Spain	479
ose's Presidential Address, Mr.	356
rabourne Announces Government Policy, Lord	107
ratachari Dances For Girls	607
ride Refuses To Marry Much-Married Lothario	485
ritain Mollifies Mussolini	370
ritain's War Preparations	720
ritish Foreign Policy	480
ritish Government to Recognise Ethiopian Conquest?	372
urma Government's Courageous Statesmanship	364
urma Rebellion Prisoners Released, More	714
urning of the Christmas Mails Last Year, The	114
utler on 40-Hour Week, Mr.	230
Cabinet Minister Accused of Lying, A "	235
alcutta Corporation and Released Detenus	116
Calcutta Municipal Gazette " Health Number	611
alcutta Public Meeting Against "Jinnah-Rajendraprasad Pact"	221
alcutta University Convocation, The	486
Calcutta University " Sri "-less and " crest,"-fallen?, Is	226
alcutta University Studies in Aviation	119
apital Versus Labour in Cawnpore	719
ampaign Against Illiteracy	612
elebration of A Doctor's Attaining His 81st Year	227
entenaries of Great Authors in Bengal	607
Cheap Justice "	490
hina's Firm Resolve	98
hinese Air Raid on Japanese Empire	370
hinese Patriotism	612
hinese Use of Pidgin English and Literary English	591
ivil Aviation	114
lass War Abroad and in India	371
ommunal Division of Calcutta Corporation Jobs	108
Communal Poison Invades Britain "	364
ommunal Riots in Bombay and Lucknow	607
Communism And The Abolition of Classes And Castes	474
Communist-Fascist Struggle, The	472
Congress and Education	484
Congress and Muslim League Opposition to Federation, Probable Result of	101
Congress and the States' People's Fight for Freedom	715
Congress Attitude Towards Burma Re-stated	370
Congress Bulletin Number One of 1938	492
Congress Claim to Represent Indian Nation	612
Congress Government Action re Kisan Movement in U. P. and Bihar	119
Congress Opposition to Government Federal Scheme	370
Congress President's Assam Tour	98
Congress Resolution on the Ministerial Crisis, The	367
Congress Woman Held Woman's Honour Dear, How A	604
Congress Working Committee and the Frontier "Teacher-Abductor"	716
" Congress Working Committee Hold The Honour of Womanhood Dear "	604
Congressites Exhibit Lack of Soul-Force in C. P., Some	604
Consequence of the Subjection of India	351
" Contemporary Art of India "	235
C. P. Minister of Justice Resigns	486
" Criminal Tribes " and " Scheduled Castes "	714
" Crisis in Culture, The "	224
Criticism of Present Social, Political and Economic Systems and Orders	476
Crowded Public Meeting Demands Release of Political Prisoners	326
Czechoslovakia	719
Czechoslovakia, Another Menace to	608
Darbar Gopaldas Desai, Address of	354
Death of A Hungerstriking Prisoner	241
Development of Village Industries	704
Diabolical And Horrible Concomitant of War, A	594
Did Buddhism Cause India's Downfall?	109
D. K. Karve, Honour to Prof.	488
Domicile Certificates	592
Domicile Certificate in Assam	593
Domicile Certificates, A Non-Bengali Comment On	486
Domicile Certificates, Most Provinces Do Not Require	593
Disturbed Conditions in Palestine	484
Effects of War on the Chinese People	97
Enlightened Civic Administration of Mohen-jo-Daro	478
Exhibition at Bishnupur	241

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Page
Extempore Addition to Presidential Address 361
Externment of Some Released Prisoners 720
Fall in Price of Jute 116
Fanaticism in Medicine 105
Fazlul Huq at the Muslim League, Mr. A. K. 602
Fazlul Huq Condemns Communalism!, Mr. 116
Federal Court, Opening of the 108
Firing on Mysore Villagers with Fatal Results 608
Form of Application for a Certificate of Domicile in Bihar 610
Fourth International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faiths 483
French Colonial Terror 489
Frightfulness in Europe 477
Frontier Premier Dr. Khan Sahib on "Bande Mataram" 100
Gandhi Seva Sangha Conference 492
Gandhiji Deprecates Demonstrations During Political Prisoner's Release Negotiations 475
Gandhiji's Definition of a Swadeshi Company 478
Germans in Czechoslovakia, The 607
Germany Annexed Austria, Why 709
Germany Conquers and Annexes Austria 478
Germany Want Hegemony Over Central Europe?, Does 608
Gogonendra Nath Tagore 363
Goswami Discovers Method of Preparing Plastics, Dr. 230
Government of India Act to be Amended? 717
Governor-General's Autocracy 490
Governor-General Certifies Finance Bill 486
Governors' and Ministers' Responsibility re Release of Politicals 601
"Great Indian Scientist, A" 221
Grievances of Detenus and Political Prisoners 234
Growth of Population in India 610
Halifax Becomes British Foreign Secretary, Lord 372
Hans Molisch, Professor 121
Hardwar Calamities 606
Haripura Congress Session Resolutions 361
Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress 352
Harold Butler at N. T. U. Federation Session, Mr. 102
Have Bengalis Been Swamping the Services in Bihar? 482
Heramba Chandra Maitra 236
"Herr Funk Carries Out Predictions by Dr. Das" 719
Hindu Mahasabha on the Sino-Japanese Situation, The 225
Hindu Mahasabha on Unity Talks
Hindu Mahasabha Stands For, What
Hindu-Moslem Unity
Hindu-Moslem Unity Talks
Historical Records Commission
Hitler's Designs on Czechoslovakia
Honouring the Peaceful Brave
How Federation Can Be Made Acceptable
How to Help China
Hungerstrikes of Prisoners
Husband-Snatching Facilitated by Some New Marriage Laws?
Ian Hamilton on Indian Soldiers, Sir
Ian Hamilton on Japan's Aims, General Sir
Ian Hamilton's Remarks, Sir
Importance of Singapore to Europe and America for Purposes of Defence
Independence Day Celebrated in Britain
Independence Day Celebrations in India
Independence for Syria in 1940
India and Britain "Continuously Ruled by Foreigners"
"India in Bondage," About
India's Backwardness in Science
India's National Language, The Question of
India's Subject Condition Menaces World Peace, How
Indian Elected Mayor of Port Louis, An
Indian Liberal's Reply to an Indian Socialist, An
Indian Monthly Reviews Politically Insignificant?, Are
"Indian National Academy, The"
Indian Science Congress Jubilee, The
Indian States' People and "Kishans"
Indian Women's University, The
Indigenous Resources of Drugs and Medicines
Indiscipline Among Bihar Students
Indo-Afghan Trade Negotiations
Industrial Advisory Board of Experts
Industrialization and Capitalism in India
Iqbal, Sir Mohammad
Italy's Withdrawal from the League
Jaipur and Sikar
Japan's Apologies
Japan Has Called a Halt, Why
Japan's Reply to Boycott?, Is it
Japanese Reverses in China
Jawaharlal Nehru on Seats in Legislatures, Pandit
J. C. Bose, About Sir
J. C. Bose's Donation of One Lakh for Bihar Temperance Work, Sir
Jews' Pathetic Faith in League

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	Page
nah and Muslim Leaguers, and Federation	491
nah at the Muslim League, Mr.	601
nah's Attitude and Demands, Shri	709
nah-Sri Bose Talks, Shri	715
urnalistic Condescension	111
stice Jayakar's Convocation Address, Mr.	120
rve's Eighty-first Birthday, Professor	597
nya Highlands to be European Monopoly	228
nya Land Reservation for Europeans	714
y to World Peace in "Isopanishad"	351
ran Bose, Mrs.	490
ipalani on Some Modern Indian Movements, Shri J. B.	598
bour Should Live and Let Live	108
ijpat Rai on Subject India As A Menace to World Peace	351
urin Zulliacus on Santiniketan, Rector	228
pers in the British Empire	612
Liberality" and Free Speech	703
nguistic Hungerstrike!	708
nguistic Provinces	718
thian On The New India Act, Lord	603
adan Mohan Malaviya's Convocation Address, Pandit	118
adras Does Not Require Domicile Certificate	592
adras Government Releases Score of Prisoners	365
adras Muslim Women's Conference	602
adras Premier On Prohibition, The	490
aharaja of Patiala, The Late	484
ahatma Gandhi on Interview with Mr. Jinnah	597
ahatma Gandhi To Be Proposed For Nobel Peace Prize	349
anmathanath Mukherjee on the Shareef Case, Sir	723
arks of Foreign Experience in Presidential Address	360
edical Problem of Rural India	106
eghnad Saha, Professor	480
emorial of the Bengalis of Orissa, A	606
enaces to Local Bodies' Finances	110
esrovb J. Seth, Mr.	370
idnapur Vidyasagar Memorial Committee	487
ilitary Training for Bengalis Demanded	235
ilitary Training for Indian Youth	490
inisterial Crisis in U. P. and Bihar	365
ission to Lepers, The	107
. N. Roy's Advice: "Join the Congress," Mr.	229
Modern Sanskrit Poet, A"	235
oney-lenders Bill of Bihar, The	121
Multi-lingual Provinces in India	480
Municipal Franchise for Women in Assam	115
Mysore too Releases Political Prisoners	365
"Nagar," The Bust and The Will of Vithalbhai Patel, The	365
Nageswara Rao, K.	606
"National" and Foreign Education	485
National Language For India, The Question of A	590
National Trades Union Federation Resolutions	104
Nazi Eye on Czechoslovakia	479
Nehru's European Tour, Object of Mr.	718
New Features in Mr. Bose's Presidential Address	360
New Ministry in Sindh	483
No Domicile Certificate in C. P. and Berar	592
No Domicile Certificate in the Panjab	593
No More Provinces to be Constituted?	718
Non-Bengalis in Bengal	594
Non-Violent Army to Quell and Kill Riots, A	477
Offender Against Womanhood Patronized	605
Officials and Elections	242
Official Interference with Co-operative Society	242
Opening of Bhonsla Military School	485
Oriental Conference At Trivandrum, The	111
Other Conferences During Congress Week	368
Palestine	720
Panjab Premier on Shahidganj Bill	483
Path of Madness and of War and the Paths of Peace, The	703
Peasant Satyagrahis of Mansa State	706
Persons in Bengal Under Detention	231
Philippine Independence and Japan	599
"Place the National Interest First"	120
Poland and Lithuania	479
Potential Communist-Fascist Struggle In India	472
P. R. Das on Bengali-Bihari Question, Mr.	711
Prabasi Banga Sahitya Sammelan at Patna	122
Prabhashankar Pattani, Sir	364
Premature Release of a Felon	484
Premature Release of a Ravisher in C. P.	603
Press in Indian States, The	612
Primate of England's Christmas Message, The	111
Prison Conditions, Police Torture, Girls As Chattel	372
Private Property of Individuals, Nations, Etc.	473
Problems Facing Indian Soap-Makers	227
Problem of India's Safety, The	600
Proclamation Relating To Indore State Depressed Classes	488

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Page

Profiteering By Railways 103
Prompt Releases of Detenus and Political Prisoners Demanded 231
Prosperity of Bengal Landholders 718
Protective Duty on Salt 486
Protest Meetings Against Secondary Education Bill 110
Provincial and Communal Division of Occupations 712
Purloining From Our Pages 724
Question of Non-European United Front in South Africa 705
Rabindranath Tagore, Birthday of 611
Ramamurti, "Professor" 230
"Rebellion" in Abyssinia 371
Reclamation of Barren Soil by Molasses 232
Reform of Secondary Education 477
Relative Contribution of Muhammadans to Indian Science 234
Release of Detenus And Political Prisoners Not A Provincial But An All-India Question 367
"Religious" Riots 477
Renaissance in Bihar, Workers For 594
Resolution on National Education 369
Result of the "War to End War" 486
Returned Emigrants' Sad Plight 487
Right of Self-defence, The 244
River Physics 719
Romain Rolland on Sir J. C. Bose 233
Rousing Communal Hatred By Lies 116
Salaries and Allowances of Ministers 115
Salary Cut in Madras Provincial and Subordinate Services 227
Sarat Chandra Chatterjee 238
"Schools for Study of Indigenous Systems" of Medicine 106
"Secondary Education Bill, A Critique of the 234
Secondary Education Bill, Protest Aganist 243
Secondary Education Board Bill 103
Security Forfeiture Order Against "Basumati" Set Aside 244
Sentences in Moscow State Trial 485
Services Rendered to India by Her Universities 120
Shahidganj Appeal Dismissed 225
"Shareef's Case, Mr." 713
Shareef, C. P. Minister, Resigns, Mr. 703
Shiva Rao's Address at Trade Union Federation, Mr. 102
Shyama Prasad Mukherjee's Convocation Address, Mr. 100
Sikh Pronouncement on Shahidganj Issue 596
Silk Weaving Machinery Manufactured in Bishnupur 241
Silver Jubilee Session of The Science Congress, The Coming
Sino-Japanese War 480, 594
Socialism and Communism In India
Some Bengal Cabinet Decisions
Some Observations on the Presidential Address
South Africa Does Not Train Indian Doctors
Soviet Russia and German Aggression
Spain
Spain Fights Illiteracy In The Midst of War
Srinivasa Sastri on The Practice of Truth, Mr.
Students' Political Organizations
Subhas Chandra Bose Elected Congress President
Subhas Chandra Bose, President
Summer Vacation
Survey of Bengal Fish Industry by Madras Officer
Swami Vijnanananda
Swaruprani Nehru
Tagore Birthday Banquet in America
Tagore's Plays in Orissa, Germany and Czechoslovakia
Tagore's Science Primer
Tagore's Works in European Languages
Teaching of Crafts According to Wardha Scheme
Tennis Expert on The Bratachari Movement, A
"The Dignity of States" and "The Dignity of the Bully"
"The Statesman" On Sir C. V. Raman's Comments on Sir J. C. Bose's Work
"These Trivial Questions"
Transactions of the Bose Research Institute
"Tyranny" of the Provincial Governments
Unemployment Among Lawyers
"Uniting" The People of India!
University of Hawaii Scholarships
"Un-hearable" Song?, An
U. P. Drive Against Illiteracy
U. P. Government Misters and Esquires All Provincial Officers
U. P. Ministerial Deadlock Ends
Vernacular Medium in Orissa
Viceroy on Federation Problems, The
Viceroy's Recognition of Person, Not of Institution
Vidyamandirs in C. P.
Violent Fighting in Abyssinia

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	Page
thalbhai Patel's Will and "Vithalnagar," President	107
ardha Scheme of Education, The	116
ardha Scheme to be Considered by Central Board of Education	704
hat Is Ethics Among Nations?	599
What State Is This?"	604
hat We Told Mr. Butler in 1926	230
hitewashing Premier Chamberlain	599
ho Will Help Bengal Political Prsoners?	367
ife-stealing and Husband-snatching	701
William Rothenstein on "The Genius of Indian Sculpture"	489
Women in Soviet Russia	599
Working Committee's Resolution On Ravisher's Release Case	604
Yeats-Brown's Caricature of India, Major	609
Zamindars and the Bengal Governor	118
Zanzibar Indian Association Congratulated On End of Clove Deadlock	714
Zetland's Word of Caution Anent Federation, Lord	721

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
dhikari, Prof. Phanibhusan	123
ll-India Seva Samiti Scout Mela (5 *illustrations*)	177—79
nand Swarup, Sahebji Maharaj Sir	174
ndrews, C. F.	376
rt in Primitive and Ancient Life (3 *illustrations*)	380
tchia, The Hon. G. M. D.	244
ustria	
—Arturo Toscanini	464
—Burgtheater, The	463
—City and Castle of Salzburg	452
—City Gate in Lower Austria	452
—Frescoes in the Cathedral of Gurk	453
—Hugo Wolf	464
—Joseph Haydn	466
—Library, Monastery of Altemburg	452
—Monastery of Altemburg	453
—Mozart	466
—National Library, Vienna	453
—Opera, The, Vienna	463
—Salzburg Festival	465
—"Wallenstein"	463
adgastein, Winter in	
—Badgastein in Winter	176
—Famous Waterfall of Badgastein	175
amrauli Railway Disaster (2 *illustrations*)	240
attle of Forms in Art, The	
—Nata-Bhru	96
—Pratiksha	95
—Roy, Mr. J. C., Artist	95
—World, The	95
eirut, Chief Seaport of Syria	581
ig Winner wants to stop, The (*cartoon*)	724
Bose, Subhas Chandra	239
Cairo	580
Cambodia	
—Buddhist Cambodian Priests and Lay-people Listening to Gramophone Disc	213
—Burning Place of a Cambodian Pagoda, The	212
—Cambodians Listening to a Radio Programme	213
—Hair-Dressing of Cambodian Hinterland Women	212
—Old Sala in a Pagoda	213
—Shrine of a Cambodian Temple	212
—Typical Flower Offerings	213
—Wooden Statue of Buddha	213
—Young Phnong of Cambodian Hinterland	212
Captive, The	132
—Kiranmay Dhar	574
"Chandalika," A Scene from	455
Chatterjee, Dr. B. K.	123
Chatterji, Dr. Suniti Kumar	238
Chatterjee, Sarat Chandra	
Czechoslovakia	
—"Aussig," one of the Principle Cities of "Sudeten," Germans	628
—Benes, Dr. Eduard	631
—Gay Scene in a Slovak Village	629
—Kroffa, Dr. Kamil	633
—Masaryk, T. G.	629
—President E. Benes with Dr. Milan	635
—Village Procession, A	629
—Wayside Halt in a Czech Village, A	628
Dancer from Java, A (*in colours*)	
—Mukundadev Ghose	125

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Page

Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State, Exploration of
—Fresco representing War Expedition (3 *illustrations*) 301
—Inscription 303, 304
—Mukha Linga 301
—Ravana-Chhaya 302
—Rock-inscription 301
Desai, Mrs. Maniben Nanubhai 208
Duke of Windsor and his Wife during their Visit to the Empire Sports Field (Stadium), Berlin, The 88
Educated Unemployment and Large-scale Farming (4 *illustrations*) 53, 54
Electroculture: Its Method and Application (16 *illustrations*) 17—23
" 'elp! save 'em!" (*Cartoon*) 486
Fair, A
—Tarak Basu 313
Fairyland (*in colours*)
—Gogonendra Nath Tagore 245
Federation of Labour Congress, 1937 89
Foucher, Prof. 438
Gandhi, Mahatma 573
Gandhi, Mahatma (*pencil sketch*)
—Bhunath Mukherji 597
Gandhi's Visit to Sodepur Khadi Pratisthan, Mahatma (2 *illustrations*) 588
Gasque, Mrs. Clarence 307
Germany
—Enthusiastic Reception given to Herr Hitler in German-Austria 701
—Herr Hitler after the Anschluss 700
—Herr Hitler speaking in Vienna 701
—Hitler's Home, "Berghof," at Obersalzberg in the Bavarian Alps 677
Germany : The Eifel Mountains
—Burg Eltz on the River Moselle 24
—City of Berlin from Air, The 24
—Cochem Castle on the Moselle 25
—Cologne Cathedral, A full view of the 24
—Cologne Cathedral, The west front of the 24
—Deutsche Eck Monument at Coblence 25
—Emmerich in the Rhineland, A view of 25
—Roman Gateway in Trier in the Ancient City of Treves 24
—Spires and Towers of Aachen, The 25
Ghosh, Prof. Dwarkanath 123
"Go After 'im, Sam; we're backing you!" (*Cartoon*) 456
Gogonendra Nath Tagore 332
Gogonendra Nath Tagore, Sketches by (8 *illustrations*) 328—34
Hans Molisch, Prof.
Herr Hitler's House, Wachenfeld House near Berchtesgaden
Haripura Session of the Indian National Congress
—Bust of Vithalbhai Patel
—Chariot for Congress President
—Haripura Village Woman, A
—Mahatma Gandhi Inspecting One of the Stalls
—Main Entrance Gate to the Exhibition
—President Subhas Bose, Kripalani, Patel and others
—President Subhas Bose being taken in a Procession
—Subhas Chandra Bose at Vithalnagar
In Flanders Field (*Cartoon*)
Indian Art in Tibet—Tucci As Explorer and Mystic
—Bronze Statue of the 14th Century
—Cycle of Vairocana, Ghianze, The
—Figure of a Flying Goddess
—Fresco Figure
—Frescoe representing the Image of a Goddess 500
—Goddesses at Ghianze
—Ivory Image Found in Tibet
—Kumbum of the Great Stupa at Ghianze
—Panoramic View of Ghianze
—Sculptured Wooden Doors, Toling
—Tucci Examining Inscriptions on Rocks
Indian Centenary in British Guiana (3 *illustrations*) 376
Indian Dance Abroad (3 *illustrations*)
Indian Science Congress, The Jubilee Session of the
—Bose, Dr. G.
—Bhatnagar, Prof. S. S.
—Fisher, Prof. R. A.
—Fermor, Sir L. L.
—Guha, Dr. B. S.
—Howard, Dr. A.
—Jeans, Sir James
—Mahalanobis, Prof. P. C.
—Shah, Dr. M. N.
—Simonsen, Dr. J. L.
Italy, Rural Broadcast in
—Lesson on Malaria in a Rural School in Italy
—Radio Lesson in a Rural School in Italy
—Rural Radio Listeners
Iyengar, K. Narasimha
Jamkhandi, Mrs. Kamala
Janaki Ammal, Miss E. K.

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Page

Japan
—Ainus of Japan, The 164
—Tokyo at Mid-day 165
—Yomeimon Gate of Toshogu Shrine, Nikko 165
Jerusalem 581
"Jump in Kid." (*Cartoon*) 456
Kamala Debi, Srimati 468
Karve, Professor Dhondo Keshav (4 *illustrations*) 549-51
"Kashmir Crafts": A Poster
—J. Patric Foulds 508
Krishnavarma's Memory in Paris, Celebration of Mr. and Mrs. 439
Linocuts
—Satyendranath Bisi 428
Madonna in Prayer
—Sassaferrato 693
Maitra, Heramba Chandra 237
Manipur Village, A (*in colours*)
—Basudev Roy 493
Mansinha, Mr. M. 559
March of the Labour Corps through the Streets of Nurnberg, The 89
Match Manufacture for Cottages (12 *illustrations*) 389—98
Mazumdar, Mr. Nanigopal 124
Mazumdar, Prof. Mohitlal 123
Members of the Bombay Presidency Women's Council 164
"Merry-go-round Broke Down, The" (*Cartoon*) 93
"*Militarism" In Modern Japan*
—Cherry Blossoms and a Stone Lantern on Kudan Hill 9
—Corner of the Beautiful Garden on Kudan Hill 9
—Military Museum, The, Kudan Hill 8
—Yasakuni Shrine, The, Tokyo 8
Mukerjee, Sir Manmathanath 122
Nanda Devi (4 *illustrations*) 157—160
Offerings (*in Colours*)
—Sudhirranjan Khastgir 373
On the March Again (*Cartoon*) 93
Paintings of Manindra Bhusan Gupta, An Exhibition of the (8 *illustrations*) 209—11
Pal, Dr. Rudrendra Kumar 124
Paranjpe, Dr. Miss Marina 208
Parbati Gidwani, Srimati 95
Pilgrimage to the Black Pagoda
—Female Figure, A, Konarak 49
—Female Figure and Nagas and Naginis on a Vast Pedestal, A 49
—Figures of Imaginary Animals on the Pedestal 50

Page

—King Narasimhadev on the Throne, with his Priest and other Attendants, Konarak 50
—Monolithic Elephant, A, Konarak 51
—Scene of Elephant Hunting, A, Konarak 49
—Standing Surya, Surya Deul, Konarak 49
—Specimens of Carving on the Plinth, Konarak 51
—Temple of the Sun at Konarak, The 48
Pipe of Peace
—Kiranmay Dhar 132
Pilgrims (*in Colours*)
—Suhas Dey 613
Pistany—The Beneficent Island
—"Crutch-breaker," the Symbol of Pistany, The 305
—Mud-application 305
—Mud-basin of "Irma-Bath," The 306
Pouna Brahmins of Mandalay 672
Prithviraj and Samyukta (*in Colours*)
—Bires Gangopadhyaya 1
Rabindra Nath Tagore 620
Rabindranath Tagore's Birthday at Santiniketan, Celebration of (2 *illustrations*) 587, 611
Rajendra Prasad, Babu 122
Rana, Mr. 437
Ray, Acharya P. C. 122
Roy, Dr. Kamala, D.Sc. 467
Sarala Devi, Srimati 95
Sasthamangal Procession, A View of the 97
Schuschnigg and General Goemboes at the Mussolini Forum, Chancellor 381
Science of War, The (*Cartoon*) 93
Sen, Pandit Kshitimohan 124
Siamese Parliament, The Opening of the (2 *illustrations*) 572
Singh, Professor Bhola Nath, D.Sc. 670
Sino-Japanese War
—A Victim of Aerial Bombing 97
—Chemistry Building, Central University, Nanking 140
—Chinese 8th Route Army, The 140
—Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the 8th Route Army 140
—Girls' Dormitory, Nanking University, in Ruins 140
—Japanese "Victory March" in Shanghai 141
—Occupation of Nanking by the Japanese, The 141
—Searchlight Battery of the Chinese 19th Route Army 140
—Shanghai North Station 140
Songs from My Village (11 *illustrations*) 300—312

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Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

	Page
Sophia Wadia, Madame	434
Subhas Chandra Bose, President, Welcomed in Bombay	381
Sunflowers —Van Gogh	693
Tagore, Rabindranath	620
"Thy Branches ne'er Remember their Green Felicity" —Parimal Goswami	208
Tokyo, A view of the Great Anti-British Meeting, held at Hibaya Park	580
Toyama, Mr.	555
Union, The (*cartoon*)	724
Unsung Shrines of Italy	
—Fountain of Trevi in Rome	
—Fountain of Triton	
—Fountains in the Royal Palace Gardens, Caserta (4 *illustrations*)	428, 4
—Monument to Garibaldi on Gianicolo	4
—Monument to St. Francis of Assisi in Rome	
—Petrarch Monument, Arezzo	4
—Sunset on the Tiber, Rome	4
—War Memorial, Como	4
Usha Setalvad, Miss	
Wooden Sculptures of Ancient Bengal (6 *illustrations*)	260—

CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

	Page
Acharya, P. V.	
Hindi as the Lingua Franca	42
Andrews, C. F.	
Rural Reconstruction Experiments at Sriniketan	355
The Hindi Bhawan at Santiniketan	127
The Indian Centenary in British Guiana	375
The Recent Crisis in Fiji	66
Aronson, A.	
Social Illiteracy	285
Ayyath, K. M.	
Family Dissolution in Malabar	421
Banerjea, Pramathanath	
Economic Reconstruction in Bengal	245
Banerjee, D. N.	
Should the Indian Speaker Follow the British or the American Model ?	684
Banerjee, Dhirendra Nath	
How Egypt Got Rid of Cholera	295
Bardhan, P.	
Hints to Indian Students Going Abroad	539
Bhattacharjee, Umesh Chandra	
Religion and Morality as the Bases of Society	180, 270
Bhattasali, N. K.	
Wooden Sculptures of Ancient Bengal	261
Bool Chand	
Civil Service in a Foreign Dominion	145
Conventions of the Constitution	32
Premature Retirement of the Indian Services	509
The Recent Indian Crisis	384
Bose, Sudhindra	
Masaryk—The President Liberator	1
The Late Ramsay MacDonald	3
Brown, John	
The Secondary Schoolmaster in the Balkans	1
Chatterjee, Ashoke	
Art and Life	2
Art in Primitive and Ancient Life	3
Chatterjee, Ramananda	
Cultural Interchange and Mingling	6
Dhondo Keshav Karve	5
Rabindranath Tagore	6
Chatterjee, Surjya Narayan	
The Historic Mission of the Hindus in Bengal and the Effect of the Communal Decision	4
Chatterji, B.	
Sahebji Maharaj Sir Anand Swarup	1
Chatterji, Nandalal	
Educated Unemployment and Large-scale Farming	
Chaudhuri, Nirad C.	
An Exhibition of the Paintings of Manindra Bhusan Gupta	2
The Art of Gaganendra Nath Tagore	3
Das, Motilal	
An Afternoon with Madame Sophia Wadia	4
Bankim Chandra Chatterjee as a Jurist	3
Das-Gupta, Kedarnath	
Women as Peace Teachers	

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Page

Das-Gupta, Satish Chandra
Match Manufacture for Cottages 389
Datta, Jatindra Mohan
Relative Readiness of Hindus and Muhammadans to Defend India 184
Datta, Rabindra Mohan
India's Women Scientists 388
Dhar, B. K.
Canning of Fruits and Its Scope in India 659
Dharmvir
Toyama—Founder of Blood Brotherhood 554
Fulop-Miller, Frau Heddy
Musical Life in Austria in 1937 463
Vienna's Share in the Research of Indian Art 172
G. H.
Indians Abroad 575, 725
World Affairs 342, 451, 570, 696
Gangoly, O. C.
Gogonendra Nath Tagore : The Great Indian Artist 327
Gangooly, Bireswar
Burmese Eras, Year, Months and Days 672
Ghose, Amar Krishna
The Proposed Amendment of the Reserve Bank Act 81
Ghosh, Bidhubhusan
Advantages of Tube-Well Irrigation Where Facilities of Flow-Irrigation Are Not Available 528
Graham Pole, Major D.
England's Losing Game 493
Prepare for Peace 266
The Budget and the Pacts 641
Towards a Better Understanding 4
1937 : A Retrospect 141
Gregg, Richard B.
What Is the Matter with Money 517, 644
Grubb, Frederick
Prohibition 1
Hazaree Singh, H. K.
Indians in Mauritius 727
Hurd, Muriel Jeffries
And Buddha Smiled 508
Build Me a Tree 622
Huq, Mujibul
Rationalization of the Study of Arabic 536
Iyer, S. Ramaswami
Congress and Democracy 276
Kaikini, V. M.
Did Buddhism Cause India's Downfall? 534
Krishnayya, G. S.
Students' Strikes 417
Lynn, Dagmar
"Militarism" in Japan 7

Page

Mahendra, Beni Charan and R. L. Moore
The Teaching of Science in India 541
Maiti, H. P.
Child Guidance Clinic 168
Majumdar, D. N.
Tribal Population and Christianity 513
Majumdar, R. C.
Definition of Bengal 130
Mansinha, M.
New Definition of the Empire 559
Masters, Aline
Facing the Problems of Youth 259
Mehta, Ratilal
Local Government in Pre-Buddhist India 656
Misra, Binayak and Krushna Chandra Panigrahi
Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State 301
Mitra, Sishir Coomar
The Vision of History 37
Moore, R. L. and Beni Charan Mahendra
The Teaching of Science in India 541
Morin, Madame L.
Pandit Krishnavarma Honoured in Paris 437
Moulik, Monindra Mohan
Indian Art in Tibet—Tucci as Explorer and Mystic 500
Nationalism and Minorities in Czechoslovakia 628
Unsung Shrines of Italy 429
Mukerjee, Radhakamal
The Sociological Analysis and Forecast of Population Increase 661
Mukerji, Krishna Prasanna
Women's Equality 26, 149, 291
Mukharji, Bijaybihari
Democracy and Public Opinion 525
Mukherjee, Boloram
Phthisiophobia and Its Effect on Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign 161
Nautiyal, Govind Prasad
Nanda Devi 157
Nehru, Jawaharlal
Escape 498
Onlooker, An
The First Indian Statistical Conference 203
Pal, Bipin Chandra
Five Months in the "States" 11
Palekar, S. A.
Congress Cotton Committee's Report 652
Panigrahi, Krushna Chandra and Binayak Misra
Exploration of Dengaposhi in Keonjhar State 301
Patterson, Ewen K.
Big Nick 546

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Page

Piplani, B. M.
Provincial Finance under the Federation 60
Raghu Vira
The Practice of the Buddhist Tenet of Ahimsa in Japan 165
Randell, K. G.
Pilgrimage to the Black Pagoda 48
Ray, R. C.
The Battle of Forms in Art 96
Ray, S. N.
Our Curriculum and Text Books 400
Roy, Anilbaran
Bengalees and Non-Bengalees 405
Roy, B. N.
Rural Broadcast in Italy 675
Roy, Dilip Kumar
To Rabindranath 313
Roy, Naresh Chandra
Foreign Experts and the Indian Civil Service 43
The Speaker and his Party 320
Roy Choudhury, Amiya
All-India Seva Samiti Scout Mela 177
Roy Choudhury, Birendra Kishore
The Hindu Middle Class in Bengal 447
Rudrappa, G.
The Progress of Rural Reconstruction Work in the Mysore State 281
Saha, M. N.
Symposium on River Physics 625
Satyarthi, Devendra
Songs from My Village 308
Schenkl, E.
Pistany—The Benificent Island 305
Winter in Badgastein 175
Sen, Dhirendra Nath
The Royal Veto in the New Constitution 83
Sen, Khagendra N.
A National Language for India
Seshadri, P.
International Understanding Through Education
Sevananda, Swami
Electroculture: Its Theory and Application
Sirkar, Dines Chandra
An Indian Maternity of the Thirteenth Century
Sirkar, J. K.
Sisal Hemp in India
Smedley, Agnes
Interview with Chu Teh, Commander-in-Chief of the Chinese Eighth Route Army
The Chinese People Arm Themselves
Soonawala, M. F.
Indian Railways Policy Regarding Cotton Freight Rates
Srinivasan, V.
The Travancore University
Tagore, Rabindranath
A Letter to an Indian Friend in Japan
Jagadish-chandra Bose
Thiagarajan, G.
The Language Problem of India and the South and a Solution
Vakil, K. S.
Adult Education in India, 1937
Wright, Joy
Germany
X.
Professor Bhola Nath Singh, D.Sc.

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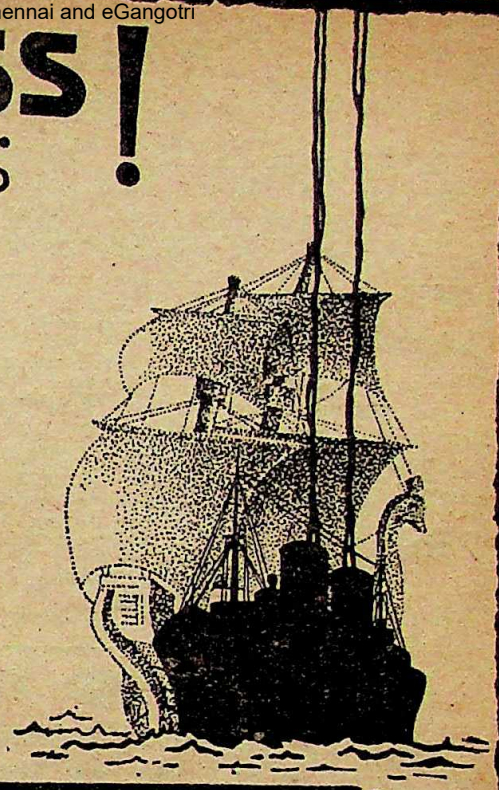

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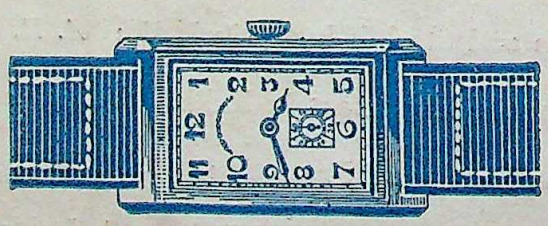

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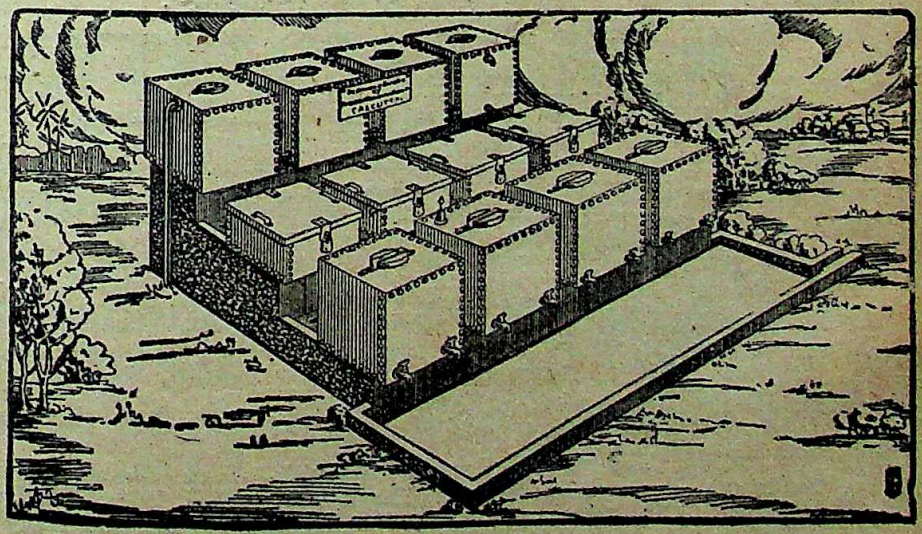

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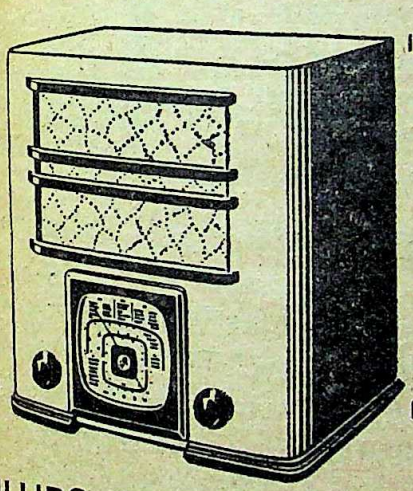

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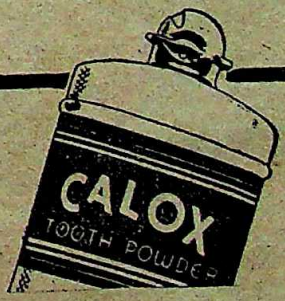

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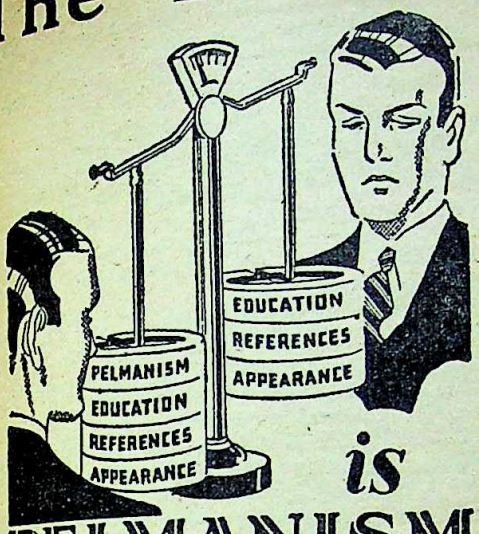

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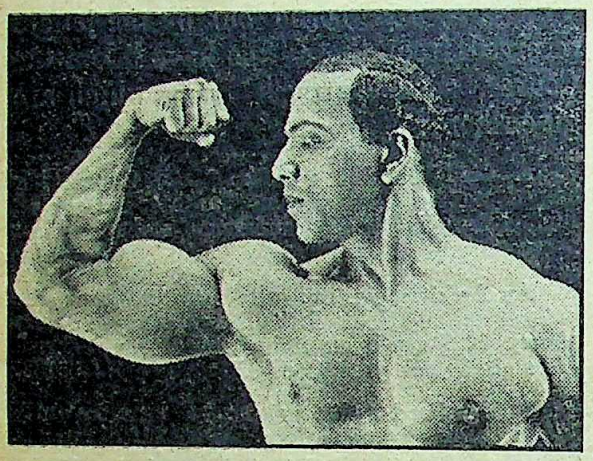

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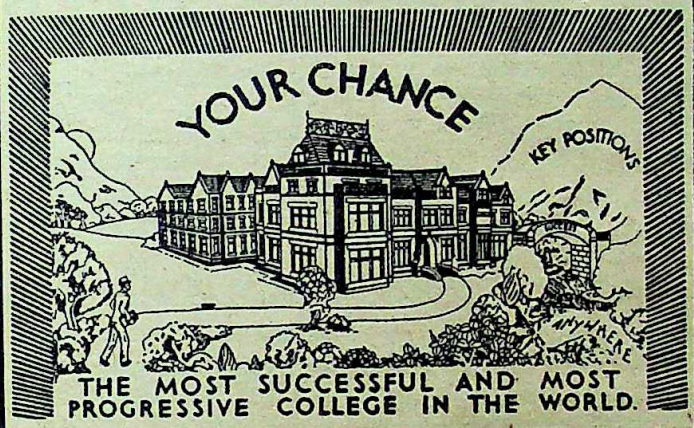

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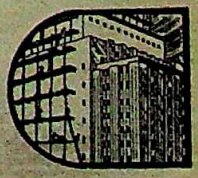

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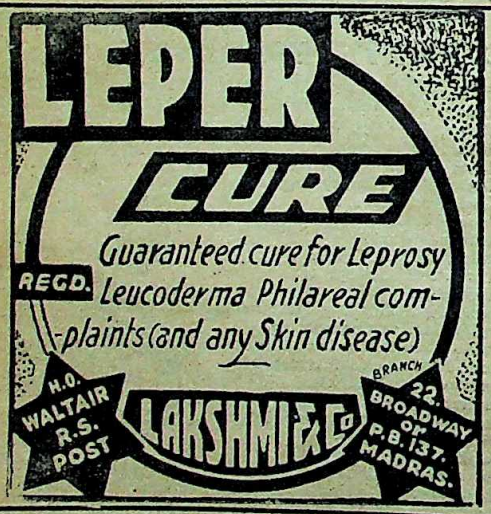

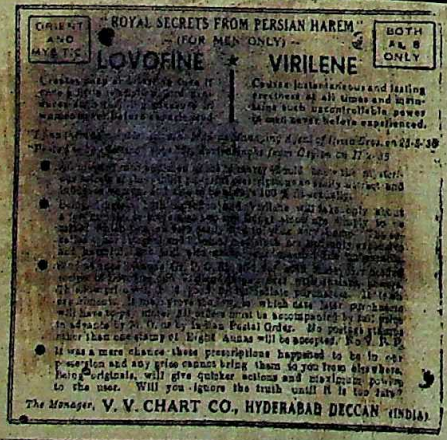
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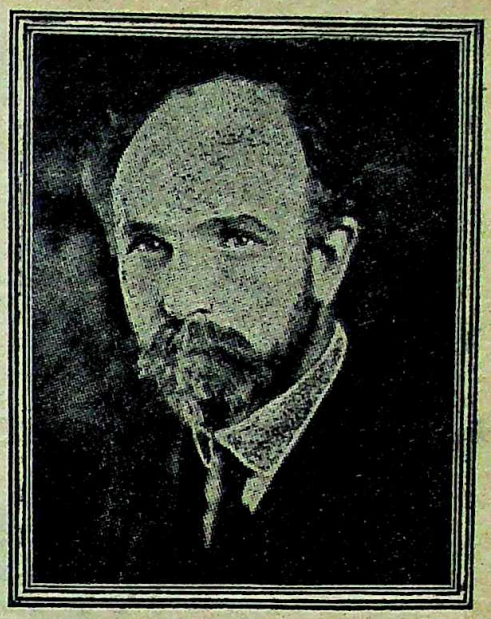

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Vol. LXIV., No. 2

Whole No. 380

CONTENTS FOR AUGUST, 1938

		Page
NOTES (*illust.*)		121
THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION	*M. N. Saha, D.Sc., F.R.S.*	145
SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL TODAY: A PROBLEM	*Bool Chand*	150
EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL UNITY	*Dr. G. S. Krishnayya, M.A., Ph.D.*	153
THE PRICE OF THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT	*Major D. Graham Pole*	156
AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHAGAVATA FROM ORISSA	*O. C. Gangoly*	161
HOW INDIAN SHIPPING WAS RUINED BY VESTED INTERESTS	*C. A. Buch, B.A., F. R. Econ. S.*	162
CRITICISM OF MARQUESS OF ZETLAND'S SPEECH ON FEDERATION	*K. K. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law.*	166
INDIAN HANDICRAFTS IN BUDAPEST FAIR (*illust.*)	*Monindramohan Moulik, D.Sc., Pol. (Rome).*	169
THE INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND HOW WE CAN HELP IT	*Professor S. S. Bhatnagar, D.Sc.*	172
INDIA'S MILK PROBLEM	*Dewan Bahadur D. Ananda Rao, B.Sc.*	176
THE BURDEN OF PROTECTION	*Prof. C. N. Vakil*	178
ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND INDIA	*Gaganvihari L. Mehta*	181
THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY	*D. P. Khaitan*	185
EXPLORING THE ROCK-BOTTOM OF COMMUNALISM AND REWRITING INDIAN HISTORY	*Professor Bhuban Mohan Sen*	188
THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY	*Raj Mitra B. D. Amin*	191
HOW TO PREVENT TUBERCULOSIS (*illust*)	*Dr. Sudhindranath Sinha, M.B.*	194
THE STRUCTURE OF CHINESE SOCIETY	*M N. Roy*	200
EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS	*Dr. A. Aronson, B.A. (Cantab), Ph.D.*	204
FOUNDATION OF A KEY INDUSTRY IN INDIA	*Sir P. C. Ray*	209
THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA	*A. R. Dalal*	212
CIVIL AVIATION INDUSTRY IN INDIA	*Suresh Desai, M.A., LL.B.*	215
BANKIM CHANDRA CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS		218
THE PERFUME INDUSTRY OF FRANCE	*Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.N.I.*	219

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CONTENTS—(Contd.)

		Page
TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING IN INDIA	*Gopaldas G. Gulrajaney, B.Sc. Tech., Ch. E., B.Sc. Chem.*	221
COMMENT AND CRITICISM	*M. S. Purnalingam Pillai. B A., L.T.*	223—22[illegible]
PATRIOTIC WOMEN'S ARMY ORGANISED BY NEW DELHI SECRETARY	*Mrs. Chaman Lal*	224
WIVES FROM A TRADE UNION	*Mrs. Chaman Lal*	225
BOOK REVIEWS	*D., R. C. Majumdar, Jitendra Nath Banerjea, Amiya Chakravarty, Radhagovinda Basak, Nandalal Chatterji. P. R. Sen, U. C. Bhattacharjee, S. K. Bose, Souren Dey, Jitendra Nath Bose, P. B. S., S. K. De, Rames Basu, S. H. V., D., K. M. J., R. S. Bharadwaj*	227—235
WORLD AFFAIRS	*G. H.*	235
INDIAN PERIODICALS:		
Science and True Religion		240
Gandhiji as a Psychologist		240
Indian Federation and Constitutional Unity		241
International Understanding Through Education		241
China and India in the Historical Period		242
India in World Culture and World Politics		242
The Buddhist Tantric Literature of Bengal		243
Elizabeth Barret Browning and her Sonnets		243
The Modified Crest of the Calcutta University		244
The Pursuit of Happiness		244

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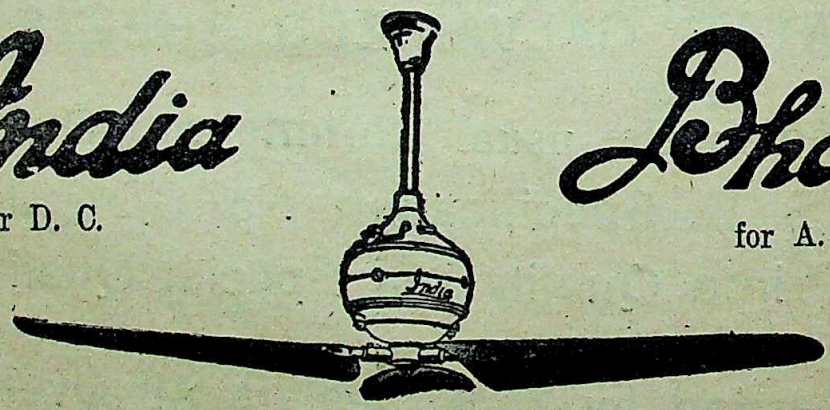

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PAGE
221
223—23
224
225
27—235
235
240
240
241
241
242
242
243
243
244
244

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CONTENTS—(Contd.)

		PAGE
FOREIGN PERIODICALS :		
THE GENIUS OF INDIAN SCULPTURE		245
SOVIET WAGES		245
WHERE JAPAN RULES IN CHINA (*illust.*)		246
WORKERS' EDUCATION IN FRANCE		247
CENSORSHIP IN NORTH CHINA : SUPPRESSION OF LIBERTY IN JAPAN		248
A NEW METHOD OF FILMING		248
AN EXHIBITION OF NAGESH YAWALKAR'S PAINTINGS IN AMERICA	*K.*	249
WHAT IS BIHAR SOIL ?	*P. R. Das*	250
RAJA PRAFULLA NATH TAGORE (*illust.*)	*Khagendra Nath Chatterjee*	259
THE TRAGEDY OF THE INDIAN MATCH INDUSTRY	*X.*	264
GROWTH OF AN INDIAN AIR LINE		270
INDIANS ABROAD		272
INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)		276
NOTES ON INDIAN ENTERPRISE		276

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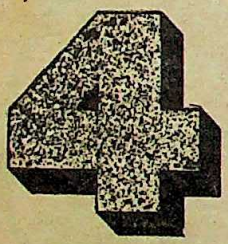

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THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST 1938

VOL. LXIV, No. 2 WHOLE No. 380

KAMSA CARRYING OFF VASUDEVA AND DEVAKI
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NOTES

ssible Problems for the nstituent Assembly

"Sufficient unto (or for) the day are the ils thereof." So runs the proverb. One may a similar spirit say, "Sufficient for the day e the problems thereof". But man is a eature who looks before and after. And man e political animal has to look ahead.

Nobody knows when the Constituent sembly which Congressmen want may be vened. And some may even doubt whether will ever be summoned at all. But its con- tion is not an impossibility. It is not practicable. Whether those members of the tish Parliament who have recently, during ndit Jawaharlal Nehru's stay in London, mised to practically support the calling of a nstituent Assembly, will be able to keep their d, may be uncertain; for men and parties in osition sometimes make promises which they unable or unwilling to fulfil when in power.

the idea of convening a Constituent embly for drawing up India's constitution materialize without British help and even nst British opposition. Whenever it may t, it will have to consider many serious tions and arrive at conclusions thereupon. ugh it is not practicable to draw up a list hese questions just now—nor is it necessary, ay be permissible to mention some of them. The cleverest and, from the British erialist point of view, the most effective, e connected with British rule in India has the Communal Decision and the drawing up of a constitution for India making that its framework and essence. From the Indian nationalist point of view it has been the most sinister strategic move on the part of British imperialism. If Indians are to be and remain a nation, this move must be countered. There should not be any weak yielding in this matter to propitiate communalists. However strong or numerous the propitiators and would-be propitiators of communalists, the fight against it should never be given up. "Never say die."

It is obvious that the whole of India, 'British' and 'Indian', cannot now or in the near future have a unitary government. Nevertheless, the consideration of the question whether 'British' India can have some form of unitary government may not be quite academic. Mr. C. Vijiaraghavachariar of Salem, the oldest ex-president of the Congress now living, had much to say on this subject. If his paper on it is out of print, it may be republished.

If the question of unitary government for 'British' India be considered a merely academic one, the question of the number and delimitation of the provinces and the further question of the principle or principles on which they are to be constituted or re-constituted are eminently practical ones. The question of forming provinces on a linguistic basis is very much to the fore at present.

Some provinces have been recently constituted on the linguistic basis. There is a demand for more such provinces. The inhabitants of Andhra-desha, Karnataka, Keral, Tamil Land and Chota Nagpur want separate provinces for

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themselves. Bengalis want the Bengali-speaking areas in the immediate vicinity of Bengal, now forming parts of other provinces, to be re-included in Bengal. We do not know whether there is any demand for a separate Maharashtra, a separate Gujarat, or a separate Mahakoshal province. But if the principle of linguistic provinces be, as it has been in some cases, accepted by the Government and the Congress, justice and consistency would demand its observance in other cases, too. Of course, all new provinces should be self-supporting. But as this principle has not been insisted upon in the case of the N.-W. F. Province, Sindh and Orissa, it cannot be insisted upon in the case of every other region whose inhabitants may ask for a separate province for themselves. The question of self-support does not arise in the case of Bengal's desire for the outlying Bengali-speaking areas. For Bengal is self-supporting and a re-constituted Bengal would be also self-supporting. Moreover, Bengal's demand is not for a new province, but only for getting back her own. In the case of some Bengali-speaking areas, Bengal's wish has met with the approval of the All-India Congress Committee.

Of course, the plea for justice and consistency cannot be pushed to the extreme limit. We need not and may not accept the British Government's enumeration of India's languages as correct. Political motives may have led to their number being put at too high a figure. But counted even only scientifically, our languages are so many in number and some of them are spoken in such small areas by such a small number of persons that all these areas cannot be constituted into separate provinces. Therefore, after all the comparatively large areas inhabited by comparatively large distinct linguistic groups, have been formed into separate provinces, there would remain many small linguistic areas and groups which must be included in some big province or other. Such provinces would thus consist of several linguistic areas. Moreover, owing to migration, whether in times past, present or future, there would always be in the midst of the biggest linguistic group of every province small groups of persons speaking languages different from the main language of the province.

There would thus be some multi-lingual provinces, the aggregates of different linguistic areas; and in each of such provinces, one linguistic area and group would be larger than the rest. Again, in each practically mono-lingual province there will be the largest linguistic group, and in its midst there will be sm linguistic groups.

The problem which Indian nationalists t to face now and the Constituent Assembly have to face when it meets, is how these sm linguistic groups in both multi-lingual and m lingual privinces are to be treated.

Theoretically and according to the law individual belonging to a small linguistic g in both these kinds of provinces and individual belonging to the largest group equal citizens. But what we actually fi some provinces is that persons belonging t largest group seem to look upon themselve having a superior grade of citizenship an look down upon persons of smaller grou having an inferior grade of citizenship, if and persons belonging to smaller groups oppressed by a sense of inferiority.* The bi linguistic groups in these provinces seem to and behave like masters and the smalle smaller groups appear to feel and behav if they were completely at the mercy o former. Such a state of things cann conducive to the fostering or conservation feeling of national camaraderie and harmo co-operation between all groups for nati ends.

In some of the provinces which are m lingual, the areas inhabited by the sm linguistic groups do not receive as much tion, in the matter of nation-building se for example, as the areas peopled by the bi groups, who wield the controlling power.

The facts mentioned in the two forego paragraphs explain to a great extent the c for separate linguistic provinces. The Con "High Command" and other Congress le should try to find a remedy for such unwholesome state of things. And certainl Constituent Assembly, when and if summoned, will have to solve the prob arising out of it.

What has been said above shows that are opportunities in multi-lingual province autocratic behaviour on the part of the bi or bigger linguistic groups. There are opportunities in the Federal Legislature als the biggest and bigger linguistic groups.

In the Federal Legislature of the U States of America a remedy has been fou any possible exercise of "tyrannical power

*What is curious is that in Assam-Province m of the largest group are not treated as equal They are discriminated against and put to the i of having, for various purposes, to secure and domicile certificates.

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e larger States. It will be understood from the llowing passage extracted from the Encyclo- edia Britannica, eleventh edition, Vol. XXVII, 653:

"Much controversy had raged over the conflicting inciples of the equal representation of states and of presentation on the basis of numbers, the larger states vocating the latter, the smaller states the former inciple; and those who made themselves champions of e rights of the states professed to dread the tyrannical wer which an assembly representing population might ert. The adoption of a bicameral system made it ssible to give due recognition to both principles. One use, the Senate, contains the representatives of the ates, every state sending two; the other, the House of presentatives, contains members elected on a basis of pulation. The two taken together are called Congress d form the national legislature of the United States."

In the House of Representatives the smallest ates, namely, Arizona, Delaware, Nevada, ew Mexico, Vermont, and Wyoming, have one epresentative each, and New York, the largest ate, has 45; but in the Senate the biggest and e smallest states alike have two members ch.

In India the Central Legislature and some the Provincial Legislatures have two ambers; but neither the upper nor the lower ambers are constituted on either of the two inciples followed in the United States of merica. It may not be possible in our country strictly follow the two principles in the case the Central Legislature and of the bicameral ovincial legislatures. But they may supply clue to the solution of the problems indicated previous paragraphs.

We will mention one other problem which r political leaders must tackle to prevent justice to some provinces and the resulting scontent. It is well known that much more venue (whether classed as Central or Provin- l does not matter) is raised in some provinces, , Bengal and Bombay, than in others. But e provinces which pay most do not get portionately large amounts to spend for their n good. The principle that the provinces ich yield most revenue should contribute st to the Central Exchequer, is not objected But the contributions exacted from them uld not be such as to pauperize them. Bengal, ich is one of the two most revenue-yielding vinces, has been persistently fleeced for years. is no extenuation of the Central Government's acting policy to say that Bengal has got the rmanent Settlement and, therefore, the Bengal vernment does not get as much land revenue some of the other provinces, and that is why is poor. But the Permanent Settlement was t the act of the Bengal Provincial Govern- ment. The Government of India was and is responsible for it. If it be true that that Settlement deprives Bengal of some revenue, is that any reason why it should be still further fleeced?

What China Does With Her Students

In China, where there is a real crisis if ever there was one in any country, and a grim real fight for freedom is going on, the far-sighted Chinese leaders are using their students in a wise way. This is described by Pearl S. Buck in her article in the May number of *Asia*. She has resided in China and taught Chinese students, and knows the country. Says she:

"What is really happening as a result of the Japanese invasion is that China is moving westward into the interior. Some may call this retreat, but to do so is to miss the importance of the movement. For it is of the utmost significance that the great inner provinces of China—the original China in the first place—hitherto almost untouched by modern times and maintaining their medieval civilization, unknowing of and unknown to the world, are suddenly being repopulated by the modern Chinese."

How is that being done?

"Universities are being taken wholesale into this heart of old China. As much as two years ago Nankai University began putting up buildings in Chungking and Yunnanfu, in preparation for the very thing which has happened. When the Japanese bombed Nankai University they thought they had destroyed it. They were mistaken. Nankai University was already not there. It was safe, thousands of miles inland. Other great universities have followed its example.

And the Ministry of Education itself, in spite of the tremendous military costs to the government for defense, is proceeding steadily with its work. The Central Military Academy is already established in new buildings in Chunkiang; the provisional schools for students from the war zone, started in Sian, are marching further westward to the country bordering Tibet, carrying on a "moving university" as they go. Thus encouraged, the the great movement west has begun and

from all of the outer provinces students, men and women, are making their 'way inward by any means they can, by desultory boats and bomb-threatened trains, by newly-built bus roads, and thousands of them, in great bands, are on foot. It is one of the most astonishing and exciting things that has ever happened in history, this tremendous trek inland of the modern Chinese intellectuals into the ancient heart of their own country, which they have never known before."

Why and how is such a thing happening? Is it accidental? No. Pearl S. Buck writes:

"For the national government of China is pursuing in the midst of its distress an extraordinarily sane and farsighted policy. Unlike the western nations, who hurried their young educated men into war and praised them when they died, the government of China is commanding her students to go on with their education and not waste their lives in foolish warfare.

Let the Japanese bomb and kill the ignorant, if some must die. Let them even seize territory and plunder,

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because China is too big for them and they cannot get it all. They cannot possibly conquer the inner provinces. And

into these inner provinces let the brave young minds go, NOT FOR REFUGE OR ESCAPE, but that they may be made ready to serve China, to rebuild and plan again, and make her a greater country than she has ever been before."

The writer has herself pointed out the reason why the students are not being used as fodder for cannon. And the students themselves are moving away from the war zones, not because of cowardice or in the spirit of D. L. Roy's Nandalal—they are as fearless and patriotic as any other young men and women in the world—but because they may be able to serve China better than by participation in actual warfare.

Those who are not in the thick of the fight are not necessarily cowards. For example, army commanders who direct movements from a distance without themselves personally fighting are not considered cowards.

The writer briefly refers to the good that must come of this trek of the students towards the interior of China.

"They will change the people in old China, and old China will change them. Two distant extremes will meet and mingle."

Again:

"I see a significance which is symbolic in those long lines of the young Chinese marching on foot into their own country . . . a real Chinese culture may be the result, a culture truly composite of the best of old and new . . . While the outer provinces lie a waste of war the rich untouched inner provinces will be developed. And when Japan withdraws, as withdraw she must some day, a new Chinese race will be ready and will come out of those inner provinces to reclaim and to rebuild the whole."

Our students who go to the villages to teach adults and also children may be somewhat like the students of China going into the interior of their country. Indian students can thus help to create a new India, a "composite of the best of old and new," as Chinese students are doing.

Countries Bombing Civilians To Be Boycotted?

PARIS, July 23.

Eighty-five delegates from thirty countries are attending the two-day International Peace Campaign Conference to discuss "action on the bombardment of open towns and restoration of peace."

The British delegation includes ten members of the House of Commons, representatives of Churches and Trade Unions. There are strong delegations from Sweden and Czechoslovakia. India is represented by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

Leonjou Haux, the Secretary General of French Labour Federation, declared: "We are heading for war and it is only those who are prepared to act, who are defending the cause of peace."

The American delegate, Mr. Atkinson, refer the enthusiasm of the American people for acti favour of peace.

The Dean of Chichester stressed the necessity civilised countries who believe in peace standing tog against aggressors. He suggested the boycott of cou who are responsible for the horror of bombing civilians.

The woman member of the House of Commons, D Summerskil, arrived from Barcelona and described results of air bombardments and appealed to the dele to act immediately to try to limit the horrors of w *Reuter.*

It is difficult to understand who will boy whom. There has been recently some con versy in the British House of Commons an the British and Indian press on the subject the bombing of civilians on the North-Wes Frontier of India. Whether it is called "p bombing" or "military bombing," it is bom of non-combatants all the same. So, if coun responsible for the bombing of civilians are be boycotted, Britain also will have to boycotted.

Assassination of Dolfuss Glorified

VIENNA, July 23.

The fourth anniversary of the assassination of D Dolfuss by Nazis will be celebrated to-morrow throug Austria as a day of "national pride" instead of nat mourning. Herr Hess, who is Hitler's deputy, will adde a demonstration at Klagenfurt which relatives of thi Nazis hanged for the assassination will attend.

Herr Hess may announce "retrial" of Otto Pla and fellow assassins. The catholic church will broad a requiem mass from Salzburg Cathedral for thirteen "heroes."

In previous years these masses were broadcas Doctor Dolfuss' memory.—*Reuter.*

At Nazi dictation black has become w —and that even in the eyes of a religious bo

Women Want to Govern Provinces

AHMEDABAD, July 9

After capturing Ministerial and other appoint in the different provinces and after encroaching on police department in Cawnpore, so far an exclu male-monopoly, Indian women would now like to ha province for them to govern exclusively.

The Bharat Yuvak Sangh under Lady Vidya Nilkanth's lead, made this demand at a public me here.

Among the special qualifications of women for responsibility, advanced by speakers at the meeting, w of course, consisted entirely of women, were:—

(1) There was no disunion among women;
(2) There was no jealousy among women;
(3) They had no greed for power.

Speakers contrasted these qualifications with failure of men in these respects. Men had been st all these years for freedom and had failed. Men to the Round Table Conference and raised cont questions instead of demanding "Swaraj." Men sought excessive self-aggrandisement, which jealousy.

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If Women's power was only organized and mobilised, it would transform the world. And this power, which came to the forefront during the Civil Disobedience movement, had been recognized by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi, "a mere man."—*A. P.*

The appointment of some women as constables in Cawnpore cannot be called an "encroachment". They were appointed by the U. P. ministry of whom all but one are men. As there have been women warders in jails for a long time, so there ought to be women police to deal with women transgressors of the law, whether technical or real.

In many countries of the world, there have been successful women rulers—for instance, Queen Elizabeth and Queen Victoria in England. In India, Queen Ahalya Bai is an illustrious example both in saintly character and great administrative ability and the capacity to rule. The Maharani of Travancore has done her work admirably during the minority of her son, the Maharaja of Travancore. So it cannot be said that a woman as governor of a province will be necessarily a failure. But it cannot at all be admitted that disunion, jealousy, greed for power, desire for self-aggrandisement, and communalism are male monopolies.

Higher Education in Soviet Russia

The number of students in the combined universities and high schools of Britain, Germany, Italy, France and Japan is just over 400,000.

The number in the Soviet Union is 550,000.

This remarkable contrast was made by Molotov, Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, in a speech on the 19th May last at the first "All-Union" conference of teachers and students in universities and high schools.

Molotov made another particularly telling reference. Unemployment among university graduates, research workers, scientists and scholars of all kinds were heavy in capitalist countries, he said, but:

"Try to find an unemployed scientist or specialist in our country. If anyone can find an unemployed scholar in this country we will give him a premium." (Laughter).

There were about 100,000 specialists now graduating every year from Soviet high schools and universities, but still there was a big shortage in many branches of work. Such a thing as "'unemployment among the learned professions,' simply sounds absurd," he said.

He said the number of students in the universities and high schools of other countries was:

Britain, 51,000; Germany, 74,000; Italy, 73,000; France, 74,000; Japan, 146,000.

It is very properly pointed out here that the present higher educational system offers an amazing contrast with that of Tsarist Russia. In the old Russia there were 90 higher educational institutions and 125,000 students; today there are 700 institutions and 500,000 students. And the **students today are not the children of the rich and middle classes, as in old Russia, but, children who have the ability and the inclination profit by higher education.**

Away in the remote regions of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kirkhizia and other areas, where the population under Tsarism was practically 100 per cent illiterate, great schools and universities now flourish.

So this conference has something to talk about.—*Reuter.*

All education in Russia, *up to the highest,* is paid for out of State funds and benefits the children of the masses who avail themselves of it up to the highest. And the highest education does not cause unemployment in Russia. No high education in any country can cause unemployment if it is in harmony with the economic structure of the society of the country and with the structure of its government.

No Racialism and Communalism in China

"Buddhism, Taoism, Islam, Confucianism and Judaism live in harmony in China. There is no feeling of bitterness or enmity among the different races or religions," observed Mr. M. I. Shah Kuo-Chen, Director of the Chinese Missions in Al-Azhar University, speaking at the Calcutta University Institute Library Hall on the 17th July last on education and religion in China.

Mr. Shah referred to General Omar Pei-Tsong Shah, a great Chinese Muslim military leader, who was fighting in the battle-fields of China under the command of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, and he thought that India could learn the lesson of religious amity from the Chinese.

Referring to education in China, Mr. Shah said, "China has adopted the American system in education. It was not centralised, but provincial. Since the Republican Government had introduced the new system in 1911, the percentage of literacy has reached 25. The system includes primary, secondary and higher education spread over a period of 16 years. China, the speaker continued, could boast of technical and commercial education. There was mass education for adults."

Referring to the Sino-Japanese war, Mr. Shah said that China had never tried to attack any people. China's army defended the people from any aggression. Japan's continental policy was to conquer the whole of Asia.

In Memory of the French Revolution

Subjection is subjection, whether it be to republican France or to imperial Britain. French subjects are not necessarily freer than British subjects.

CHANDERNAGORE, July 15.

To observe the anniversary of the French Revolution, citizens, youths, students and workers of Chandernagore assembled last night in the Library Hall under the presidentship of Mr. Srish Chandra Ghosh. Mr. Kali Ghosh of Chandernagore Socialist Party described the social, economic and political condition of Europe and France about the time of the Revolution, and showed how it destroyed Feudalism and gave rise to modern Capitalism. With the Revolution dawned the day of democracy and the republic, he said, and its advocates taught people that "Man is born free". He deplored that the French Indian

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citizens were denied republican rights and privileges; and demanded, on this solemn occasion, such rights and privileges for the French Indian subjects from the French Government.

Mr. Satyendra Nath Ghosh, ex-Mayor of Chandernagore, said that it was a cruel irony that the French Indian people were commemorating the day of the Revolution for republicanism when they did not enjoy a whit of republican rights and privileges. In course of his speech the ex-Mayor described how the labour movement in Pondicherry was being crushed ruthlessly, and what a panic had been created there, due to which no lawyer dares come forward to defend a labour leader's case. He called upon citizens, youths, students and workers to get united and prepared to face and to struggle against the hard circumstances coming.

Mr. Tinkori Mukherjee of the Socialist Party, in paying homage to the memory of the Day, contrasted the revolutionary French Capitalists of 1789, who took the leadership of the French Revolution, to the inert Indian Capitalists, who are perpetually compromising with the Imperialist exploiters, instead of trying to bring about a thorough change in the social and political condition of India.

The President, in his concluding speech, observed that the meeting was commemorating the Day when the Bastille—the prison for politicals, was bombarded, and when the National Assembly, voicing the will of the people, was recognised by the King and the ruling classes. He paid homage to the memory.

What Is Implied In Making Hindustani India's Lingua Franca

Both those who are in favour of making Hindustani the lingua franca of India and those who are opposed to it should know what is implied in such a step. Some of its implications are mentioned below.

Unless and until a common script is agreed upon and adopted by the advocates of the Nagari script and the advocates of the Arabic or Persian script, it is evident that all who would use Hindustani in the letters, articles, pamphlets, books, etc., written or printed by them must know both the scripts. If any one writes in Nagari to a person who uses and knows only the Arabic script, the latter must go to a person who knows Nagari to get it read. That would be troublesome and cause delay in correspondence. But if both the senders and receivers of written communications know both scripts, exchange of news and views would be easier and quicker. As the adoption of Hindustani as the lingua franca is meant to promote intercourse between all religious communities, provinces and linguistic groups, that object cannot be fully gained unless all Indians (and it is implied that they are all to be literate—at least in Hindustani) know and can use both the scripts.

In the case of printed Hindustani literature of all kinds—newspapers, periodicals, pamphlets and books—either both scripts must be used parallel columns or opposite pages to suit the convenience of the knowers and users of either script, or all readers of such literature must know both the scripts, so that they may be able to read and profit by the perusal of what is printed in Nagari as well as of what is printed in Arabic. Otherwise, those who know and use Nagari will get the benefit of only what is printed in Nagari and those who know and use the Persian or Arabic script will get the benefit of only that which is printed in that script.

So it is implied in the adoption of Hindustani (Hindi and Urdu) as the lingua franca of India that all over India people must be able to read and write both scripts—unless and until of course, as said before, a common script is devised and is accepted by all. And in addition they must know the script of their own mother tongue, if it is different from Nagari and Persian.

As regards the language to be used, in Hindi-speaking and Urdu-speaking areas the language of ordinary conversation contains both Sanskritic words and words taken from Arabic and Persian. Such words in current use are understood by all—though educated Musalmans and Lalas use a comparatively larger Persian vocabulary and educated Brahmans and other Hindus (except perhaps Lalas) use a comparatively larger Sanskrit vocabulary. So much for the language used in ordinary conversation.

As regards the language used in political discussions and speeches, my experience is (and of course, I speak not as one who knows much of Hindustani but knows only a little) that I can grasp the substance of discussions and speeches in Hindi but cannot understand what is said in Urdu. I say this with special reference to the language used by Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, and with reference to the language used by the late Dr. Ansari in his speeches at the last Karachi session of the Congress and by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in the course of the Unity Talks at Allahabad some years ago.

So my conclusion is that, except for purposes of ordinary conversation, if one wants to understand and speak both Hindi and Urdu as used in political discussions and speeches, one must master both Sanskritized and Arabicized Persianized vocabularies to a considerable extent, though the grammatical frameworks of both the dialects may be the same. There may, of course, come a time when both the dialects may be fused into one language.

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We now come to the language of printed literature.

Ordinarily the language used in Urdu text-books for schools is somewhat different in vocabulary from the language used in Hindi text-books for schools. But it is possible to write text-books having the same vocabulary to be printed either in Nagari and Persian script or both. Such text-books have been written.

But when we come to higher text-books for colleges and universities, written in Hindi or Urdu and printed in either script, we find that there is greater divergence. Hindi text-books written for the Benares University or for the Kashi Vidyapith and printed in Nagari characters, will not pass muster in the Osmania University of Hyderabad if printed in Persian characters, nor can the Urdu text-books of the Osmania University be used in the Benares University and the Kashi Vidyapith if printed in Nagari. The reason is, in conveying modern knowledge to Indian adult educated readers in all subjects—philosophy, history, economics, physical sciences, social sciences, archaeology, mathematics, political science, . . . —we have to use many words which are not to be found in any modern Indian language *as used in ordinary conversation or even in ordinary works of fiction.* These have either to be taken or coined from some classical language. Now writers in Hindi naturally prefer to go to Sanskrit for the purpose and writers in Urdu as naturally resort to Arabic and Persian. As Sanskrit is not less rich in words and roots than any other language in the world, as it is an Indian language, and as words taken or coined from it harmonize perfectly not only with northern Indian modern tongues but also with such southern tongues as Tamil, there is no reason why Hindi writers should have recourse to any other language than Sanskrit for new words. And it would not at least be expedient or politic to try to persuade writers of Urdu to go to Sanskrit for new words.

What has been said above with reference to higher educational text-books is true also of all serious literature for adult general readers.

So one who wishes to read higher literature in both Hindi and Urdu—and one must be able to do so if one wishes to have the full advantage of the Hindustani lingua franca—must have some amount of knowledge of both Sanskrit and Arabic-Persian vocabularies. If, in addition, he wishes to be the producer of such literature in both Hindi and Urdu, he must have sufficient knowledge of Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian to be able to cull and coin words from them for his own use.

Objection to Sanskritized and Persianized Hindustani

In the United Provinces and Bihar persons interested in the progress of Hindustani literature, and elsewhere in India also persons similarly interested sometimes say that Hindustani should not be unnecessarily Sanskritized or Persianized. They are right. But if it be meant that, so far as modern Indian languages are concerned, Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic have the same standing as 'source-tongues' to draw from, they are wrong. Sanskrit is an Indian language and is genetically connected with all the main north India and middle India languages, and even south Indian languages like Tamil have a large Sanskritic vocabulary. Therefore, it is far more natural to draw from Sanskrit than from any non-Indian tongue. And, there is an advantage in having recourse to Sanskrit. If any modern Indian language enriches itself thereby, the wealth can be easily shared by other modern Indian tongues. That is one of the reasons why Bengali books have been translated in considerable numbers into other Indian languages—it being comparatively easy to translate from a Sanskritic language. The late Pandit Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar, a Maharashtrian Brahman by lineage, whose mother-tongue was Bengali but who mastered Marathi, the mother-tongue of his ancestors, imported into his Bengali writings many Sanskritic words used in Marathi but not in Bengali.

Some Congress Working Committee Resolutions

WARDHAGANJ, July 24.

The Working Committee passed the following resolutions:—

1. The Working Committee congratulates the people of Mansa, Vala, Ramdurg, Jamkhandi and Miraj on the success they have achieved in their brave and non-violent struggle for the vindication of their economic and political rights.

2. The Working Committee express their sympathy for the people of the Nilgiri State in Orissa on the non-violent struggle they have been carrying on against the regulations banning meetings and processions, and the formation of associations within the State.

3. The Working Committee resolves that State Congress Committees do function as heretofore under the jurisdiction of their respective Provincial Congress Committees for the time being.

7. Resolved that Babu Rajendra Prasad be authorised to go into the Bihari-Bengali controversy relating to questions of (1) domicile, (2) public services, (3) education and (4) trade and commerce, and settle it

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finally. Pending settlement of this controversy, the Working Committee appeal to all concerned, particularly to the press in Bihar and Bengal, to desist from any further agitation in this behalf, and help in creating a proper atmosphere for just and harmonious solution of the whole problem.

We are entirely against the importation of any abusive language, personalities, insinuations, and provincial and racial or other bitterness into the Bihari-Bengali or any other controversy or agitation. But facts bearing on the controversy should be made known to the public in a sober, truthful and dispassionate manner. It was almost or more than a year ago that Babu Rajendra Prasad was entrusted with the work of going into and settling the Biahri-Bengali controversy. It is much to be regretted that illness has prevented him from taking up that duty as yet. It is to be hoped he will soon recover sufficiently to be albe to tackle the problem.

The Working Committee did well to appeal to the press to desist from agitation in this behalf. They would have done better if they had also appealed to the Bihari Ministers and their government and officials to desist from enforcing anti-Bengali discriminatory acts, until Babu Rajendra Prasad published his decision. It would be a bad bargain if Bengalis were to be obliged not to speak and write in self-defence, but Bihari officialdom were to be free to act against the interests of Bengalis.

Separation of Chota Nagpur and Re-constitution of Linguistic Bengal

It is not our intention to discuss here the questions of the separation of Chota Nagpur and of the reconstitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. We only wish to point out that they are distinct questions. That the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar-Province—whatever they may be—should be given back to Bengal, has been recommended by the All-India Congress Committee. But on the question of the separation of Chota Nagpur, no Congress Committee has yet pronounced any opinion.

India's Medicinal Plants

The Hindustan Times of the 29th June last published an editorial article on "Our Medicinal Herbs" which has perhaps received as little attention as our notes on the subject in more than one previous issue received. Our Delhi contemporary wrote :

> Orders to reduce the imports of medicinal herbs by 30,000,000 marks (£2,500,000) this year, says Reuter, have been issued by officials of the Four-year Plan in Germany. "Every German citizen must be familiar with the curative powers given him by the medicinal herbs of the Fatherland," is the slogan invented at a recent meeting of homoeopaths in Beyreuth. School children are to be trained to recognize and gather herbs, and model gardens containing every variety of medicinal herbs will be established in various parts of the Reich."

What will Germany gain by this step?

This new German drive is intended to benefit the country in two ways. At present Germany imports £6,000,000 worth of herbs every year, and the cutting down of this huge import will mean saving so much foreign exchange. What is perhaps of greater importance is the new interest that is being created among the young in medicinal herbs, which is bound to have substantial effects on the progress of medical research.

India imports from foreign countries large quantities of medicines some of which are prepared from medicinal plants which those countries take from India. These medicines can be manufactured in India and sold here and abroad to the economic advantage of our country. Substitutes for other foreign medicines prepared abroad from foreign plants and exported to India can be found if all our medicinal plants were subjected to scientific research and manufacture of medicines undertaken on the basis of such research. That would go to create wealth in and for India as well as make for the progress of medical research.

There is a monumental work on Indian Medicinal Plants by Lieutenant-Colonel K. R. Kirtikar and Major B. D. Basu, both deceased, which has been revised, enlarged and brought up to date by three specialists, two Europeans and one Indian. This work is eminently fitted to help medical researchers and manufacturers of medicines. But we are afraid even our big pharmaceutical works do not take advantage of it.

There is much talk of state encouragement of the Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine. But we should be agreeably surprised if we received definite information that even the biggest Ayurvedic and Unani colleges had been using the above-mentioned work, or that even Congress ministries and the more progressive Indian States had requested their Education, Industries and Public Health Departments to procure copies of the work.

Mango Graft On Citron Tree

At the recent mango show in Allahabad held under the auspices of the Fruit-growers' Association, at which more than 90 kinds of mangoes were exhibited, a new kind of fruit was shown. It was the result of a mango graft on a citron tree. It was produced in the Government Garden at Saharanpur, U. P., under

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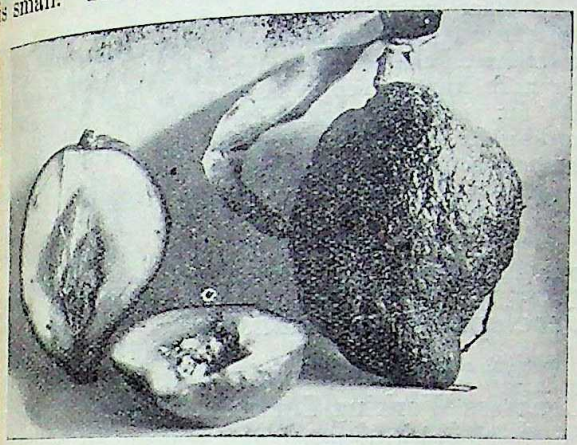
supervision of the Assistant Director of Agriculture. The fruit looks like a mango, but with a rough and thick rind. The stone within is small. The pulp is sour, tasting and smelling



Fruit of mango graft on citron tree

neither like a mango nor like a citron fruit. If the sourness of the pulp can be improved off, which is not impossible, there will be an additional fruit for frugivorous persons.

Patents for Plants in U. S. A.

In India plant breeding is not much practised, and therefore we do not bear much of new kinds of plants, fruits and flowers. But in America plant breeders produce many varieties of them. So a Plant Patent Act has had to be passed there. The "World in Brief" news service informs us that

In 1930, the U. S. Congress passed an act permitting the granting of plant patents. In 1937, fifty-five plant patents were granted and in the years since the law first went into effect the United States Patent Office has granted 67 patents on new kinds of plants. Fourteen of these went to one man, Mr. Ralph H. McKee of New York City all of them for new varieties of poplar trees. These new varieties, developed after the growing of over 16,000 seedlings, Mr. McKee claims, grow faster, are more resistent to disease and produce a longer fiber from which stronger paper can be made than from the ordinary poplars.

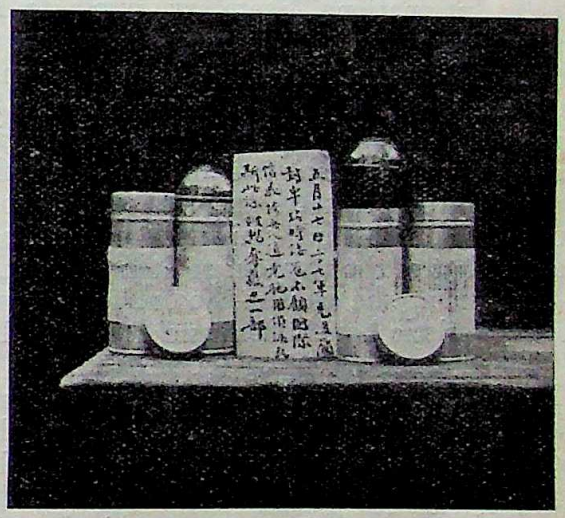
Up to the time the United States plant patent law was passed, American plant breeders who created new varieties of plants had no way of preventing others from stealing their discoveries. The effect of the plant patent law was to change this, since it permits the inventor or discoverer of a new variety of plant to obtain the same legal protection as the inventor of a new machine. To come under the protection of the patent law the plant must be reproduced asexually; such as by cutting, grafting, cuttings, layerings, division, or some other form of vegetative reproduction other than by seeds. Tuber propagated plants are also excluded from patent applications

Aluminum-Coated Steel

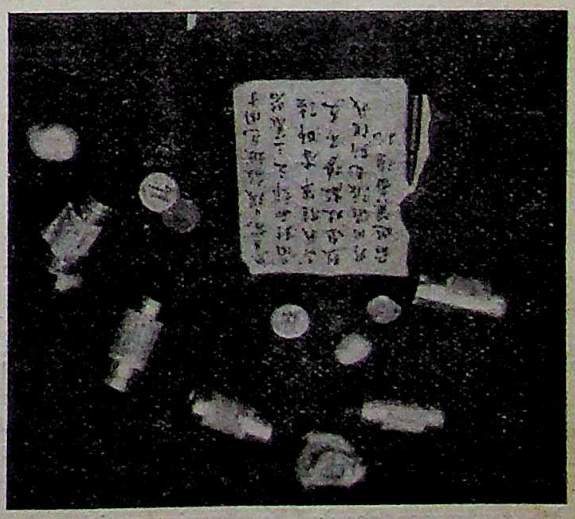
Manufacturers of high-tensile steel goods will be interested to learn that Columbia University (U. S. A.) recently announced the successful commercial application of a process for coating steel with aluminum developed by Professor C. G. Fink, head of Columbia's division of electrochemistry. The new aluminum-coated steel is more resistent to corrosion and acids than either tin plate or galvanized iron and can withstand much higher temperatures. In both sheet and wire form, Dr. Fink found, it can be brought to the white heat of 1,800 degrees Fahrenheit and maintained at that temperature for 1,000 hours. This is impossible with either tin plate or galvanized iron for the melting-point of tin is 450 degrees and that of zinc is 784 degrees Fahrenheit. The new product combines the high corrosive resistance of aluminum with the great tensile strength of steel and offers unlimited possibilities in bridge construction, airplanes, automobiles, buildings, railroads, house furnishings and industrial machinery.—*World in Brief.*

Poison Gas Seized in China

Telegraphic news was received in India some time ago that the Japanese intended to



Receptacles of poison gas seized by the Chinese troops



Receptacles of poison gas seized by the Chinese troops

use poison gas in their warfare in China. Whether they have actually done so as yet is

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not known. But that they have brought some quantities of it to China seems to be proved by receptacles of it seized by Chinese troops along the Lunghai railway lines. We print here two of their photographs received from Hankow. Those who know Chinese or Japanese will be able to read what is written on the photographs.

International P. E. N. Congress in India in 1940

We are glad to learn from Srimati Sophia Wadia, founder of the P. E. N. India Centre, that it has been arranged to hold the 1940 session of the International P. E. N. Congress in India.

Just before the P. E. N. International Congress which was held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, at the end of June last, Mr. Hermon Ould, the P. E. N. International Secretary, wrote to her by air mail inquiring if the India Centre would like to invite the International Congress to meet in India in 1940. He had to know at once. So, feeling sure that the members of the managing committee would wish to embrace this fine opportunity to promote the cause of world cultural fellowship and universal brotherhood, as well as that of the freedom of literary creation and expression, she cabled the invitation with her characteristic hopefulness and courage. Mr. Ould cabled back accepting the invitation.

The Dewan of Mysore, who showed interest in the work of the P. E. N. India Centre when Srimati Sophia Wadia visited Bangalore last year, has been so kind as to invite the International P. E. N. Congress to hold the 1940 session in Mysore State. The dates have not yet been settled. There is plenty of time to do that and make plans for the success of the sessions in consultation with the Dewan of Mysore and members of the Indian P. E. N. Centre.

International Peace Conference Resolution on Bombing of Open Towns

PARIS, July 24.

The International Peace Conference, attended by delegates from thirty countries, passed a resolution with regard to the bombing of open towns demanding that the supply of anti-aircraft armaments should be unhindered and that financial aid should be given to the countries which are victims of aggression. It also asked that an embargo should be placed on petroleum and metals for the aggressors and that the Spanish and Chinese, threatened by bombing, should be evacuated.

The conference decided to organise petitions against bombing to all countries, and entrusted the bureau of universal peace to organise commissions to visit the bombed cities.

At the Peace Conference Pandit Nehru's speech frequently interrupted by applause and acclaimed at end by the delegates standing.

Speaking on the bombing of open towns, Pa Nehru said that most terrible responsibility rested those who looked indifferently at such crimes.

"What must we think of Governments who do know how to resist aggressors and allowed the nationa to receive all the necessary war material but insisted on Pyrenean frontier being closed against Republican Spa Aid for victims of aggression should be organised on world-wide basis. I appeal to the conference to concrete action. If peace and democracy perish, we too, but if they live on, so shall we."—*Reuter.*

Congress Working Committee on the Development of Industries

At its sitting on the 25th of July last Congress Working Committee passed a resolu on the development of industries in the provin

authorising the Congress President to convene a ference of Ministers of Industry at an early date call for report of the existing industries operating different provinces and the need and possibilities of ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Er Committee to explore possibilities of an All-I industrial plan.

Perhaps the non-Congress Ministers Industry also will be invited to take part in t conference.

In this connection we invite the attenti of the public to the articles on industrial to in this issue of *The Modern Review* by tinguished scientists and industrialists.

Congress Working Committee on Some New Linguistic Provinces Demanded

At the same sitting of the Congress Work Committee it passed a resolution

assuring the people of Andhra, Karnataka and Ke that a constitution of separate province on ling basis would be undertaken as part of the fu scheme of the Government of India as soon as Congress has power to do so and calling upon them m while to desist from further agitation in this beha (*U. P.*)

Perhaps this is an abridged version of resolution actually passed. Its Bengali trans tion as given in the *Ananda Bazar Pat* says that the Congress Parliamen Sub-committee has confirmed the resolution favour of linguistic provinces passed by Madras Legislature and the resolution in fav of a separate Karnataka province passed by Bombay Legislature, and that the Wor Committee also fully supports these resolu There is no mention here of a previous resol of a Congress Committee in favour of the res

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tion to Bengal of the Bengali-speaking areas in the province of Bihar.

The aforesaid Bengali translation of the resolution concludes with the following appeal: "In order that the attention of the [Working?] Committee may not be diverted from its main duty [of winning Purna Swaraj ?], for that reason the inhabitants of those regions are being appealed to to refrain from any agitation in this connection." (Free re-translation.)

The appeal to cease to agitate has been made, strictly speaking, to the inhabitants of Andhra, Kerala, and Karnataka, who alone sent deputations to Wardha and who have gained their point. Lawyers in the Working Committee will, we hope, excuse the pettifogging interpretation of the appeal that it does not apply to Tamils, Chota-Nagpuris, and Bengalis, who did not send any deputation and have not got any assurance in consequence !

Much can be said in favour of this appeal, if it has been really made.

It may be pointed out in this connection that the teaching of Hindustani in schools as a compulsory subject is not at present necessary to enable the Congress Working Committee to perform its main duty. Moreover, the agitation resulting from the attempt to make the teaching of Hindustani compulsory *has certainly been diverting the attention of the Congress from its main task.* But the attempt goes on.

The resolution does not take any notice of the desire expressed in Tamil land and in Chota-Nagpur for the constitution of those regions into separate provinces. Perhaps their inhabitants have not yet been sufficiently persistent in their demands and sufficiently obstreperous. If babies do not cry, they do not get milk.

As for the re-constitution of Bengal on a linguistic basis, Bengalis have been asking for it ever since Bengal was re-partitioned more than a quarter of a century ago. They have been crying in the wilderness. Including the President the Congress Working Committee has two Bengali members. As far as we are aware, they are not opposed to the re-constitution of the province of Bengal on a linguistic basis. But perhaps because they are Bengalis, feelings of delicacy prevented them from pressing Bengal's case on the attention of the Committee. And perhaps, too, there has been such persistent preaching in Bengal against a "mendicant" policy, that Bengali Congresswalas have ceased to pray to and petition not only the British and Brown Bureaucracy but even the Congress High Command, too! We have read in the papers that deputations went to Wardha from Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala to place their case before the Congress Working Committee. But we have not read of any Bengal deputation going there. In our opinion Bengalis, like the other provincial and regional citizens concerned, should place their case before the Congress as well as before the British bureaucracy in all possible ways. Some prominent Andhra and Karnataka Congressmen had recently expressed themselves in favour of sending deputations to England. That is an orthodox Congress precedent for others to do likewise.

The Federation Issue

The following *United Press* message appeared in the morning papers of the 25th July last:

> "The United Press" is in a position to announce that President Bose had heart-to-heart talks informally last night with Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad about the Federation issue, with special reference to the recent press controversy over it. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose was also present. It is gathered that these talks served to clear up all misunderstandings which have unfortunately centred round this issue of late.
>
> It is learnt that there is no possibility of the Federation issue being discussed during this session of the Working Committee, as it is felt that nothing has happened since the Haripura session of the Congress to deserve special notice from it now. All suggestions about the slightest weakening of the Congress attitude towards the Federal scheme as envisaged in the Government of India Act are discounted as "sheer bunkum" in authoritative Congress circles.

This ought to put a stop to all *open* agitation by any Congresswalas in favour of working the Government scheme of federation after some changes have been made in it. But we are not sure whether all secret manœuvres in that direction will be given up by all Congresswalas. For we do not have (nor desire to have) any access to either Congress "authoritative" or Congress "unauthoritative" circles. Those who want full freedom and independence for the whole of India should not be thrown off the scent by any clever move on the part of any section of the Congress. By the by, a clear statement on the part of the Congress Working Committee as to whether it approves the resolution passed by the Madras and two other provincial legislatures in favour of working an amended federation scheme, would have been appreciated.

Pace the Congress bosses, it has been held that Mr. Satyamurti's propaganda in England and India in favour of working an amended federation scheme, if not also the impression produced on the minds of Sir Frederick Whyte

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and other not undiscerning Englishmen by the public and private talks of some Indian nationalists in England, *are* happenings since the Haripura Congress which did deserve serious special notice.

With the Congress, we have long humbly believed in the goal of freedom and complete independence. Only, we do not rule out the practicability of reaching it *via* the working of an amended federation scheme. The tactics of De Valera and of the British Dominions' statesmen are not to be despised.

Congress Reply to Muslim League

An *Associated Press* message, dated Wardha the 25th July last, states that it is understood that the Congress Working Committee's reply to Mr. Jinnah categorically answers points raised in the meeting of the Council of the All-India Muslim League.

> With regard to the claims put forward by the Muslim League that the Congress should recognise the All-India Muslim League as the sole and only representative Muslim organization which can speak on behalf of the Mussalmans of India, the Working Committee points out that, consistently with its ideals of nationalism, it cannot agree to concede this claim.
>
> Secondly, the Muslim League demanded that in the Committee to be appointed for settling the details of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League no other Muslim representatives, such as Nationalist Muslims, should be included.
>
> The Working Committee, it is understood, maintains that it cannot agree to this demand, and its hands should be left free to select such representatives of any community as it thinks necessary and proper in any future negotiations.
>
> The Committee, in conclusion, is understood to have expressed the hope that the Muslim League will consider these terms and try to adjust its demands in such a manner as to make it possible for both the parties to continue the useful work which they had started.—(A. P.)

This is a clear indication that the Congress is willing to resume the "unity talks." But what good will it do?

Sympathy with Arabs—And With Jews

Instead of quiet being gradually restored in Palestine, the situation has been worsening. This is greatly to be regretted. Our heart goes out in sympahty to that unhappy country. But we cannot truthfully say that we sympathize with the Arabs alone of that country. We sympathize with the Jews also. Our eminent countryman, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, when in London, is reported to have expressed sympathy with the Arabs. We hope he expressed sympathy with the Jews also. We can take sides in a case like this.

It is true no doubt that Britain in pu suance of her imperial policy played false wi the Arabs. But that is no reason why we shou deny our sympathy, whatever its value, to t Jews. The author of *Twisting the Lion's T* writes:

> "It is well known that in the Peninsular W when Wellington wanted the help of a Spanish gener he went down on his knees before him in order entreat him to give it. When the English wan Arab help during the Great War, they bought over t Arabs to their side with gold, promising them at t same time that after the War was over they would given the opportunity to create a great Arab empire Asia. But a little later, when they wanted Jew money to prosecute the war, they promised the Je that they would be allowed to make Palestine th National Home—thus nullifying the promise that th had given to the Arabs."

The same author writes that "the Je will always remember her (England) as th originator of the romantic Zionist ideal whi has brought them so much joy—and so mu sorrow!"

Palestine was for centuries the motherla of the Jews. It had ceased to be so for centuri —they had lived scattered all over the wor though a small number of them had alway been in their ancestral homeland. Almos everywhere the Jews had been and are a perse cuted people (India being an exception). I such circumstances, is it any wonder that th seized England's offer of a National Home them? Undoubtedly England made the offer promote her own imperialist policy. But th ought not to deprive the Jews of anybody sympathy. And whatever land they ha occupied in Palestine they have purchased wi good money, not forcibly or fraudulently di possessing the Arabs. Moreover, as Profess Gilbert Murray, the great humanitarian, says *Liberality and Civilization*, the Jews' "presen in Palestine has increased their (the Arabs wages and improved the value of their estates

The Arabs have got the whole of Arab Iraq, Syria and Lebanon to dwell in, multip in and rule. If England had kept her promi to give the Arabs an opportunity "to create great Arab empire in Asia" perhaps that empi would not have included more countries th these. But supposing that opportunity wo have enabled the Arabs to annex some no Arab country or countries, would that have be just? Could any Indian democrat who ha British imperialism have justified and lik Arab imperialism? Palestine is comparativ a small country and of that the Jews can s

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occupy only a small part. Are they not to ve even a portion of a small country to call eir home? We should always bear in mind at if Zionism has brought them some joy, it s brought them much more sorrow, too.

So it is not quite clear that on grounds of stice the Arabs alone are entitled to our mpathy.

As generally or very often a nation mpathizes with another nation from self-arding motives, let us see whether, considera-ns of justice apart, India can gain more by mpathizing with the Arabs than by sym-thizing with the Jews. Neither the Arabs r the Jews can give any direct help to Indians their fight for freedom. It would be a usion to fancy that Pro-Arabianism would cline the Indian Musalmans to join forces th non-Musalmans in India's struggle for erty. What has the Congress gained by rticipating in the Khilafatist agitation? In-rectly, the Jews can be more useful allies than e Arabs. The Jews are a progressive people th a modern outlook. There are great scien-ts and other thought leaders among them. great financiers and financial magnates they ve or control many newspapers and thus can, they choose, influence public opinion in many untries in favour of India.

It may be that Britain will lord it over lestine. That is to be unequivocally con-mned. But if she does it, she will lord it over th Arabs and Jews, now favouring one com-nity now the other, as she does in India. So th the Arabs and the Jews would come to ve a common grievance—as intelligent Hindus d Musalmans have in India.

e Language of Universities Under ngress Rule

If in the near or distant future India has ian rule, it is at least very probable, if not te certain, that that rule will be Congress . And Congress has declared that Hin-tani is or will be (it does not matter which) ia's lingua franca. That means that it will India's state language, of which it is necessary understand the implications.

At present English is the state language of ia. In 'British' India in all the officially gnized universities and in the Mysore versity, it is the medium of instruction and mination. We are not here discussing the dvantages of such a foreign medium. We merely stating the fact. Whatever the dis-antages of a foreign medium, it being the same in all provinces, men who have received education through it can, if they want to, establish cultural interchange and fellowship among themselves through it.

Under Congress rule, when Hindustani becomes the state language, debates in the Central Legislature will be conducted in Hindustani and in the provincial legislatures in Hindustani or in the provincial mother-tongues. That has been made plain. But what language will take the place of English in the universities and colleges of the different provinces? What will be the cultural medium in these institutions, as English is at present? One answer may be that in every province the principal vernacular or vernaculars will be the cultural medium. But if that be the correct answer, cultural interchange and fellowship among the educated people of the provinces will not be as easy as now. Making Hindustani merely the administrative, legislative and political lingua franca will not lead to sufficient cultural interchange and fellowship among the intellectuals. If Hindustani be made the cultural medium in all universities and colleges as English is at present, assuming that that would be practicable, then cultural interchange and fellowship would be easy.

If Hindustani became not only the legislative, administrative and political lingua franca of India, but the cultural medium also throughout India, then the Hindustani language and literature would receive a double fillip. (We do not raise here the question whether there would be two scripts and two forms of the language, which has been discussed in a previous note).

It should be understood here that this raising of the status of Hindustani would be tantamount to lowering the status of the provincial languages and the prospects of their development. No language, no literature, can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture. Therefore, if Hindustani be made the medium of the higher and highest education and culture, votaries of provincial languages and literatures like Assamese, Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Oriya, Tamil, Telugu, etc., need not try to further develop them by trying to convey the highest knowledge through them in the form of works of great merit, and all should bend their energies to the improvement and enrichment of Hindustani.

In this note we have tried to state according to our lights what should and would be the logical outcome of the Congress decision about Hindustani.

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What is Causing Decreasing Birth-rate?

That Germany and Italy, and Russia, too, have been trying to have more and more babies has been explained by saying that they want more cannon fodder. But that is not the only explanation. Labour is wealth. The larger the number of actual or possible workers in a country the greater can its prosperity be. In India there are economists who are preaching the use of contraceptives as a remedy for poverty. That is an easy nostrum to prescribe. If there be less babies, there would be less mouths to fill, but there would be less actual and possible workers, too. Why cannot these economists concentrate their attention on the economic development of the country so that there may be more work, more actual workers, less unemployment, greater income, and a higher standard of living, with *natural* decrease in the birth-rate in consequence.

The result, to a great extent, of the use of contraceptives may be understood from what has happened and is apprehended to happen in England in future, as stated in *Twisting the Lion's Tail*:

> In the 'eighties of the last century the British birth-rate was 34 per 1,000 of the population, but last year it was 14.8, which means that the output of babies has been less than halved in fifty years. Then again, 100 women of the present generation give birth to 75 women for the next. And if this decline continues at its present rate the population of England and Wales will be reduced in six generations to 7,000,000 according to Professor Carl Saunders, and to 5,000,000 according to Dr. Enid Charles.

In a predominantly illiterate and poverty-stricken country like India, the cult of contraception, if followed, can be followed only by the educated and intellectual classes. That would result in the comparative decrease of these classes and the comparative increase of the lower orders of the people. That would not be good for the country.

Sir Akbar Hydari's Speech at Dacca Convocation

Sir Akbar Hydari delivered a very able and statesmanlike speech at the Convocation of the Dacca University. He paid a handsome compliment to Dacca, past and present, and to Dacca Univeristy, mentioning its unitary and residential character and laying stress on its being a teaching institution, where research also is carried on. He emphasized the need for a solution of the communal problem, and said:

> There is one problem which alike in its gravity and in its importance claims our primary attention, I mean the problem of the differences that appear to exist between the two principal communities of India. one refuse to believe that those differences are capable of a lasting solution such as would, on the of a common nationalism and of national endeav the service of a common patrimony, lead to respect and understanding.... Religion enters detail of our daily life, nor does it follow nece that in so entering it should serve to take away fr the qualities of sympathy and toleration whic teachings of every religion inculcate....the strong our collective passions are group hatred and rivalry, and whatever the cause or causes which such hatred and rivalry between the two communities—whether political, economic or cul the fact that such hatred and rivalry are based religion makes them the least appreciable and the most tragic of all. Yet here in this Univers in Universities like it which have all the bless the atmosphere which surrounds a house of le we can learn and show to ourselves and to other value and the inherent virtues of toleration and sy and the baneful effects and the vice of hatre jealousy. I know that you in Dacca have done to learn these lessons and to exemplify them....a such as yours is widely needed if we are to be our motherland and to ourselves.

He also dwelt on the importance of he called the "decommunalizing" our hist This is a subject on which Professor Bh Mohan Sen of Gauhati sent us an article months ago, which is printed elsewhere in issue.

After describing the kind of reconstruc of education, with a vocational bias, whic considered necessary, and on the desirabili an Indian Encyclopædia, he concluded address by drawing attention to the prayer ideal contained in that beautiful and insp poem of Rabindranath Tagore which beg

> "Where the mind is without fear
> and the head is held high."

Dacca Vice-Chancellor's Speech

On the occasion of the Convocation o Dacca University, Dr. R. C. Majumdar Vice-Chancellor, delivered an important ad A considerable portion of it was devoted description of two big schemes of expa contemplated by the University, *viz.*, establishment of a Faculty of Agricultur of a Faculty of Medicine.

He entered a firm protest against of the hostile criticism to which universit India are subjected. Said he:

> "Severe criticism mostly hostile, and speculation about its radical reform fill the air. it would be hardly an exaggeration to say that Universities have fallen on evil days and evil Every evil from which the country is suffering is the door of the University, the unemployment the acute economic distress, the physical weak-

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ys and girls, backwardness in trade and industry, sence of a proper national spirit, lack of reverence for e's own society and country, the wayward conduct of uth and the irreligious outlook of the present gene- ion, are all supposed to be due to the defective system University education, while Government ascribe to same cause the growth of anarchical crimes and olutionary movements in the country."

By way of comment on such criticism the arned Vice-Chancellor observed with truth :

"What is needed today in India, above everything e, is a band of men with the most disciplined intellect d character, and equipped with the basic knowledge sciences and humanities, on which all real progress ll necessarily depend. We need today leaders of ought and action as much as or even perhaps more an we do mere engineers, mechanics, industrial gnates and technicians of all descriptions. And ence can we reasonably expect these leaders to come m except from the universities? The problems that round us today are grave and menacing, but they have be solved if this country has to be saved. The new oducts of the University ought to be fully equipped the task if they have imbibed the true ideals of iversity education and utilised their time and oppor- nities during their residence in the University. Indeed th the highest ideals of humanity and backed by a ength of will, and grim resolve, they can hope to hieve success where others have failed."

r Akbar Hydari Subjected to riticism

After what Sir Akbar Hydari had said gainst communalism, declaring among other ings, "let us undertake, for example, never belong to any institution that represents ch purely sectional or communal endeavour," was inevitable that his words will be con- asted with what treatment is meted out to indus in the Hyderabad State of which he is e President of the Executive Council. A ecimen of such criticism of Sir Akbar is tracted below from *The Subodh Patrika* of mbay, organ of the non-communal Prarthana maj :

Sir Akbar Hydari in his convocation address to the duates of the Dacca University showed his deep cern for what one witnesses all around today. And t was communalism, and be deeply regretted on the e. He stressed the fact that India was the land ere the Mahommedans and the Hindus had lived as thers for generations together and their cultures had mingled as their monuments studded all over the ntry went to show. His earnest hope that this spirit uld disappear from the land we highly commend. t may we be permitted to ask, and will he tell us why how what was only confined so long to British India now rearing its head in a State in which he holds such igh position today? A former Nizam, let us remind n, had told Lord Minto when the latter consulted n about communal representation and the communal estion, that there was no such thing in Hyderabad d it was no good to drive in a wedge between the two mmunities by resort to communal representation. Taking a leaf out of that book, will Sir Akbar Hydari impress upon his master to follow the advice of his father in his dealings with the Hindu subjects of the State? Will Sir Akbar ask the Muslim League of India to foreswear communal representation? Or does he think it enough to mourn over the lot in an address here and an address there, and for the rest to continue as before?

President Savarkar on Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill

Mr. Vinayak Savarkar, President of the Hindu Mahasabha, has issued a statement on the Muslim Dissolution of Marriage Bill which has been introduced in the Central Legislative Assembly. The statement begins :

I feel it my duty to voice forth the opinion of the Hindu public in general as evinced in a number of resolutions passed at their meetings and institutions throughout the country and enter a strong protest against the bill titled 'Moslem Dissolution of Marriage Bill' and introduced in the Central Legislature by Mr. Kazimi. The bill is detrimental to the interests of the nation in general and Hindu Society in particular.

He proceeds to show in how many ways it is detrimental to Hindu society :

Firstly, it is an unwarranted encroachment by a non-Hindu member on the personal law of the Hindus. Secondly, although the bill professes to enable Moslem women to secure a divorce and thus liberate them from the shackles which hold them bound to a nuptial tie against their free will according to the present Mahommedan Law and practice, still, inconsistently enough, it seeks to chain them down to share the bed and board of a Moslem husband whom they may hate and wish to divorce by imposing on them new fetters under Clause 5 despite the Mahommedan religious and legal injunctions to the contrary.

The clause lays down that "the conversion of the married Moslem woman to a faith other than Islam shall not by itself operate to dissolve her marriage." But according to the Mahommedan Law and Shariyat in force till now, the conversion of a Moslem woman to any other religion secured for her an automatic dissolution of marriage with her Moslem husband.

He next explains how the Bill affects kidnapped Hindu women.

Now, it is a matter of common knowledge which has been substantiated in hundreds of cases in courts of justice that organised and stray attempts on the part of the Moslem fanatics have been continuously going on to kidnap, capture or abduct unguarded Hindu women, to make them embrace Islam per force and hustle them through a sort of marriage with Moslems, the records of which could easily be fabricated in a fanatical Kazis register. Whenever some of these women were either rescued or escaped and were reconverted to Hinduism they were up to this time automatically free from the enforced Moslem marriage as according to the Moslem Law a woman's conversion to any non-Moslem religion amounted by itself to a dissolution of her marriage with her former Moslem husband. But if under this bill the Hindus are made to lose this valuable right which they have secured through court decisions these unfortunate Hindu women who fall victims to Mahommedan fanaticism

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cannot be freed from the clutches of even such forced marriage with Moslems even though they are rescued or escaped and got reconverted to Hinduism of their own free will. That will clearly show that this bill is not so much a genuine attempt to liberate Moslem women from the tie of marriage with Moslem husbands they hate as it is a deliberate attack against the rescue work of the Hindu Sanatanist and the Suddhi Movement.

The Bill affects the interests of the Indian Christian and other non-Muslim communities also.

For the same reasons Christians and other non-Moslem communities other than Hindu will also suffer as Moslem women embracing any such non-Moslem faith of free will, will be unable to shake off their chains of a former Moslem wedlock under this new bill.

In conclusion the anti-national character of the Bill is exposed.

The bill is also anti-national, for clause 6 runs as follows:—

"Subject to the provisions etc., a suit for the dissolution of the marriage by a married Moslem woman shall be filed in the proper court provided that the presiding officer of that court is a Moslem". And again "appeals from the decision of the trying courts shall lie to the High Court and shall be heard and decided by a Moslem judge of that court".

Now this innovation is bound to be detrimental to the unity and cohesion of the national State, as the attempt amounts to nothing short of introducing the communal virus even in the judicial administration of the State. Are we to have as many courts as there are creeds and religions in the land?—each competent only to try the cases of those to whose creed or religion the trying judge belongs? The distrust that the bill shows towards non-Moslem judges amounts to a covert condemnation against that class who have ever been known to deal evenhanded justice without any distinction of creed or religion.

For these and other objections against this bill it is the duty of every nationalist member in general and Hindus and Christians in particular to oppose it as it stands. Even in the interest of civil liberty alone the bill ought also to be condemned by every member who is a free-thinker and follows no religious persuasions.

"Round Table Conference" In India on Federation?

The Hindusthan Standard has published the following message from its Poona correspondent:

POONA, July 26.

One more Round Table Conference (and this time in India) seems to be the outcome, according to the London correspondent of "Kesaree", of recent political discussions in London on the Federation issue.

Writes the "Kesaree" correspondent: "I am in a position to reveal exclusively that the Government of India will call a Round Table Conference in India. This time it will be predominated by Congress delegation."

The correspondent further understands that Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's recent London visit was undertaken on an invitation of a British peer interested in Indian politics.

Afghanistan Dry Fruits Trade

The Congress Working Committee passed the following resolution at Wardh the Afghanistan dry fruits trade:

"The Working Committee appreciate the act the Afghan Government in abolishing the monop arrangements made by them for controlling export in dry fruit, which is detrimental to the intere Indian merchants in Afghanistan and India. Committee welcome the restoration of status quo i behalf, which will help to improve the friendly re between the people of India and Afghanistan."

"Prescripts for Ailing Democracy"

Under this caption *The Living Age* July, 1938, publishes three articles from British newspapers. They are in effect ans to the question, Does Britain need a dicta

Mr. A. J. Cronin writes in the *Sc Chronicle*:

I am convinced that Roosevelt will fail com because he listens to everybody, just as I am that Hitler succeeded because he listened to no Nevertheless, the fact remains that America has prepared to submit to a man who has been call 'awful demagogue.'

I am no war monger. Two years ago I w much a pacifist as the rest, but I came to realize th was no use lying down like a lamb when the Eur sheep fold was full of wolves. Thanks to the app fiasco of our late foreign policy I am now firmly vinced that our only hope of a European peace Britain both strong and prepared.

Equally, I still believe in the principles of dem but I am positive that the time has come when democratic principles should be mobilized and ex by a more active and powerful unit than parliamentary system.

I am not crying for a pocket Cæsar. I am n enumerating the benefits to be achieved th unimpaired, rapid and direct action by a man of experience, integrity and good-will. Have we su man? That is a question which the future will d

That is practically a vote for dictator

The Right Honorable L. S. Amery, M writes in the *Sunday Times*:

It is a commonplace of scientific organization since recognized in all the fighting services, tha planning of policy for the future can only be effec carried out if those responsible for it are free fro day-by-day tasks of administration. The failu recognize this principle—the general staff prin is the real weakness of our present Cabinet system makes it incapable of dealing effectively with any s situation where clear thinking on difficult and co issues, definite decisions (not formulæ of agree and swift, resolute and consistent action are requ

It was Mr. Lloyd George's great achievement War that he faced this inherent weakness of the mental Cabinet system, and boldly set up a War C of half a dozen Ministers without departments, the departmental Ministers outside the Cabinet a and only called in when their own particular s were under discussion.

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I believe there is no measure that Mr. Chamberlain, with his courage and power of decision, could undertake that would more facilitate his own almost superhuman task, and make the nation feel that its problems were being faced in a really bold and big spirit, than the application, in some form or other, of that principle of Cabinet reform which Mr. Lloyd George introduced with such marked success in the War.

This is practically asking for a small oligarchy.

Sir Norman Angell writes in *Reynolds News*, desiring a "will to co-operate" among the "democratic" powers against the Fascist powers. Says he:

Imagine that you had a United States composed of Russia, China, France, the British Empire, their armies, navies, air forces, industrial and agricultural resources making a unit. Compared with the material and human resources of such a Power, how would the Fascist combination appear when we recall that it would be composed of a Japan already feeling the pinch of exhaustion in its Chinese entanglement, of an Italy already in economic straits and feeling the pinch of a still unconquered Ethiopia and an extremely unpopular Spanish war; and a Germany already short even of elementary foodstuffs?

If Russia is in a position to concentrate her whole power upon Germany—is freed, that is, of serious danger from Japan—then, for the reasons indicated, Germany is placed in a militarily hazardous situation, which she will not lightly provoke.

The way, therefore. to offset the power of Germany for aggression is to aid China in her resistance to Japan (a resistance which, despite setbacks, seems certain in the long run now to be successful), which could be done by the extension of credit to China for the purchase of motor trucks, tractors, machinery, cement—an operation incidentally relieving unemployment at home.

The way to defend Czechoslovakia is to see that the Spanish Government gets the materials for its defense, so that the strategic position of France is not worsened and that of the totalitarian States not improved.

The security, not alone of peace, but of democracy, is indivisible. To defend it in China, or in Spain, or in France, is to defend it here. To be indifferent to its fate there is, in the end, to betray it here.

Protest Against Proposed Co-operative Legislation in Bengal

A closely-reasoned and weighty manifesto signed by a number of public men, legislators and co-operative workers, has been issued as a protest against the way in which the new Co-operative Bill, which was published in the *Calcutta Gazette*, early in July, 1938, is attempted to be rushed through the present session of the Bengal Legislative Assembly. The manifesto runs thus:

1. During the last two years and more the general public had off and on been informed that it was proposed to amend the laws relating to co-operative societies in Bengal. The forecasts of changes that had from time to time been announced by responsible authorities in the Province produced in the public mind a vague impression that what was really aimed at was the concentration of more and more power in the hands of the Registrar and the department. The new bill which has been published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 7th July 1938 fully confirms this apprehension.

2. Co-operative Societies in Bengal are now governed by the Indian Co-operative Societies Act, 1912. Taking advantage of the fact that under the Montagu Reforms Co-operation became a Transferred Subject, some of the provinces such as Bombay, Madras, Bihar, etc., enacted Provincial Co-operative Acts. It is now the turn of Bengal to have a Provincial Co-operative Act of its own.

3. When co-operative legislation was introduced in India, Government declared that it was their intention that co-operative organisation should, in its essence, be a popular movement; that no efforts be spared to strengthen among the general public the feeling that it was to be based upon self-reliance and freedom from outside control and dictation; and that Government should not allow co-operation in the country to develop into an official concern managed by the State. It is extremely unfortunate that provincial authorities have completely departed from the principle that the Government of India laid down at the outset for guidance. The trend of provincial co-operative legislation has been more and more to officialise all co-operative organisation. This has, of course, evoked protests both from independent co-operative workers and the general public but instead of any check to this most unsalutary tendency, co-operative societies are being subjected more and more to comprehensive and minute administrative control, involving interference in the details of internal administration and the day-to-day work of the societies, in contravention of the fundamental principles of co-operation.

4. The Statement of Objects and Reasons and the Notes on some of the more important among its clauses, appended to the Bill, make an elaborate attempt to justify the new provisions. These contain a scathing condemnation of non-official workers of co-operative societies in Bengal and it is suggested that as the powers that the present Act gives to the Registrar and his officers are very inadequate, more extensive powers of control and intervention are needed to check the present abuses.

5. The position is rather the other way. For an examination of the provisions of the existing Act shows that the Act, in fact, invests the Registrar and his officers with sufficient power to control and check the abuses that have gradually developed round co-operative societies. The Registrar, in accordance with the terms of the Act, is constituted the very foundation of the movement. "It is left entirely to his discretion to register or to refuse to register a society (*cf.* section 9), and the by-laws and every amendment of them require his approval (*cf.* sections 9 and 11). Thus on him rests the responsibility of seeing that a society starts under conditions as favourable as he can make them. In order to ensure that wise rules are carefully observed he is given unlimited power of inspection and audit (*cf.* sections 17 and 35). He controls the power of a society to make loans to, and receive deposits from a non-member (*cf.* sections 29 and 30) and has a voice in the investment and disposal of its funds (*vide* section 32(1) d and 34). Finally, he has full discretion, subject to the right of appeal to the Local Government or such Revenue Authority as it may nominate, to order the dissolution of a society (*cf.* section 39) and to appoint a liquidator to wind it up." (*Vide* Calvert's *Law and Principles of Co-operation*). All this shows how extensive are the

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powers with which the Registrar and his staff have been invested which make the Registrar an unmitigated autocrat.

6. As a result of the experience gained in the working of co-operative societies for now over thirty years, there should be on the one hand, a gradual relaxation of the unrestricted and dictatorial powers that the Registrar and his staff exercise over co-operative societies. On the other, steps should be taken for imparting proper co-operative education and training for introducing a sound and efficient system of audit, independent of the control of the Registrar and his department, along with a proper system of appointment of officers and staff of the department and co-operative societies and the abandonment of the use of co-operative officers for political objects and purposes of election—that is, for purposes and objects other than those for which they are employed and paid from public funds, etc. etc. Such a course can alone engender a sense of real responsibility in bodies intended to be autonomous and self-reliant. For those societies which still fail to discharge their responsibilities in a proper manner the provisions of the present Act, together with such help that the law courts provide, give sufficient power to bring any offender to book.

7. The framers of the Bill seem to imagine that they will succeed in reforming the co-operative societies and their members and officers, paid and honorary, by the use of the penal sections of the Bill, by instilling into their minds fear of fine and other methods of punishment proposed to be inflicted for their failure to carry out the provisions of the Act and of even the rules thereunder; by endowing the Registrar and his staff with more extensive summary powers than they are entitled to exercise at present and by excluding in many co-operative matters the jurisdiction of the courts. Efforts in such directions elsewhere have in the past invariably failed and people even with a modicum of commonsense and of knowledge of history will safely predict that any scheme of reform of co-operative societies by methods of regimentation and dictation is foredoomed to failure.

8. We desire to point out that the policy and administration of the Co-operative Department have thrice during the last three years been subjected to very severe criticism in the Legislature. The Chief Minister gave practically an assurance of a proper enquiry, but we do not know that anything has so far been done in fulfilment of the Chief Minister's assurance. Not only this, some of the officers against whom allegations of a grave nature were made have either been promoted or steps have been taken to follow a policy of whitewash, drift and suppression. Further, no steps have so far been taken to give effect to some of the insistent demands for reform, such as the introduction of an independent and sound system of audit, etc., already referred to above.

9. The fact that notwithstanding the extensive powers that the Registrar already possesses, the Co-operative Department has allowed the societies to deteriorate unmistakably shows that the fault lies more with the former than with the societies. Even a superficial analysis of the causes of determination will show that in every important matter the Registrar and his department had adequate power to deal fully with the situation. Not only have essential remedies suggested from the time of the Maglagan Committee, by various Commissions, Committees, and Conferences been ignored, but they have failed to take timely action in regard to the abuses that have developed even after certain instances have been brought to the notice of the Department and of responsible authorities.

10. That the situation has become very onerous is made clear by the important speech that the Finance Minister delivered at Jamalpur a few days This was the first time when a responsible authori the position of the Finance Minister considered it duty to take the public into his confidence in the m No less serious is the fact, as we have already p out, that in matters of fundamental principle, the pr Ministry in Bengal proposes to depart from accepted standpoint of the co-operative movement complete contravention of the policy laid down b original promoters of the co-operative movement in I We consider it our duty to urge, in this circumst that no steps should be spared by the public to c by all constitutional means the Bill by the help of the Ministry of Co-operation in Bengal proposes to c out its reactionary policy.

11. We would like to emphasise that any a rish treatment of a matter like the co-oper movement might have serious consequences. I essential, particularly, in view of the grave allega that have been made with reference to the admin tion of co-operative societies to have a thorough sifting enquiry, as has been the case in some of other provinces, before the handy short-cut metho legislation is resorted to. There can be no justific for the drastic, anti-co-operative and reactionary l lation as contemplated in the Bill, and we regret as in the case of the recent educational projects excursions of the Ministry, here also a measure w the previous Ministry had in its files but was unab place on the statute book has been ransacked a panacea for evils, the roots of which lie deeper th attempted to be shown. We would conclude wit fervent appeal to people interested in the co-opera movement to study and expose the serious blemishes the Bill and make their views known to represent on the legislature, in clear and distinct terms. legislators will also, we hope, insist on a critical detailed examination of the implications of the mea before entertaining the interested propaganda th being conducted for some time past in behalf of the posed legislation.

We are in complete accord with the vi set forth in the manifesto quoted above. T new Bill sets entirely at naught the fundame principles underlying co-operative organiza by placing it entirely under official surveill and the dictatorial control of the Registrar his staff and attempts to exclude the jurisdic of the courts in many vital matters. T authorities have not only ignored the v serious allegations that have repeatedly b made in the Legislature and the press ag the way co-operative societies are being wor by the Co-operative Department but no pr and systematic effort appears so far to b been made to introduce the essential refo needed for the rehabilitation of the move We are firmly of opinion in this circumst that before such a reactionary measure placed before the Legislature, it should thoroughly recast and brought in line with accepted co-operative principles. It sh also be duly circulated for eliciting opi thereon. Besides a proper enquiry should

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be made into the working of the movement by independent and impartial public men acquainted with the principles and working of the co-operative movement.

A Gwalior Army Chief on the Defence Problem

Col. S. R. Bhosle, O.B.E., A.D.C., Inspector-General, Gwalior Army and Officiating Army Minister, in a message to the Cadets of the Bhonsla Military School observes:

'The problem of national defence is not a simple one; it is already extremely intricate, and its solution tends to become more and more difficult as new weapons of destruction continue to come into play. Tremendous mechanisation of land forces now going on all round us and the ruthless necessity of being fully equipped in all branches and above all, on a size adequate for every possible contingency, cannot be created in a short time. It requires the persistent application over a long period of time, of stupendous amount of energy, brain and money, while for the present, we have not even the mental background necessary for this titanic effort. It is a great pity indeed; but it would be national suicide if we gave ourselves up to despair and did nothing.

'Modern warfare is not a series of heroic duels in which muscle, more than mind, appears to constitute the best argument. It is out and out a struggle of brain backed up on both sides by most diabolical inventions of modern science. You have to remember this, and to equip yourselves accordingly. As a supplement to your vocational training, you should interest yourselves in such studies as military geography and great military campaigns of history. Talking of political developments, I think, I must sound a note of warning, namely, that the army should keep aloof from active politics. That is not its line, and it is definitely not in the interest of the country it intends to serve, that the army should at any time be divided into different contending political groups. This does not rule out patriotism. What is actually necessary is the sense to distinguish between patriotism and political controversy. The mettle of patriotic fever is to be tested against an aggressor and not in political party squabbles.' —*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterji's Programme in Europe

PARIS, July 18.

Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Khaira Professor in the University of Calcutta, passed through Paris on his way to Ghent to attend the International Phonetics Conference taking place this week.

Suniti Babu has a crowded programme. Besides reading his paper at the Ghent Conference, he is expected to speak at a series of Conferences in Denmark and the Scandinavian countries on anthropology, Phonetics and Orientalism. He may also lecture on the Creole languages, which, as he explained, are nothing else but white men's languages in the mouth of coloured men.

Suniti Babu is also visiting Soviet Russia in the middle of August. Asked whether his purpose in visiting Russia was merely touristic, Suniti Babu said he was in contact with several Russian professors and it was possible that he would give lectures there also.

Suniti Babu said that he was carrying with him nearly 200 slides depicting Indian paintings and sculptures as well as Negro art.

Asked whether he intended to study, while in the U. S. S. R., the problem of its languages and specially, in view of the fact that the question has a bearing on the language problem in India, how the problem is being handled in the more backward republics in Central Asia, etc., the language and culture of whose native populations were completely crushed by the Russia of the Czars, Suniti Babu said he was very much interested in the problem. The process of Russification of the conquered people was an integral part of Czarist policy, and it was his intention to find out for himself how far and in what way that policy had been reversed by the Soviet regime. There was always, summed up Suniti Babu, a chance of linguistic imperialism in cases where there emerged in multi-language states a supreme national or state language. —*The Hindusthan Standard.*

As Dr. Chatterji is a savant and a teacher, his countrymen may expect him to tell them on his return, to what extent in the disturbed state of Europe teachers and students have given themselves up to flag-waving and shouting of slogans.

Reaction Against Stalin's New Policy

Recent declarations made by Stalin in connexion with his new policy have not gone without giving rise to some reaction against it. The *Evening Post* of America, quoting from one of such declarations, opines that

"four years of bunk have been wiped away. Stalin reveals that the Communists have been sharpening the knife against our system . . . To talk of a united front for democracy with men plotting a proletarian revolution and a dictatorship of the proletariat is to talk nonsense. There can be no united front for democracy with enemies of democracy."

Referring to Stalin's "International Proletariat", the paper remarks that

"there can be but one interpretation. American workers must, according to Stalin, be prepared to fight for Soviet Russia when he wants them. Their loyalty must be to 'the world proletariat' and to Russia, not to their own country."

The paper welcomes this declaration for the reason that it would clear the air completely. Those who have so long approved communist activities in the United States and have felt that Soviet Russia was, after all, friendly to democracy, would now be disillusioned.

X.

Communism in Disfavour

Communism in American labour movements has of late been hardly hit. The progress of American Unionism or Trade Unionism has given a hard blow to communism. 'Different

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American labour unions have of late challenged communism and is trying to get rid of its influence. At a recent convention the Union of Mine Workers of America re-affirmed its original resolution of excluding from its fold those who were members of the communist party. The trade union movement in America has been forced to face the question of what is to be done with the communists in its rank. The communists are now facing opposition not only from without, but also from within, *i.e.*, both from the rank and file, as well as leaders.

Another instance of communism being in disfavour is found in a recent decree passed by the Swiss canton of Vaud outlawing communism and prohibiting associations and organisations being affiliated directly or indirectly with the Communist International, whose activity is contrary to public order. The above decree on being put to vote received a large majority.

X.

Bengal Finance Minister on the Co-operative Movement in Bengal

In the course of his presidential address at the Dacca Division Co-operative Conference, held at Jamalpur on the 2nd July last, Mr. N. R. Sarker, the Bengal Finance Minister, is reported to have made some very important observations. We make the following excerpts from the report of his speech, of which a copy has been supplied to us:

"The co-operative movement in our country left much to be desired and the chief reason was that the movement had come to be regarded by the public as part of a Government machinery and wanting in any living touch, with the result that while members of the societies had readily availed themselves of the facilities of credit afforded by societies, they had not evinced the same eagerness to fulfil the obligations that a loan involved."

"People of this country had never taken kindly to the co-operative movement and those in charge of it had failed to take note of the fact that the co-operative movement was not like a pill that could be thrust down the throat of a patient. It was on the contrary a refreshing draught that should be willingly and voluntarily taken, and that was how it could succeed."

"There were two aspects of the problem to be considered. Firstly, the co-operative societies were burdened with heavy, unrealised and unrealisable overdues which, owing to drop in prices of agricultural produce and other reasons, the agriculturists were not able to meet; secondly, inability of the societies for the last few years owing to this accumulation of overdues to advance money to the cultivators for their short-term requirements."

"To resuscitate these societies it was necessary to carefully analyse the financial position of the members. Fortunately this task has been done in the case of all primary societies involving the 4½ lakh members. This information would furnish the figure which was likely to be recovered by the societies and the central banks would have to that extent to write off their dues from societies. It might be necessary to arrange in cer cases payment by instalments. If however, in spite these returns and in spite of the reserve fund the cen banks were unable to repay fully the depositors, Mr. Sa did not see what other course there could be for depositors except to forgo a portion of their deposits was no doubt a pity, particularly because the dep represented the hard-earned money of the middle cla of helpless widows and of small institutions. It pa him when he thought of the incidence of this loss."

"The central banks also would do better to show their balance sheets the actual assets in the shape of they were likely to recover from the societies rather to show a fictitious amount representing their accumul debts. Such a course, he thought, was likely to rea the public."

"The idea had gained currency that if only arre ments could be made for composing the debts of agriculturist and for provision of cheap loans in fu all his problems would be solved. This was, however, entirely erroneous impression, and Mr. Sarker empha that it was absolutely essential that debtors should educated not to extravagantly spend money obtained the societies. They would have to be taught to make fullest productive use of such credit facilities as migh made available. In fact, the success of the co-opera movement would in the main depend on the ability willingness of the agriculturists to make a productive intelligent use of credit and not merely on the ex and amount of credit that might be provided for."

The Finance Minister is to be congratula on the frankness with which he gave expres to some of the oft-repeated criticisms against way the co-operative movement is being run this province. Possibly owing to the handi of his official position, he refrained from cussing the louder complaints that have peatedly been made with reference to department—the defalcations, the commu bias in administration, the defective system audit, etc., etc. During his last Budget spe Mr. Sarker had spoken of the intended reorg nization of the Department and of the moveme The public has had a foretaste of it in the clum and unabashed manner in which certain appoi ments and promotions have been recently ma and also in the *communique* whitewashing officials specially mentioned in the Edg Tribunal's report. Mr. Sarker must have kno by now that the *malaise* from which the mo ment suffers requires a thorough, independe and expert investigation. We made the sugge tion long ago and make it again.

Congress Working Committee's Resolu on C. P. Ministerial Crisis

The Working Committee passed the follo ing resolution on the C. P. ministerial crisis:

Wardha, July 2

"After having heard the Parliamentary Committee and given anxious consideration to circumstances that have happened since the agree

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rived at Pachmarhi between the Ministers in the esence of the members of the Parliamentary b-Committee and the Presidents of the three Provincial ngress Committees concerned, and after having had veral interviews with Dr. Khare, the Working Committee ve reluctantly come to the conclusion that by a series acts committed by Dr. Khare culminating in his signation of his charge and demanding the resignation his colleagues of their charge, Dr. Khare was guilty grave errors of judgment, which have exposed the ngress in the C. P. to ridicule and brought down its estige. He was also guilty of gross indiscipline in at he acted in spite of the warnings against any ecipitate action. His resignation was the direct cause the exercise, for the first time, since office acceptance the Congress, by a Governor of his special powers, hereby Dr. Khare's three colleagues were dismissed.

"The Working Committee note with satisfaction that ese three Congress Ministers showed their loyalty to Congress by declining without instructions from the rliamentary Sub-Committee to tender their resignations, hich was demanded by the Governor. Dr. Khare is rther guilty of indiscipline in accepting the invitation the Governor to form a new Ministry and contrary practice, which he was aware in actually forming w Ministry and taking the oath of allegiance without ference to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee and the orking Committee, specially when he knew that the eetings of these bodies were imminent. By all these ts of his, Dr. Khare has proved himself unworthy of lding positions of responsibility in the Congress ganization. He should be so considered till by his rvices, as a Congressman, he has shown himself well-lanced and capable of observing strict discipline and scharging the duties that may be undertaken by him.

"The Working Committee have also come to the luctant conclusion that the Governor of the C. P. has own by the ugly haste, with which he has turned ght into day and forced the crisis, that has overtaken e province that he was eager to weaken and discredit e Congress in so far as it lay in him to do so. The orking Committee hold that knowing as he must have at was going on among the members of the Cabinet d the instructions of the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, ought not to have with unseemly haste accepted the signation of the three Ministers and demanded the signation of the other three, dismissed them on their usal to resign and immediately called upon Dr. Khare form a new Ministry and swore in available members the new Ministry without waiting for the meeting of Working Committee, which was imminent."—*A. P.*

This resolution of the Congress Working mmittee practically prevented Dr. Khare from certaining and letting the public know whether still enjoyed the confidence of the majority of Congress group of the members of the C. P. d Berar Assembly. No wonder, therefore, at he protested against the Working Com-ittee's resolution and issued a statement lending what he had done. Mr. M. S. Aney, e Berar nationalist leader also expressed the inion that Dr. Khare ought not to have been actically prevented from standing for the inistry again.

As subsequent public meetings have shown, . Khare has a considerable number of sup-rters among Congressmen and other politically-minded persons in Nagpur and elsewhere in the province.

This is a very brief statement of facts. As regards Dr. Khare's fitness to hold the office of premier of his province, our view is that either on account of his own lack of ability or owing to his colleagues in his cabinet not co-operating with him, it is perhaps for the best that he has "gone out of the picture"—temporarily, we hope.

That Dr. Khare had admitted his error of judgment should have toned down the language in which he has been condemned—if not also diminished the severity of the action taken against him.

Regarding that part of the Working Committee's resolution which relates to the Governor's action, we are not aware that he acted unconstitutionally. It would have been better if he had waited a little before dismissing the three ministers who had refused to resign and asking Dr. Khare to form a new Cabinet. Nothing would have been lost by some delay in the formation of a new Cabinet. In our opinion the Congress Working Committee would have done better if they had refrained from imputing to the Governor the motive "to weaken and discredit the Congress". They were not men of our profession engaged in writing incisive paragraphs for the delectation of readers, but grave elders seriously engaged in shaping the destiny of the nation. There is no harm in being charitable even towards the agents of imperialists, who may be merely guilty of error of judgment like others. Moreover, it should be noted that the cabinet formed by Dr. Khare at the Governor's request consisted of Congressmen. Perhaps such personnel of the Cabinet did not discredit the Congress.

New C. P. & Berar Cabinet Formed

At a meeting of the C. P. and Berar Congress legislative party held on the 27th July last, at which President Subhas Chandra Bose took the chair, Pandit Ravi Shankar Shukla was elected leader of the Central Provinces Congress party by a majority of votes.

"When Dr. Khare's name was proposed, the President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, drew the attention of the mover to the Congress Working Committee's resolution and said that he would put the motion to vote, if the mover wanted it, despite the Working Committee's resolution yesterday on Dr. Khare. Thereupon the mover withdrew his motion."

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What President Bose said was quite judicious and considerate.

It is understood the C. P. and Berar cabinet is to consist of the following members:

(1) Pandit Ravi Sankar Sukla, Prime Minister.
(2) Pandit Dwarka Prosad Misra (Jubbulpore).
(3) Mr. D. K. Mehta (Seoni).
(4) Mr. S. V. Gokhale (Amraoti).
(5) Mr. M. P. Kolhe (Yeotmal).
(6) Mr. C. J. Bhoruka (Commerce Constituency Nagpur).

The Kind of Autonomy Our Provinces Have

Though the expression "provincial autonomy" is used by British bureaucratic imperialists to denote the kind of British-made constitution given to our provinces and though it has come into vogue even among Indian nationalists, there is no real provincial autonomy. There are various limitations on the powers of the ministers as regards finance, legislation, the superior services, etc.; the legislatures also do not possess the powers possessed by Dominion legislatures—not to speak of those of the British Parliament; and there are various safeguards, and special powers and responsibilities of the Governor. Hence the provinces do not possess real autonomy.

This so-called "autonomy" is still further restricted, so far as each Congress-majority province is concerned, by the kind of power and control exercised by the Parliamentary Sub-Committee of the Congress.

"Democratic Responsible Government" in the Provinces

Democratic responsible government in a province means, among other things, that the ministers are chosen by the leader of the majority party in the provincial legislature and that they are responsible to the legislature, consisting of the elected representatives of the people. They go out of office if they lose the confidence of the majority of these representatives, not otherwise.

Now, in the Congress provinces, the personnel of the cabinets does not depend solely, or perhaps even mainly, on the wishes of the majority party of the legislature. The personnel has to receive the approval of the Congress Parliamentary Sub-committee, and, if need be, of the Working Committee, and in some cases, of Mahatma Gandhi. Sometimes some member of the Parliamentary Sub-committee may find out and choose a particular minister for a province, as in the case of the now famous Mr. Shareef, ex-minister of C. P. who was found for Dr. Khare by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad. Mr. Shareef was not even a Congressman before his selection by the Maulana.

In the recent C. P. ministerial crisis, the Parliamentary Sub-committee, and the Working Committee (including the Congress President) could not arrive at a final settlement without the help of the Mahatma. That is how it may be put mildly. The rest is silence. It is a fortunate circumstance that at all times Mahatma Gandhi, though technically out of the Congress, is available and ready to act as *deus ex machina.*

It may perhaps, therefore, be said without unfairness, that Congress provinces do not possess real *provincial* autonomy. The ministers no doubt, owe responsibility of a sort to the legislatures, but they are responsible also to the Parliamentary Sub-committee, the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and finally, if the worst comes to the worst, to Mahatma Gandhi. A provincial ministry may not have been proved to have lost the confidence of the provincial legislature, but if it has lost the confidence of the Congress bodies and person named above, it may have to go out of office. And it should be noted that the Parliamentary Sub-Committee, the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and Mahatma Gandhi, they can make and unmake the cabinet of a province, are not responsible to the legislature of the province.

Therefore the kind of provincial government which we have may be what we are fit for, but it is not exactly what is really meant by provincial autonomy or by democratic responsible government.

A contributor to *The Asiatic Review* of July, whose political views we do not share, writes in the course of an article, entitled "Dictatorship By Proxy In India":

"We see forming in India a new kind of political institution unheard of in past history—namely, dictatorship by proxy. Such a dictatorship does not need military strength behind it, but uses great popularity and support from the general masses of the people under the sway of creed of non-violence, and uses the democratic institution of an elected Parliament as an instrument to carry out its policy. Even so, the Cabinet is no more than a servant, acting on the commands of its master,

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nstitutionally not responsible to any one. It will be eresting to watch how this kind of dictatorship by oxy will work."—*The Asiatic Review* for July, 1938, 567.

Our intention in writing this note is to oint out, among other things, that we shall eserve and have real democratic responsible overnment when the electors, their chosen epresentatives in the legislatures, and the inisters responsible to the legislatures alone theory will cease to be intellectual minors politics and cease also to be treated as such.

In the meantime it is all right that a erson of Gandhiji's character and calibre is at e helm, though working through a sort of aseist organization.

ealth Co-operatives

Bulletin No. 25 of Visva-bharati, on Health Co-operatives," by Rathindranath agore, is a very useful and timely publication. ll who in any province or state in India are gaged in the work of reclamation, recons-uction and uplift of villages will get many nts and suggestions from it. It fittingly opens ith the following passage as motto taken from e Report on British Health Services prepared y P. E. P. (Political and Economic Planning:)

"A purely salvage role is untenable for the health vices; they must find out how to prevent ill-health d organize the necessary measures.

"Social and economic conditions determine health oblems, and many of the greatest opportunities for proving the national health lie outside the specifically alth services, in such fields as housing and town and untry planning, education, distribution, transport, in-strial design, labour management, social and economic earch and public relations.

"The facts are, as they have always been, that an rmous amount of illness and a large percentage of deaths are directly traceable to poverty."

A map of the Birbhum district showing e co-operative health societies founded by sva-bharati forms the frontispiece. The agraphs mentioned below will give some a of the contents of the bulletin:

An Experiment, Medical Relief in Villages, ndition of Health in the district of Birbhum, orts of Visva-bharati to improve the Health nditions of villages in the neighbourhood of niketan, the Problem, the Field to be ered by a Health organization, Territory ered by each society, Need of a Central anization—the Health Union, Training ool for village Doctors, Constitution and rking of Health Co-operatives, Capital penditure for Building and Equipment, Specimen of an annual budget for a Health Unit, Spade Work, Health Co-operatives actually at work, Bored-Hole Latrines.

There are appendices relating to stock of medicines and medical appliances required, model bye-laws for health co-operatives, and so forth. There are illustrations showing construction of drains, clearing of jungles, and distributing centres.

Last Resolutions Passed By Congress Working Committee

The Working Committee held a short sitting today and passed the following resolution on Sikar:—

WARDHAGANJ, July 27.

Having heard an account of the settlement of the Jaipur-Sikar dispute from Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, the Committee congratulates the people on having listened to his counsel and shown a true spirit of bravery in having decided to give up the idea of armed resistance and adopt the method of non-violence, resulting in the prevention of bloodshed which was imminent. The Working Committee regrets the needless loss of life that had resulted during the recent firing in Sikar on July 4 and expresses its condolence.

The Working Committee then passed the following resolution:—

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

"The Working Committee received a deputation of medical practitioners other than Allopaths. The Committee is of the opinion that innumerable persons in towns and villages in India are receiving the benefit of treatment under other systems, like Ayurveda, Unani and Homeopathy and they should receive recognition and encouragement from Congress Governments. The Committee is further of the opinion that while measures may be adopted to ensure the efficiency of such practitioners, nothing should be done to penalize any particular system. As regards objections to particular proposals in the Bill pending before the Legislative Assembly of Bombay, the matter is referred to the Parliamentary Sub-Committee.

Linguistic Fast Broken

MADRAS, July 27.

Mr. "Stalin" Jagadisan, who was stated to have been fasting as a protest against the introduction of Hindustani in schools wires from Peralam today stating that he has broken his fast as desired by his friends and parents.—*A. P.*

We are glad the gentleman has broken his fast.

Bengal Tenancy Bill Going Back to Bengal Legislature

It is understood that His Excellency the Governor of Bengal will refer back the Bengal Tenancy Amend-

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ment Bill adopted by the two Houses of Legislatures at their last session for the modification of two of its clauses by the Assembly.

The first modification is in regard to the clause 75A of the Amending Bill which seeks to suspend all provisions relating to enhancement of rent including Section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act for a period of 10 years with effect from 27th day of August, 1937.

The proposed modification in the clause will be for the deletion of the sentence in reference to Section 52 of the Bengal Tenancy Act. The effect of the modification will be that the Section 52 of the existing Act will remain unaltered. The Section 52 refers to alteration of rent in respect of alteration in area.

The other modification that will be asked for is in regard to the mandatory provision in the Bill that it will come into force on such date not later than 31st May, 1938. It is understood that this will be amended in a way as to make the Act operative on the date it is published in the "Calcutta Gazette."

Floods in Various Parts of India

Many districts in Assam, Bengal and Bihar have been inundated, causing great distress to the people. We deeply sympathize with the sufferers. It is greatly to be regretted that nowhere in India have great engineering works been undertaken to prevent or minimize the ravages of floods.

Peasants and Factory Workers

The mere appearance of peasants and factory workers, and their dress and dwellings show that there is much room for improvement in their lot. If sober reasoning cannot secure such improvement, strikes inevitably follow.

Consulting Engineers in India

Our esteemed contributor Mr. J. M. Datta writes to us:—

"Writing on the progress of Engineering in India during the last twenty-five years Mr. W. C. Ash, B.Sc., M. Inst. C.E., Inst. M.E., F.N.I., has adopted the opinion of Dr. A. Jardine, and says:

'The State Railways to a large extent, and the Company Lines almost entirely, place the final responsibility for their bridge designs on consultants abroad, this feature being particularly noticeable in regard to the steel work itself, which in all cases is designed out of I The same remark applies to most other p bodies in India.

'The already firmly established co tion with these consultants, extending bac it does for half a century or more, is the reason for the persistence of the present sys of referring automatically abroad all impo matters in regard to bridge design. As affe the development in India of a tradition in vital aspect of bridge engineering, it is u tunate that no change appears to be seri contemplated. One of the immediate effe this *a priori* reservation of the largest p of India's consultative work is to ren unattractive to any Consulting Engine standing in his profession to establish hi in practice in the country. From the nucle such a consultative organisation once esta ed, development would rapidly take place, a body of Engineers skilled specially in th of bridge design would soon become avail

'Suitable talent undoubtedly exists in I and with the removal of the present han it could easily keep pace with the rapid ex sion in all other departments of bridge engi ing.'

"We would like our all-India legislato put pressure on the 'too wooden, too bu cratic, and two ante-deluvian' and reacti Government of India to have this syste consultants abroad modified and finally ab ed at an early date. Let India be self-suff in the matter of directing brains. Our P bodies, now that they are under Indian co and influence, should note this aspect of I dependence, and try to make India sufficient."

Mr. P. R. Das's Article In This Is

We have to state for the inform of our readers, particularly those in B that we received a request from Mr. P Das not to publish his article "until Rajendra Prasad has made his decis We regret his request reached us too to enable us to exclude his article this number.—Editor, *The Modern R*

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

By M. N. SAHA, D.Sc., F. R. S.

[For some time past, I have been advocating "large-scale industrialization" as the only solution of India's problem of poverty, and unemployment, but I have found in the course of conversation with several esteemed friends that my views have been misunderstood in some quarters. Some are of the opinion that "large-scale industrialization" will lead to pure and simple mammonism; others think that, instead of solving the problem of unemployment, it will throw more people out of employment. I have also discovered that very few people have a correct idea of what "large-scale industrialization" means. Add to this the opinion held widely that the amount of "industrialization" which has been already achieved has to some extent spoilt the spiritual life of India, supposed to be preserved in her millions of village homes. I have, therefore, welcomed the invitation of the Editor of *The Modern Review* to restate my views on the subject.]

When Mahatma Gandhi visited London during the last Round Table Conference, he had amongst others, a very interesting visitor. This was no other than the celebrated Charlie Chaplin, the cinema star. It was a unique meeting between two men of unique types; one a great political seer whose voice is obeyed implicitly by large sections of one-fifth of the human race, and respected by a great part of the rest,—the other, an apparently light-hearted man who, by his performances, has provided innocent mirth and amusement for millions.[1]

But the conversation was not light-hearted. Charlie asked the Mahatma: "I understand that you are against the use of all kinds of machinery; you want your people to go back to the villages, lead a simple life and produce their simple necessities of life by manual labour and simple kind of machinery. May I know, why you are preaching such a philosophy of life, which appears to me very retrogade?"[2] The Mahatma, who, it is stated, had never heard the name of Charlie Chaplin, was apparently surprised at this question and gave his usual arguments. He explained to Charlie Chaplin that 90% of India's millions live in abject poverty and want, and the introduction of machines, particularly for the manufacture of textiles, have rendered many artisan classes idle. If the machines could be abolished, the ancient crafts of India, like spinning, weaving, and others, could be revived in the village homes; this would not only give employment to idle millions, but also bring some income and relief to them. He made some further remarks about the ethical value of hand-spinning and manual work in general. To this Charlie made the following significant remark: "I understand that in your country, the rulers do not care much for people who are living in poverty, and whose poverty is due to the fact that they have lost their occupations on account of the growth of the factory system. But suppose you had a Government which organized industrial work on modern lines, and also saw to it that every individual got proper work, and got also proper food, clothing, housing and was also assured of all the amenities of modern life, would you be still against machinery? Would you still advocate a return to primitive methods of production and distribution?"

I believe that, to this question, Mahatma Gandhi did not give any satisfactory answer at the time. I do not know if he could think out subsequently any suitable answer. I have put this question to many Congress leaders, some of whom have now taken upon themselves the task of government, but have received no satisfactory answer. The activities of the Congress leaders, of those who are in office and also of those who are out of it, and their pronouncements lead one to the suspicion that *they themselves have no clear-cut Philosophy of Action for National Reconstruction.* We find that in the same breath, they are talking of rural development by the introduction of the spinning wheel, and the handloom, by the abolition of zemindars and middlemen and also of grid electrification of the country, whereby the rural population is expected to get cheap electrical power out of the energy of running water. They do not probably realize that grid electrification is a highly mechanized and complex scheme, the successful installation and working of which involve co-operation of industrialists, economists and technical men and huge outlay of capital. The pronouncements of many of these leaders, who are now running governments, appear to me to be like the performance of a well-known liberal politician who went to

[1] Charlie Chaplin, unlike other cinema stars, is known to be possessed of shrewd business instincts.

[2] I am quoting from memory from the account of Charlie Chaplin's visit to the Mahatma, but I believe that I have not mis-stated anything.

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Benares during the last War, and persuaded the Benares University to pass a resolution to the effect that "the Benares Hindu University will undertake the manufacture of aniline dyes" We know that the resolutions of a debating society do not create an industry nor do the optimistic pronouncements of those new to their office. Further, though the newspapers are full of flamboyant pronouncements, both from Congress as well as non-Congress provinces, there have been, to our knowledge, no serious practical move, to give effect to these. A clear-cut *Philosophy of Action* for National Reconstruction, which is very much needed at the present time, seems to be entirely absent.

If the reforms are to bear fruit, it is necessary that a clear-cut Program of National Reconstruction be decided upon by the High Command. Mere resolutions will not do, but actual steps should be taken to give effect to them. It is well-known that many of these programs cannot be given effect to unless power at the centre passes to the Nation. But I believe that a good deal of preparatory work can be done by the provincial governments, even with the limited powers they possess.

To return now to Charlie Chaplin's inconvenient question to the Mahatma. I personally believe that neither measures of rural uplift, nor introduction and encouragement of cottage industries, nor abolition of zemindars or money-lenders will make any substantial improvement in the lot of the rural population. The reasons for this have been given in my Presidential Address to the National Institute. These may be quoted here with some change:

"Everybody knows that India is an agricultural country. According to the Census Report of 1931, 66% of the Indian population is engaged in agriculture, *i.e.*, are peasants, *i.e.*, they have to spend their life in raising food. Of the remaining 34%, only 11% are city-dewellers, *i. e.*, engaged in industries and other professions. The remaining 23% are either village artisans, merchants, landlords, or belong to other professions mainly dependent on a rural economy.

"Everyone will admit that the distribution of the population according to professions reveals a very unhealthy state of affairs. In no other countries of the world, excepting such backward ones as China, is there such a large proportion of peasants. And do these peasants enjoy a good living? A few huts, mostly without doors and windows, a few mats and rags, a few half-starved animals, hunger, debt, and frequent diseases,—this is all they have to enjoy!

"There is a widespread desire for improving the lot of the peasants and to raise the general standard of living. But how can this be achieved? Not by an exodus of the townsmen to the villages, as advocated by certain persons distracted by middle class unemployment, for that will merely increase the pressure on the over-congested rural area and multiply misery. Greater efficiency in agricultural methods, which is certainly desirable, may give us more and cheaper food, and [illegible] necessities of life obtained from agriculture (like cot[illegible] but it can never touch even the fringe of the proble[illegible] poverty and unemployment. For greater efficiency am[illegible] to the fact that the same production in agriculture [illegible] be effected by half the present number. At presen[illegible] proportion of food raisers is 66%. They produce [illegible] materials and other products by the most pri[illegible] methods. If improved scientific methods are ado[illegible] larger amounts, more than sufficient for the whole [illegible] can be produced by 30% of the population. This [illegible] render about 36% of the peasant population unempl[illegible] This, added to the already existing middle class [illegible] employment, will make matter worse.

"If we analyse the widespread public sentimen[illegible] better living, what do we find? Everybody of c[illegible] wants his food supply to be insured, but this is the [illegible] part of his demands. He wants to be better clothed [illegible] better housed; wants to get a better education for [illegible] self and his family, more rest from work, freedom [illegible] drudgery and greater enjoyment of life. Analysing [illegible] sentiment, we find that if these needs are to be sati[illegible] the quantity of industrial products has to be incre[illegible] ten to twenty times its present level; all these w[illegible] have to be organized, and a large proportion of [illegible] village population is to be diverted from the task of [illegible] raising to industrial work. In fact, the only way to [illegible] prove the villages is by drafting more villagers into c[illegible] and by creating a larger number of cities based [illegible] industrial work."

The above gives the argument for "lar[illegible] scale industrialization" in a nutshell. [illegible] what is exactly meant by "large-scale ind[illegible] trialization" and how to achieve it?

The word 'Industry' taken in the wi[illegible] sense means "organized production of c[illegible] modities required for civilized human li[illegible] Such commodities include food, clothing a[illegible] housing materials, medicine and chemic[illegible] materials used for transport, offensive a[illegible] defensive armaments, articles of everyday u[illegible] as well as articles of luxury. The needs [illegible] mankind have varied according to the age [illegible] has lived in and the stage of culture he [illegible] reached. Probably, for the primitive man, th[illegible] was no other occupation except food-gather[illegible] and defence. When man began to form co[illegible] munities, settle in villages and towns, his wa[illegible] multiplied. He required clothing and housi[illegible] and offensive and defensive arms to protect [illegible] property. With the advance of civilization, [illegible] needs are becoming complex, and m[illegible] variegated. The needs of the twentieth cent[illegible] man are not the same as those of the eighteen[illegible] century man, in any country of the wo[illegible] except backward ones.

Probably no educated man now belie[illegible] in the theory widely prevalent in differ[illegible] forms in all countries about a century ago t[illegible] there was once a golden age, when [illegible] different human societies lived in idyllic hap[illegible] ness free from want, disease and fight. On [illegible] contrary, a scientific study of the remains

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anished peoples has made us familiar with a ifferent picture of bygone days. It appears hat the ancient, and even pre-historic human ommunities were not free from diseases, estilence, and fights; nay, life was far less leasant compared with the present times. But hroughout the chequered history of mankind merges the idea of "progress": that man has dvanced to culture stage by stage, by rganized and collective efforts, and by the nvention of new technique for industrial production, which has made his life in this world ore pleasant, and has assured him increasing nsurance against hunger and extremes of climate, nd against disease. History has also shown s that unless a community believes in the idea f "Progress," it stagnates, and has no chance f preserving its independence and individuality gainst other progressive nations, and sooner r later vanishes from history. The epochs of ulture are classified by the scientific man ccording to the technique used for industrial roduction. Thus we have the different epochs f Old Stone Age, when undressed chips of flint ere used by man for defence and offence, for reparation of food and other requirements. These epochs were succeeded by the New Stone Age, when man began to use tools made of olished stone (axes, daggers, needles and nives, maces, etc.). Then came the Chalcolithic r the Copper Age. Copper was the first etal used by man—in this age all tools were ade of copper. The ancient Sumerians and gyptians, and probably the people belonging to e oldest strata of the Indus Valley Civilization sed only tools of copper. The Copper Age was ceeded by the Bronze Age—when tools were ade of bronze, which is much superior to pper in point of hardness and durability nd strength. The Homeric Greeks, the later dus Valley people, all used bronze armaments nd bronze tools. The Bronze Age was ceeded by the present Iron Age about 1200 C. But these new phases in technique have t been simultaneously current in all parts of e world: the Iron Age came much later to the w world; in fact when the Spaniards came to merica, they found two highly civilized communities organized in great Empires, the Aztecs Mexico, and the Incas in Peru. But these ople had only copper tools, and no wheeled hicles and no domesticated animals excepting degenerate species of camels.

The Bronze Age was succeeded by the Iron ge about 1200 B.C., and this age according to me is still continuing. All our tools are now ade of iron and steel, though of course the modern technique for industrial production is so much more complex and advanced than during the primitive Iron Age culture, that it deserves a new name altogether.

A careful reading of history shows that human communities using inferior tools and technique have always been conquered and enslaved by those using superior ones.

The Old Stone Age man vanished in the struggle with New Stone Age man, who in turn disappeared before men using copper tools. These again had to yield to men using iron tools. The tragic history of the Aztecs in Mexico illustrates this lesson within historical times. When a handful of Spaniards mounted on horseback and armed with guns and swords invaded Mexico, the Aztecs, warlike and well-led as they were, could not stand before the Spaniards, because they were armed only with copper swords, daggers and lances. The Copper Age men of the new world were completely subdued by a handful of Iron Age men possessed of superior technique, tools, and organization. *The grand moral lesson of history is that, if a human community fails to take advantage of the newest technique for industrial production, it has no chance of maintaining its independence or individuality in the struggle with communites armed with superior technique.*

The New Technique for Industrial Production

The technique used by the most advanced countries of the world at the present time is so complex that it is very wrong to classify it as the continuation of the primitive Iron Age culture. It constitutes entirely a new phase in culture, distinguished not only by a new system of industrial production, but also by a new philosophy of human life. This new age has been variously called the neo-technique age in contradistinction to the paleotechnique age which has passed off and the change is sometimes termed as the Third Revolution (Gordon Childe) of which the Industrial Revolution of the last century was only the precursor. But it is better to call the present one as the age of science, because human activity in the present age springs from the conviction, that by the application of science we can attain to a much better standard of living and in general to a much better world. The idea of progress which is the driving force in the modern age was absent even a century ago, when religious pedantry in every country was painting a dismal future, *e.g.*, a collapse of the world or some catastrophe which would engulf human society,

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To have a comprehensive idea of the New Age, we should look at the kind of life pursued in a country like U. S. A., England or Germany and the present system of industrial production in these countries and contrast it with the course of human life and industry in the same countries two centuries ago. We may ignore for the present the social and political upheavals caused by the transition from the one age to the other. About two centuries ago, industrial workers in these countries (including agriculturists) were organized mostly in guilds according to their professions, *e. g.*, farmers, serfs, weavers, potters, masons, blacksmiths, fishermen, etc. The profession usually descended from the father to the son, and the secrets of the profession, if any, were confined to families. Work was individual or, at most, was a family organization. On the whole, every country, almost every locality was self-sufficient, in the production of the indispensable necessities of life like food, clothing and housing materials, and imported only such goods as were not available locally. There was a certain amount of organization in such professions as those of merchants, who carried on the foreign trade, or in the profession of the miner, who produced the metals or chemicals necessary for human life. People's wants were few, they did not travel much, and the ideas of hygiene were quite as bad as in any backward oriental country of today.

Those who may sneer that we are only talking of the materialistic side of human life may be reminded that the sages of our country laid more stress on the safeguarding of industrial production than the Westerners. In India, the professional guilds crystallized into rigid castes, for which a divine sanction was found by the invention of myths, and those who had the audacity to change their profession were threatened not only with a hypothetical hell-fire but also with this-worldly punishment. In other countries, though a very small percentage of persons actually changed their profession, there was no moral sanction against their doing so.

The discoveries in science dating from the 18th century changed the whole aspect of industrial production and the course of human life in the West. It is unnecessary to discuss the effect on the method of production, and generally on human life, of the steam-engine, the electrical engines, and the different kinds of oil-engines. Now every commodity for human life, textiles, housing materials, medicines and chemicals, armaments, etc., etc., are produced in factories run by powerful machines, and products are far better, cheaper and abund than those produced by the paleotec methods. Even the ordinary man can afford luxuries which were available a cen ago only to princes. The railway, the ste ship, the motor car have rendered long dista travel not only feasible, but pleasant. T has facilitated mixing of different people on unprecedented scale, and has rendered transport of goods between the furthest com of the world possible. In countries like Engl village-life is almost disappearing, the wh country is fast becoming suburbs of big ci and cities, roads, houses are rapidly chang Whether we like it or not, the new system come to stay.

Problems of Organization

But the new system has also impo greater burdens on the nations. The needs the modern man are so great, that far m work is necessary to produce them. In western countries which have taken to neo-technic methods, calculation shows nearly 1800 units of work are required per he in the year for producing all the necessities life. But if production of work depend mainly upon human and animal power, as the paleotechnic countries, then we could get more than 90 units. The modern neo-tec man therefore requires 20 times more po than the paleotechnic man. In the advan countries, this power is provided by harness the forces of nature—by the use of coal, and water-power. To use figurative langu —the Westerner has, by the harnessing of forces of nature, got 20 slaves constantly wo ing for him, while countries still accustomed older methods have to depend upon hum and animal labour, which, on the average merely equal to the labour of one slave.

The full utilization of the power resour of the country, and organization of work industrial production has put a great strain all modern governments. Though utilization power resources and factory work was sta by private individuals, it has now bec more or less, the function of governments.

Let us take the case of a country England, and examine how she controls power resources, and organizes work.

Production of electricity in England completely controlled by the state through grid system, which is managed by the electri commissioners appointed by the govern Liquid fuel is necessary for motor cars, eng

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ships, etc. For these England has to depend present on foreign supplies, which, though present under British control, may be cut off ring the next great war. The British Gov- ment has therefore subsidized companies the production of liquid fuel from coal, at vy loss to the treasury.

England's only power resource is coal. e has no water-power worth mentioning, no If the coal supply fails, England would e her pre-eminent position as an industrial untry. Hence the Government has to devise ong and effective measures against the stage of coal, by the creation of fuel control d research boards. In fact, coal has now come largely a "manufactured good," and very caloric of energy, available from it, is lized.

The "Power Industry" is the key to the resent system of industrial production, but ven other industries cannot stand competition, the face of constant improvement due to cientific research, but for state protection. ut the best kind of protection is "Efficiency" nd this is safeguarded by the state by the rganization of the National Council of Scientific nd Industrial Research. The object of this ody is scientific study of the existing methods f production, and application of the latest cientific knowledge to the betterment of the ethod and the creation of new industries. In ddition to this, every big company has its own esearch workers.

The above picture of neo-technic methods f production, though incomplete, will probably ive the reader some idea of the terrible fficiency of this method compared with the lder paleotechnic methods, to which some of ur leaders want us to revert. The paleo- echnic man has no more chance of surviving he onslaught of the neo-technic man, than had he Aztecs the chance of withstanding the panards. England, Germany, the U. S. A., rance, and other Western countries are at an dvantageous position, because the neo-technical ethods were perfected by the pioneers in these ountries. The State has therefore shared the esponsibility with those companies which have een the first to take advantage of scientific iscoveries and create a new industry, or onvert an old one to neo-technic mechanism. But not so in the case of Russia or Japan. About 1868, Japan became convinced that if he were to work her way up as a great nation, he must discard her paleotechnic methods in avour of neo-technic ones. The object was accomplished by the zeal, industry and far-sightedness of her leaders, backed by a strong, centralized national government. But Japan has been able to preserve to some extent her ancient life by the remodelling of her small, cottage industries. This has been done by instituting a cheap supply of electrical power, which enables the Japanese worker to work in his cottage with up-to-date machinery; and further by the organization of research, supply of raw materials, and marketing of finished products he is assured of an adequate return for his labour. The Japanese weaver, for example, does not work with the handloom or the charkha, but he uses the Toyada loom, which is driven by electricity. His industrial output is 10 or 12 times larger than that of the Indian workman. It is estimated that more than half of Japan's industrial production comes from cottages.

Today, before our very eyes, Russia has been passing by a supreme effort from the paleo-technic to the neo-technic method of production. The main cause of collapse of Czarist Russia was the failure, on the part of her leaders, to organize the country according to the new method of production. It depended, for all the necessities of modern life, upon foreign capital and foreign experts.

Countries which have been slow to organize themselves according to the new method of production, and adjust their social and political life accordingly—China, Abyssinia,—amongst others, is not their current history a good illustration of the great moral lesson of human history on which so much insistence has been laid in this article!

The task before India is, therefore, to organize her industrial life according to the neo-technical method of production. Unlike certain other countries, India taken as a whole (not in parts) is one of the three countries (others being Russia and the U. S. A.) which possess all the resources in power, minerals, and agricultural land which can enable her to pass to the neo-technical method of industrial production. Unless this is done, India can never solve her problems of poverty and unemployment, and can never be assured of a bright future. Sir M. Visweswarayya, ex-Dewan of Mysore, has already pointed out to a certain extent in *His Economic Planning* how this revolution can be achieved. But all human actions spring from conviction, and if we continue to look back with wistful eyes to the supposed charms of older methods of living, we can never decide upon the line of action which alone can lead to the fulfilment of our national desires.

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SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL TODAY : A PROBLEM

By BOOL CHAND
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I

The problem of society and the individual has come to have a far larger significance today than at any previous period of history. The reason is that, as the result of certain factors of modern life, society has developed, particularly in the post-war period, into a rigorous and all-pervasive organization instead of a voluntary and limited one: it has come more and more to take the place of the state itself.

Ever since the time of the Greek thinkers in the West, the whole conception had rested on

> 'a rigid dualism of the sphere of public concern, which was conceived of as unified in the state or the original *polis*, and the private sphere of individuals, in which they were thought of as essentially independent, entering only into contractual relations with one another.'[1]

The idea of the state had been emphatically that of political organisation, as distinguished from social and functional organisation. Even a few decades ago, the state used to be described as an agency for social control having as its object the regulation of 'the outstanding external relationship of men in society'[2], and used to be clearly distinguished from the terms—association and community. Such a view is now generally thought of as erroneous, for as a matter of practical experience it is being increasingly felt that states are no longer confining themselves merely to the external relationships of men in society, they are coming more and more to regulate and control almost all phases of the economic and social life of society. This orientation of the state towards the economic, social, and moral aspects of life makes it imperative to consider society, not as anything contrasting from the state, but merely as a content of the state. Indeed, we have tended back to that primitive type of social organization, where the tribal custom and tradition were so overpowering that they left little or no scope for individual initiative and concern. Only the part of that ancient custom and tradition is now being played by the dictates of the bureaucratic heirarchy of Government.

II

But while the divergence between society and the state is thus rapidly vanishing, by the state taking up the role of society itself, distinction between the individual and so remains as ever. The primitive type of s organization, to which we just made a refer was based on its fundamental characterist a communal ethos, which made the men of a tribe so absorbed in the group that formed what anthropologists have calle tribal self. That communal ethos mo civilization and government have consiste tended to destroy, and in its place they created an individualistic society, w regards human beings as being the best ju of their own interests, it being assumed they have interests and business which completely their own. Two forces of modern world helped to deepen the root of conception of individualism. One was enhancement of the idea of supreme worth the individual, which came from the rise religions like Hinduism in the east Christianity in the west, laying their empha upon the capacity of the individual to at the highest goal of liberation. The other the emergence of the modern economic sys dominated by exchange and married to system of private profits. In Hobbes this con of individualism found a zealous devotee gave it a systematic shape and philosop content, characteristically preaching that

> 'social and political relations are merely the means which the individual obtains more efficiently what desired before he entered into those relations';[3]

that although men did enter a class of soc relations, yet their essential nature was affected by them.

It is needless to say that as a thorough going and consistent philosophy of social this concept of the individual could not very far. Nevertheless, it achieved quite remarkable success in the domain of practi life, particularly in legislation and in econom Even in practical affairs, one can say that effort towards the entelechy of individuals communities constitutes the main theme world history.

> 'After the semi-conscious liberty of the Greek city-sta had been realised, the fight went on for religious lib later for constitutional liberty as a guarantee ag arbitrary power, later for self-determination of gro

1. A. D. Lindsay in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.*
2. R. MacIver: *Modern State.*
3. A. D. Lindsay in *Encyclopaedia of Social Scie*

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ted in the same cultural tradition, and later for racial ancipation of peoples exploited by imperialism. In the ne light may be viewed the recent fight for economic edom. Socialism can be viewed as a veritable child Liberalism. When a considerable amount of political, ligious, cultural, and national freedom had been quired, it was quite natural that the self-realisation of individual should not stop at the economic barrier. It s keenly felt that the liberty of the spirit would be termined if the elementary liberty of the stomach was realised."

III

And this raises the fundamental problem. e are faced today by a state of affairs where- the state has extended its horizon of activity far as to take within its purview not only e purely political and economic aspects of life also the so-called social and moral aspects the life of individuals, and yet the emphasis individualism upon the necessity of leaving individual free to develop his personality himself has continued. This has produced inescapable antinomy, a conflict, between e society and the individual. In this conflict. e thing seems to be certain, that the claims society will and must remain paramount. It true that society is but a total complex of man relationships and cannot exist apart m human beings, who play their part in all concrete manifestations and who also will e nature and the ultimate ends to which that ncrete manifestation is to be directed. But ce the ultimate ends of action have been thus oadly decided, the action of the individuals is mmanded and controlled by society; regula- ry norms are set up and enforced to maintain orderly process to secure what the ruling ction in society considers to be in harmony th the ultimate value system of the com- nity.

It must, therefore, be taken for granted t, particularly in the modern world when life becoming highly complex and varied and refore demands detailed and all-round direc- n, the dominance of society over the indivi- al is an inevitable development. But the blem that arises then is to reconcile the ition of the individual with these claims of iety.

IV

Of this problem, two solutions are being gested at present, one by the Fascists and other by the Communists.

The Fascist solution is comparatively sim- r, but also more crude and unacceptable. cognising that the claims of society today ve become nearly as extensive in form as they were in the more primitive stage of social organization, the Fascist suggests that as a natural corollary of this development in the position of society the individual must also find his level according to what it was in that simple organization. The individual has no place outside society, and he can find his perfection in society only if he merges himself into it so well that he becomes a veritable part of the social personality and the social self. Mussolini once defined the chief characteristics of the Fascist doctrine to consist in '*riconciliazione*, the reconciliation of the individual with the state, *inserzione*, his fitting into the life of the state, and *unificazione*, the unification of the state and the individual.'

The position of the individual, thus, in the Fascist ideology is sought to be reduced to that of unquestioning obedience and subordination to the state. The Fascist has a tendency to hide his real meaning behind euphemistic terms. He calls his solution as the cultivation of 'community life' amongst individuals. But it is difficult to see how the Fascist states represent any more intense community life than, for instance, Liberal states do, although they do certainly seem to have a better commotive power, at least in the early days of the establishment of the Fascist regime. On the contrary, their structure is based upon anarchistic individualism—a whole world of human beings dominated and governed by the personal whims of one individuality at the top that regards itself as the mystic repository of the community will. The Fascist oath reads as follows:

> 'In the name of God and Italy, I swear to execute, without discussion, the orders of the Duce and to serve with all my strength, and if necessary with my blood, the cause of the Fascist revolution.'

It gives no leeway at all for dissent. The same is largely true of the much-praised community spirit of the Far East, which expresses itself in practice inevitably by sacrificing the individual to society.

V

The Communist solution is a little more involved, although it is more plausible, at least in theory. Proceeding from the hypothesis that all history is a conflict between the oppressing and the oppressed classes and that state is primarily an instrument of oppression, Marx suggested that this state of affairs could be brought to an end by means of the union of the working classes, and after an overthrowal, by revolution, of the ascendancy of the bourgeoisie, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But he emphasised that the dictatorship of the

4. Oscar Tazi in *Social Philosophy*, January 1938.

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proletariat, however necessary in order to bring to an end the exploitation of the workers, would not by itself constitute a solution of the problem of class-conflict or of the relationship between society and the individual. It must, if it is to be a real solution at all, look forward to a conscious organisation of the classless society, which would be based upon the ideas of common good and in which people would have become habitually accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, so that they will voluntarily work according to their abilities and the needs of society as a whole and there will be no need for compulsion. In this new society, mass mind will have become so well-educated that there will be left no room for governmental operations in the sense in which we understand them today, and the state itself will wither away. This society would be permanent and unshakable in the sense that when once such a society has been established the possibility of all future conflicts of a serious nature will have been altogether removed.

Yet this reasoning has one great deficiency. It is certainly conceivable, as Marx insistently argued, that once the mental diseases and oppressions that result from poverty and class struggle are forgotten things, most of the reasons for coercion will have vanished. But Marx made the great mistake of tracing all human desires and ideas solely and irrevocably to economic causes, to the exclusion of all other ideological and psychological factors. He forgot that so long as men or women remain, whatever the economic structure of society, there must remain possibilities of quarrel and efforts at oppression, unless we could directly change or materially modify human nature and thought itself. Not all violence arises from economic causes; there is also, for example, sex. No material reform, therefore, can alone bring about a thorough-going and lasting change in human mentality; in order to produce such a change, the reform must be positively spiritual.

VI

Herein comes the need for a philosophy of life which puts its emphasis upon an impersonal attitude. Such a philosophy, for instance is enshrined in Hindu thought in the Gita. The Gita ideal of conduct differs from all other systems that are basically spiritual in that while the aim of other systems has been to transcend the sphere of action and duties and to rise to a stage in which one could give up all one's vities, mental and physical, the ideal o Gita has been characteristically an id work, and of work with a mind that is diss ed from attachment, so that it tends to all actions non-moral and, by cutting awa bonds that connect an action with its perfo incapable of causing any disturbance eith the doer himself or to the body-politic. is the path that has been described by S Vivekananda as that of 'the understandi necessity.'

But even after all this has been gr the problem has not been wholly solved. our lesson from world history is that wh this impersonal attitude has been either tised or sought to be practised on a mass there becomes prevalent, in the cours time, a sort of a passive outlook to life. A pre-eminent example of this is plied by the case of India, where emp on the understanding of necessity has pro a fatalistic loss of enthusiasm and comm and after all, the need of commotive power great in a society in order to carry it to a h plane or even to keep it efficiently into o ence as of anything else. The growing p of the Fascist countries in Europe today be explained in terms of the greater feeli commotive power and solidarity of Fa which even though often generated by adm ly unwholesome means is nevertheless a m nized fact.

VII

So, in the end, far from answering question we have simply re-stated it: is is it not possible to evolve a social struct which the individual may properly and manently fit in? To stress society over in contrast with the individual would c result in a distortion of human nature, an an ignorance of the possibility of cont commotive power in society must ultim create intolerable conditions which degrade the best qualities of man. Looke from this point of view, perhaps, society an individual, even though clearly antinomous their emphasis, are not quite antagonis their implications. In many respects, i they seem to be closely connected and ev complementary value. The world needs a scheme of organization which could ins tionalise this intimate connection between two factors.

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EDUCATION FOR NATIONAL UNITY

By Dr. G. S. KRISHNAYYA, M.A., Ph.D.

"Then none was for a party;
Then all were for the State;
Then the great man helped the poor,
And the poor man loved the great."—Macaulay

HAT communal discord, sectarian dissension d caste discrimination are symptoms of an healthy condition, and have not yet become atters of ancient history is all too obvious. here is no 'we-spirit,' no feeling of oneness, sinking of differences for a common cause d no passion of patriotism big enough to con- me petty prejudices. Now, if this is true, it pertinent to ask: Has Indian education in the t hundred years tried to meet this situation? hen all the world has been using education as means of bringing about ends nationally con- dered desirable, what has India been doing? n it be said that Indian Education struggled create and cultivate a common devotion to a mmon motherland, or that it attempted to inimize the differences and emphasize the milarities? If not, have the schools of the d been made to solve one of the most des- rate of India's problems—the making of dian citizens?

A leading Anglo-Indian daily recently re- arked:

"Idealists who speak of Indian Nationhood, of the dian Nation and of Indian Nationalism overlook the t that except in the geographical sense there is no dia. The word 'India' indicates a land in which live ves) a large aggregate of races and nations."

This striking of the lame man with his n crutches, however merciless it may seem, aws pointed attention to his long-standing formity and possibly to the need for imme- ate treatment. At a time when various emes, educational and political, are being put ward and aims and methods are being sub- ted to unsparing scrutiny, it may not be opportune to consider how worthier citizens n be prepared by our schools and colleges and r education in India can be made to help in nging about national unity.

Light from other Lands

The problem confronting India—that of king its citizens feel that they are first and rmost Indians, not members of particular sects and castes and classes,—is not unprecendented: several other countries have had to face a similar situation. Their experience may afford India invaluable guidance and encouragement.

Keeping in the mental background India's handicaps, it is comforting to notice that national unity has been achieved by the United States in spite of racial heterogeniety. The Swiss are a nation, though they have no language peculiar to themselves and are divided into French-speaking, German-speaking and Italian-speaking districts. Religious disunity has not been an obstacle to national unification in England. One of the most potent of factors making for consciousness of nationality is common tradition. Says Ramsay Muir in his *Nationalism and Internationalism* (p. 48):

"Heroic achievements, agonies heroically endured, these are the sublime food by which the spirit of nationhood is nourished; from these are born the sacred and imperishable traditions that make the soul of nations."

The essence of nationality is a sentiment. According to Pillsbury (*Psychology of Nationalism and Internationalism*, p. 20):

"National characteristics are not discovered directly but only through responses of the individual, and through the responses that betray his emotional and intellectual activities. Ask him if you want to know to what nationality he belongs and you will have a better criterion than his racial descent or physical measurement. Nationality is first of all a psychological and sociological problem; only indirectly can it be determined by anthropometry or even by history."

Germany was no more than a congeries of separate and often warring states, yet out of it all, Germany has evolved into one indestructible nation. All that Italy had to start with was geographical unity, and yet in less than two generations, she has become an indissoluble national entity. The potency of an ideal cannot be ignored. In view of these facts, it is clear that the edicts of fate can be set aside and nationality can be nursed into existence, even where most of the elements of unity are lacking in the beginning. The nation must be an ideal before it can become an actuality, and the

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ideal must be an ideal before it can become an actuality, and the ideal must be preached everywhere. This is the lesson taught by history, and is perhaps best illustrated in the case of Italy. Italian poets sang of their land. Italy as ideal was pictured and chanted until Italian hearts throbbed responsive to Italy as Motherland. Then came Mazzini the idealist, who wrote his words of fire, Garibaldi, the warrior, who drew his sword and battled, and Cavour, the statesman, who built the Italian polity. Significant also is the oath, quoted by Professor Rose in his *Rise of Nationality in Modern History* (pp. 81-82), which Young Italy imposed at initiation—a means to which nation-builders have had occasional recourse:

> "In the name of God and of Italy, in the name of all the Martyrs of the holy Italian cause who have fallen beneath foreign and domestic tyranny....by the love I bear to the country that gave my mother birth and will be the home of my children....by the blush which rises to my brow when I stand before the citizens of other lands, to know that I have no rights of citizenship, no country and no national flag: by the memory of our former greatness, and the sense of our degradation: by the tears of Italian mothers for their sons dead on the scaffold, in prison or in exile, by the suffering of the millions—I swear to dedicate myself wholly and for ever to strive to constitute Italy one free, independent, republican nation."

Italy came from the world of ideas into the world of facts—Italy was born.

The United States of America should have been India's comrade in misery, also having had to weld together into a modern nation many races, religions, cultures, nationalities and language groups. But she early realized the need for Americanizing the immigrant, and creating a unified national consciousness. Accordingly she planned a programme for absorbing the foreign-born, and her schools co-operated heartily in producing thorough-bred patriots. The united front presented during the Great War is proof positive of the success of their endeavours along this line.

Britain's problem was comparatively easy, but even there one sees the working out of a definite national purpose. England needed patriotic sons, valiant heroes and dependable representatives to help her with her commerce, administration and colonial expansion, and so her outstanding schools set out to give an education which stressed courage, character, love of country and loyalty to the king. It is unnecessary further to expand in illustration of the responsibility felt by the school everywhere and at all times for providing the kind of training that would produce the desired type of a citizen.

What can be Done

The moral that might be drawn is that I is not beyond redemption, and that educ among other agencies, should be used defi as a unifying factor, promoting cohesion, b ing gulfs, rousing national consciousness stimulating a healthy patriotism. To realiz worthy objective, a comprehensive progra a many-sided attack, is necessary.

The first requisite is *information*. K ledge of India's past, her social and cul development, with its distinctive features chief merits, is indispensable. This should e the pupils to derive their inspiration fo future from a known and real past. It w also foster a legitimate pride in their co and teach them dignity and self-respect. T should also know the defects and pitfalls of culture so that they may form a balanced j ment of its real value, and discover how to the foundations for desirable progress.

Far greater emphasis should be laid o study of India's present condition—s economic and administrative. For this co in Civics or Citizenship should be made c pulsory and dealt with in a live, prac manner. The unparalleled phenomenon of birth of a new nation, inhabiting a sub-conti and including divergent elements of eastern western religions and cultures, should be d with in such a way as to challenge the atte and curiosity of our young pepole and give t a glimpse of the tremendous opportunitie service which lie before them. They sh have a helpful understanding of India's t ble problem—poverty, ignorance, disease, c munal rivalries and the like. There is m to learn in this matter from the work of British Association for Education in Citi ship.

Lest they should become narrow in t outlook and in order to bring to the solutio India's vast and pressing problems the ex ence of the rest of the world—not merely o solitary country, Britain, as now—the p should be given a bird's-eye view of some o outstanding tendencies and movements in world of today. Nationalism should thus assisted by a wider vision, a richer backgr and a larger enthusiasm.

Indian education has managed to leave realm of ideals, attitudes and aspirations se ly alone. These must be harnessed to a w end—peace and good-will amongst the peop India. Mere intellectual apprehension is enough. The emotions must be touched. Hi

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ust be taught in every school in a new way. e common past must be dwelt upon. Not r should the blood and thunder view of atness be dropped and homicidal geniuses be ced to abdicate their positions of importance school histories, but a new spirit should be ysed. To ensure the right approach and the ired quality the books will have to be proved by qualified Committees. The example most Western countries suggests that the torians who write for boys and girls should patriots pulsating with love and pride in the lendid history of their country's past. The ried contributions of the different com- nities to India's complex culture should be ought home in a sympathetic manner. The es of great men, of every province and of ery religion, should be taught in all the schools that appreciation and understanding may e the place of hatred and contempt, and so t parochialism may make room for an all- ia consciousness. Men who have risen to tional fame through service, sacrifice and mmendable achievement should be held up as eals, as well as the successes secured when ople have worked together for a common goal. history serves only to create fear, jealousy d sense of shame and cannot be used to bring various groups together to toil for their ntry's welfare in joyous and proud comrade- p, the sooner it is ejected from the school rriculum the better.

Finally, it must be remembered that 'an nce of experience is better than a pound of ecept.' If this is true, opportunities should provided for children to give expression to ir love for their motherland, to engage in tivities which train the good citizen and to lize the thrill which comes from effort to ve those in need. The experience of citizen- p here and now is the best possible preparation future citizenship. If the pupil's devotion to country is not to be thwarted and choked, and he sluices are to be opened for the natural flow his enthusiasm, care has to be taken to see that has the same outlets as are available to ildren abroad. The singing of national songs, veneration of portraits of national heroes, the ebration of the birthdays and anniversaries the poets and prophets, sages and seers, entists and statesmen, the institution of prize tests for the composing of national songs, writing of national biographies and the nning of suitable programmes to comme- rate national events and festivals, are a few the many ways employed in the West which ght with advantage be adopted in India. The national flag plays a prominent part abroad in most schools and in every country, and therefore the formal approval and use of a flag in India by all the parties concerned is well worth hastening, especially so on the eve of the further unification of the country. The wider adoption of a common language, the celebration of an 'India Day' on lines similar to the 'Empire Day' and the arranging of periodical national Exhibitions—industrial and agricultural—are also worth recommending. All these serve not only the immediate end, but also the remoter purpose of informing the intelligence and developing among pupils a sentiment favourable to national unity and understanding.

Another important lesson which we may learn from English and American schools is their recognition of the value of the more purely social activities as a means of training citizens. Virtues do not grow in a vacuum; they need the stimuli of a concrete setting. Unselfish service, co-operation, toleration and true democracy are ideals which are forced to function only in actual social situations. The curriculum being burdened with examinable subjects, it is necessary to depend on such extra-curricular activities as School Councils, Assemblies, Scouting, Games, Debates, Excursions, to provide the training so invaluable to modern youth. Not only do these activities develop the devices and mechanics of government, but they also supply facilities for teaching the rights and responsibilities, the skills and qualities of good citizenship and the habitual enjoyment and appreciation of the company of representatives of other groups and parties. Civic conscience and civic intelligence need careful cultivation. In such matters deliberate and detailed planning will have to take the place of happy blundering. Good things rarely happen: they must be caused to happen.

Justification

This advocacy of a nationalizing education should need no explanation when it is remembered that in a country like India with its innumerable languages, its variety of religious and its heterogeneous inhabitants, nationalism is nothing short of *internationalism*. The national idealist is confronted with a task not altogether dissimilar to that of amalgamating into a working unit the different peoples of the Continent of Europe. What might ordinarily seem excessive, narrow and dangerous abroad is in India's present condition the least that can be recommended. No son of the soil and no well-wisher of India can look with indifference on

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the Indian situation or desire its perpetuation. No amount of emphasis therefore on unifying factors and integrating experiences can reasonably be considered unbalanced. As Shakespeare puts it:

> "Diseases, desparate grown,
> By desperate appliance are relieved,
> Or not at all."

Apart from that, it must not be forgotten that if we educate good state-citizens, we are also educating good world-citizens, and that without the former the latter is unthinkable. This view is supported by Professor Rose who says:

> "The cosmopolitan who sneers at his country and raves about humanity is like a man who disdains the use of stairs and seeks to leap to the first floor. Such efforts have always failed....Because narrow-minded people can't see beyond their town or country, you do not abolish the organization of the town or country. You retain the organization and seek to widen their outlook. The true line of advance is not to sneer at nationalism and decry patriotism, but to utilize those elemental forces by imparting to them a true aim instead of the false aim which has deluged Europe with blood."

It may be added that without a healthy national consciousness no contribution that can be recognized as distinctive and worthwhile is conceivable. One humanity, parting into many peoples, enables it by their competition and their manifold energies to unfold all those hidden powers which are capable of common development, and to fulfil its destiny more abundantly. To quote the sublime conception of nationality expressed by no less a nationalist than Mazzini himself:

> "Every people has its special mission which operates towards the fulfilment of the general mission of humanity: that mission constitutes its nationality."

Conclusion

To summarise:

Schools and colleges which do not strive to widen outlook, broaden loyalties and elevate thought must be regarded as rendering a positive national disservice. If the citizens of free India are to live and work as one nation, if they are to strive to increase communal concord and understanding, if they are to lend a helping hand to those less privileged than themselves, if they are to be worthy of the tasks awaiting them, a sense of national unity and a sentiment of patriotism have to be stimulated and strengthened. The efforts made in western countries along these lines deserve to be imitated in India—not to develop a narrow nationalism but a benign and inevitably broad-based internationalism.

This paper is a plea for engineering in the realm of the emotions, for the displacement of drift by definite direction and for the assertion of the superiority of intelligence over instinct. The task is not easy—that of producing in our schools and colleges Indians who can rise above their creed and community—in fact, very difficult. But it is difficult problems which statesmen—educational, political—make it their business to solve. Living in an age when miracles and mechanical miracles are matters of everyday observation, how dare we doubt its possibility.

THE PRICE OF THE ANGLO-ITALIAN AGREEMENT

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

Is there anyone so unpopular as is the British Prime Minister, Mr. Neville Chamberlain? There is scarcely a friend to praise him. Only a *voice* applauds from Italy, the voice of Signor Mussolini. Signor Mussolini claims him and ranges him on the side of the Dictators, translates his attitude into one of support of General Franco, making England appear a double-dealer like Italy who intervenes in Spain and is at the same time a member of the Non-Intervention Committee. The British Government, says the *Gazetta Del Popolo,* apropos of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, has "pledged itself to give free scope to the victory of Franco". And to all this there is some praise and traducing, if it is traducing, Neville Chamberlain makes never a disclaimer. In fact he goes out of his way to play Italy's game.

It is not enough for Mr. Chamberlain to turn a blind eye to Italian intervention. When the acts of intervention are thrust under his very eye, he must condone them with an allusion to other people's intervention. When he is invited to protest against the merciless bombing

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HITLER'S VISIT TO ITALY

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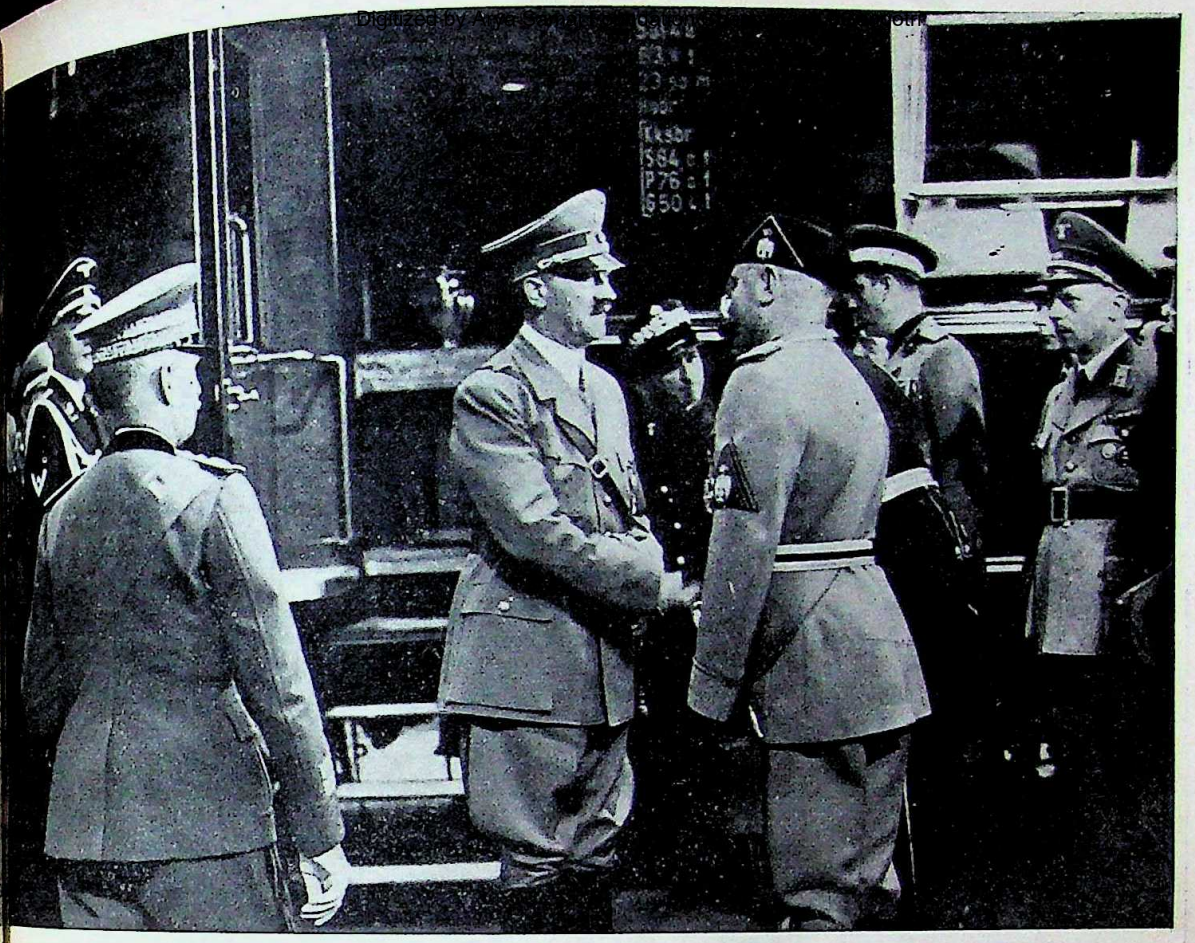
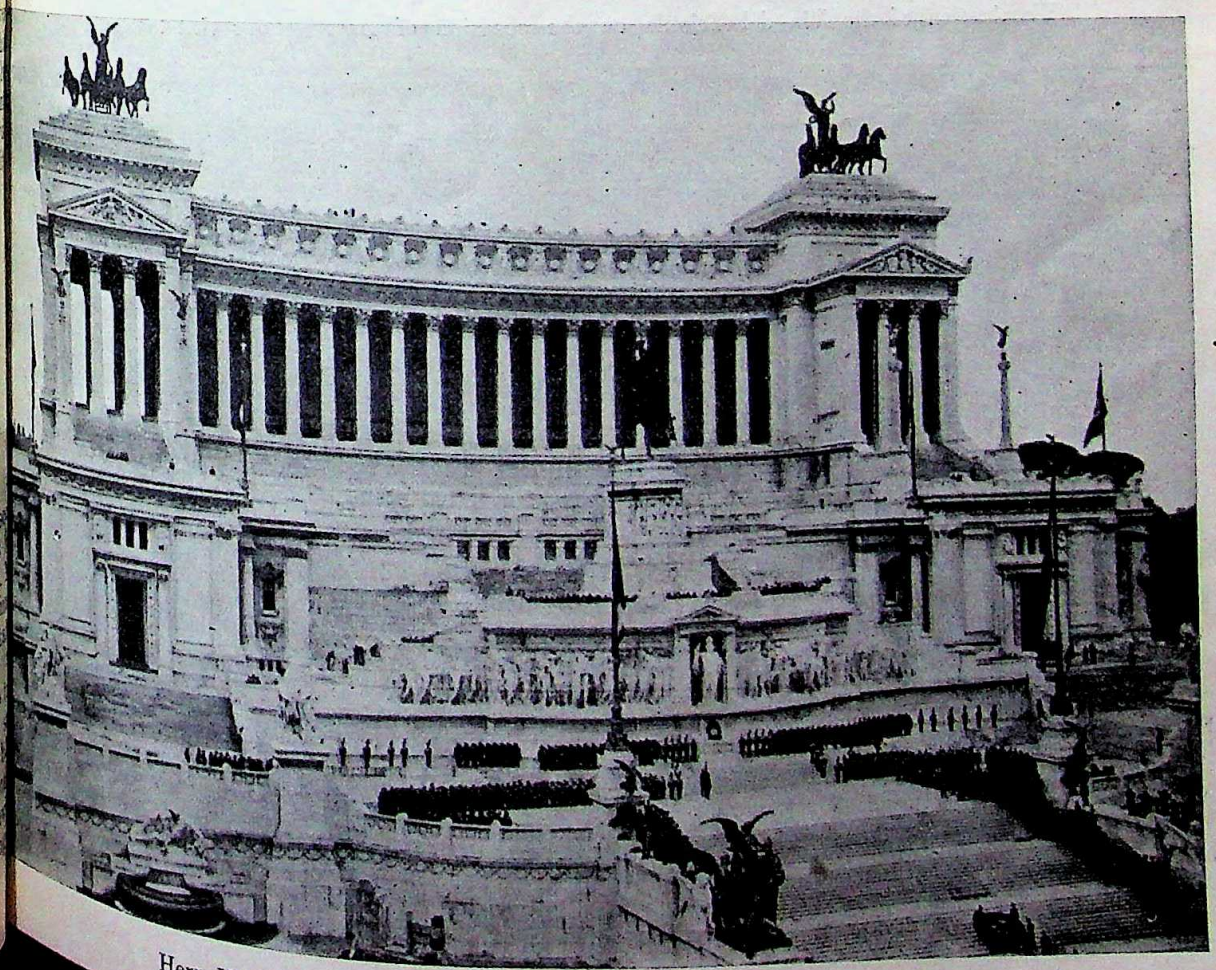


Benito Mussolini welcoming Adolf Hitler at the new railway station, Rome



Herr Hitler laying the wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in the Victor Emmanuel Monument, Rome

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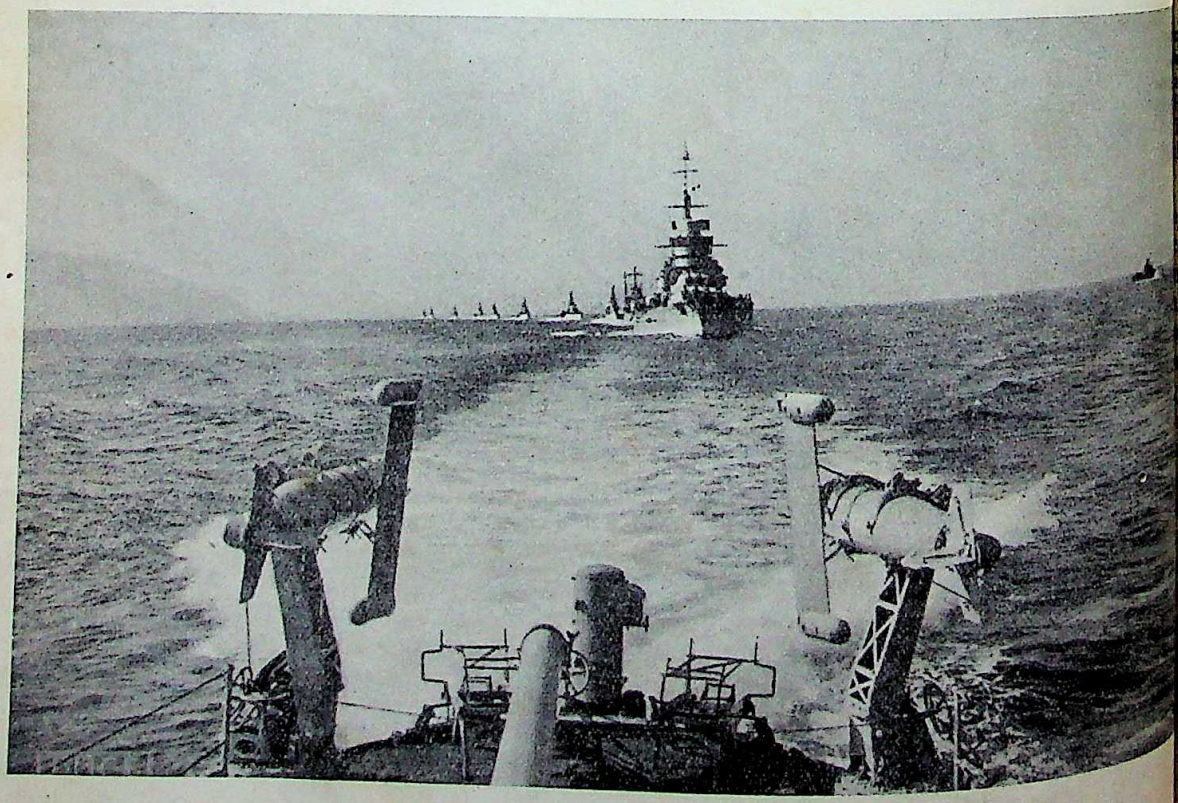
Illumination of the Via del Trionfo on the occasion of Herr Hitler's visit to Rome



Naval review at Naples on the occasion of Herr Hitler's visit to Italy

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fenceless citizens in Alicante, he rises to reply at he has not sufficient information to judge hat were "the military objectives" on that ession. And when he said this the Consuls eighteen nations had already sent a message sympathy and protest to the Civil Governor Alicante.

This answer of Mr. Chamberlain's as regards licante is worth noting. It is typical of a vourite technique of his, the technique of eating prejudice. Thus, when he is asked if will do nothing to protect British seamen ding in Spanish waters, he points irrelevantly the swollen wages which these men are receiv- g. And he doesn't stop there! He goes on remark that there are some ex-convicts fight- g as volunteers in Spain in the International rigade. Do the Opposition ask him to protect em also? Irrelevant and cruel. Surely Mr. hamberlain is aware that there are also in that ternational Brigade some of the foremost mongst young English artists and poets. It ay be recalled perhaps that in his last novel r. Day Lewis, one of the best known modern ets, sends his hero to Spain to fight in the ternational Brigade. Anyway if Mr. Cham- erlain does not know these things, the Conserv- ive *Spectator* does. In the current issue of hist weekly, writing in another connection, a eviewer has this to say:

> "The volunteers who have fought and fallen in Spain ay have been misguided, impetuous, fanatical, but anyone ho understands them must concede that they were imated by that kind of idealism to which so many ritish leaders have appealed with only partial success. he idealism is there, and is prepared for any sacrifice at it counts worth the cost."

But the gibe was irrelevant. Seamen are ot combatants. And while Mr. Chamberlain is reating prejudice, diverting attack from the atter in hand and sending us off down other venues in defence of the people he has dis- raged, see what has happened. He has etrayed British interests, has betrayed the eneral interest, in three vital ways. First of all e has surrendered the old proud boast that herever you are, provided you are engaged on our lawful occasions, as these seamen were, you e entitled to the protection of the flag. Next condoning attacks upon trading vessels, tacks upon vessels not carrying contraband hat they were not carrying contraband is tested by the presence on board of Non- ntervention Officers), he has made an amazing dmission for a British Prime Minister. He as informed the whole world that in the event f another great war any neutral country which ries to run food to England will only be getting what she asks for if her vessels are sent to the bottom of the sea. But worst of all, to return to Alicante, in encouraging the idea that a little port, two hundred miles from *any* front, might have "military objectives" and so be a legitimate target for bombing, Mr. Chamberlain has provided a pretext which can be used in future for bombing any and every town.

It is not fashionable these days to be enthusiastic for Mr. Lloyd George. There is a feeling that anyone aged seventy-six ought not to be quite so aggressive. But the fact remains that he is, when he chooses, the most clear-sighted of them all. He has the artist's gift for damning and dismissing a situation in one swift gesture. When in 1931 the Conservatives made use of Sir Herbert Samuel to bring in the Liberals into the National Government, did not Mr. Lloyd George describe Sir Herbert as their quacking decoy duck? The other day, speaking of the squalid misery in Jamaica, he made every one reflect when he deplored the idea of a slummy empire. And now he has impaled Mr. Chamberlain. Why is it that Mr. Chamberlain will not move a finger in protest at the outrages which are going on in Spain? It is because behind Franco is Italy and he has staked his reputation on the Anglo-Italian Agreement. He cannot offend Italy and as a result he has, in the words of Mr. Lloyd George, placed himself in a position where *his own personal reputation is in conflict with the interests of the British Empire.*

So that is what it amounts to. It is an awful illustration of how soon a fixed idea can destory a man's sense of realities. Mr. Chamberlain indeed is fast becoming a pitiable spectacle. You cannot indefinitely wrench a situation to your way of liking. You are sure to leave out some factor and in the end it may prove too much for you. The bombing of British ships is proving just too much for Mr. Chamberlain. He would do nothing to restrain Franco and so offend Signor Mussolini and injure the Anglo-Italian Agreement. But Signor Mussolini was unwilling equally to offend Germany. And it suited the Berlin-Rome axis to bomb British ships and bomb open Spanish towns and generally try out their war wings in Spain. But it has suited them just too long. There are signs that Italy has had enough of the Spanish adventure—but we have had enough of Italy.

This is what Mr. Chamberlain is beginning to realise and this is why he is beginning to falter. This week he has shown on more than one occasion that he is losing his nerve. His attack on Mr. Mander, who had drawn attention to a remarkable statement of British policy which

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was sent to the New York *Herald-Tribune* by their London correspondent who claimed to shed "official light on the real British attitude towards Czecho-Slovakia, Spain, Abyssinia...Hitler and Mussolini", was uncontrolled and hysterical. It betrayed the Prime Minister's agitation. (It betrayed more, but of that later.) Then in the debate on Thursday, concerning the bombing of British ships, he made the extraordinary statement, which he withdrew later, that the providing of these ships with anti-aircraft guns was a matter for the owners. And now suddenly on the spur of the moment, no doubt because of the temper of the House, he is recalling the British Agent to France, Sir Robert Hodgson, to consult with him on the matter of this bombing.

Mr. Chamberlain loves the Anglo-Italian Agreement, and when he loves it not—when it is shown up for what it is by these attacks on British shipping—choas is come again!

Signor Mussolini's mind is not in the least chaotic. He is intent on making use of England and on making use of her in two ways. First of all England's "pacifism" must have no limits. Not only must it allow Signor Mussolini to make war on the Spanish Government, it must cover up his war. It must even allow him to sink British ships if thereby he can finish his war more quickly. Then when the war is finished, and the Anglo-Italian Agreement comes into operation, England must allow Italy credits because Italy's resources have been so depleted by this Spanish war (and also by the war in Abyssinia which England never approved). Italy's plight indeed is growing serious—her silk crops and her corn crops have suffered through the drought—and so she has been trying to persuade England to implement the Anglo-Italian Agreement even before a "settlement" is reached in Spain. As there seemed little likelihood of that, she is re-doubling her efforts to end the Spanish war. That is why these attacks on British ships in Spanish waters have been intensified on the one hand, and why on the other progress has suddenly started to be made in the Non-Intervention Committee!

It is indeed a cynical state of affairs.

At the moment of writing the British Government is awaiting the explanation from General Franco which Sir Robert Hodgson has been asked to obtain. But what is the use of asking Franco to explain? It is not *his* planes which are destroying our ships. He has no planes. The planes belong to Germany and Italy. As the Diplomatic Correspondent in the *Sunday Times* points out, "aeroplanes are not yet built in Nationalist Spain—at least not in appreciable quantity—nor are aero-engines made there. That the planes are Italian is in fact the boast of Italy. To quote the *Sunday Times* again:

"The Italian Press does not attempt to hide, in fact indeed, stresses it—that Italian planes based on Majorca are responsible for the recent sinkings in Spanish harbours....The newspaper *Tribune* yesterday declared that seventeen ships had been sunk in this way between June 4 and June 23 in Valencia, Barcelona, Sagunto and Alicante harbours."

This is the State to whose alliance we cling. This is the State which expects to get credit from us. Not only so. It even has the effrontery to proclaim that before its troops are withdrawn from Spain, it will have to be decided who is to pay for the withdrawal! Evidently we are to share in the cost.

It would be refreshing if General Franco, who calls his Spain Nationalist Spain, suddenly implemented his patriotism and told his German and Italian allies that the Spain they are winning for him will not be worth having. It will be a gaunt and impoverished thing. These bombs from the air, in the words of M. Daladier, the French Premier, are attacking civilisation itself "ruining in a few seconds the heritage left by centuries." Does he really like that? Or, in his heart of hearts, does he not think the Spanish Government showed a truer patriotism when it decided not to take part in the new fell policy of bombing open towns? (Although it is now reported that the sorely-tried Spanish Government is now threatening reprisals—and reprisals even against Germany and Italy. To which of course Germany and Italy, Germany with between five and ten thousand technicians in Spain and Italy with thirty thousand troops in Spain, have promptly replied with a threat that they will go to the full limit of WAR).

I mentioned earlier in this article that the Germans and Italians are trying-out their arms in Italy. To them this agony in Spain, and especially perhaps to Germany, is nothing more than a dress-rehearsal for the coming war. At the beginning of this month a Spanish official commented on this fact to Mr. A. J. Cummings of the *News Chronicle*. He asked:

"What is the use of protesting to Franco? He can do nothing. He has no say in this matter. Surely the British Government knows that all these bombings are carried out by German and Italian aircraft under German and Italian instructions. The German and Italian Governments are experimenting on the Spanish people with various types of machines and bombs and with changing tactical methods. They are also conducting what they call psychological experiments on civilians. Complete reports are sent back regularly not to Franco but to Berlin and Rome."

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And he added what is reported to be in the minds of the Spanish Government now (although it can only pull down more ruin on their heads:

"Reprisals by the Spanish Government, therefore, should be made not on Spanish centres of population, but on German and Italian towns."

I think the most important point in the foregoing is the allusion to *pshychological experiments on civilians*. What sort of pass have we come to in the West when we contemplate such experiments? When we shake hands with the people who go in for them? The pacifism which stands completely aside is understandable (although a peace-*maker* is the more honourable role). But our new kind of pacifism shakes hands with the murderer in the presence of the corpse.

Unfortunately there is a great deal of this kind of thinking in the air to day. Peace at any price is the fashion and especially in high quarters. Some people think, for instance, as they see Germany straining every nerve in her preparations for war—virtually mobilising now as she has done in her plan for the conscription of labour announced this week—that the best course is for us to stand aside. This gigantic war machine, they argue, need not be put to use. Herr Hitler is only forging a weapon for blackmail. He knows that if he can make Germany so strong that no one can challenge her, then no one need challenge her. Germany can go ahead and we will look on "while the smaller States of Central Europe are peaceably absorbed into a new continental empire under German hegemony." (You see how the fallacy has crept in. Because these small deserted States could have no hope in standing up to Germany, it follows that their annexation is "peaceable"!)

There is no such state of affairs as peace at any price. A paraphrase of peace at any price is peace at someone's expense. And that means injustice. And injustices are the only kinds of ghosts that never can be laid. They will keep on rising and rising.

But this does not mean that opponents of Mr. Chamberlain's policy of peace at any price are advocating war on the Dictators. They believe that even now, at this eleventh hour, the situation could be saved by a return to the policy of Mr. Eden and Collective Security. Herr Hitler thinks that he will make Germany so strong that no one can resist her. He rightly thinks that that is one way to peace—peace on his conditions. Well then, say those who believe in the League, make the League so strong that no one, not even Germany, can resist the League. This is not such a fantastic idea as the British Government and the Beaverbrook Press and all those who have done their best to weaken the authority of the League would have us believe. France is with us, Russia is with us, America would be with us if our aims were to be equitable as well as strong. And those smaller States, who have no wish to be "peaceably absorbed" into the German Empire, aggregate, as Mr. Winston Churchill has reminded us, no less than 75,000,000 peoples. What a chance after all is there. The League could be strong enough to show Germany that she cannot be allowed to blackmail any longer. She could also be strong enough to say to these smaller States of Central Europe that some wrongs were created by the Treaties of Versailles and Trianon. These wrongs must be righted. But we will see to it that they are righted in such a way as to cause the minimum of economic and other dislocation.

Who could doubt that if such a return to the League were made, if Great Britain and America threw in the weight of their vast economic resources, peace could be made?

In any event, what is the alternative? War is coming nearer and nearer every day. Perhaps future historians will date this present time as a war period which began in 1931 when Japan attacked Manchuria; continued in the Abyssinian War and in the Spanish War—and ended? One thing also seems to escape Mr. Chamberlain and his circle. If we are finally drawn into war with Germany, after these tedious years of trying to placate and condone and explain away, there will be no heart left in the people. And in war, as Napoleon never lost sight of, the morale is everything. This has been said so often that it has become somewhat musty. But it is noticeable that several people are saying it now, people whose voices cannot be disregarded. Lord Cecil, Mr. Eden, Mr. Winston Churchill—they are all preaching that unity can only have a moral basis. Mr. Churchill believes that there is still a chance to save Europe, but it is the last chance. The choice is between Germany over Europe or Geneva. In a striking review of a compilation of Mr. Churchill's speeches (*Arms and the Covenant*. Harrap. 18s.) the matter is thus concisely put: the Sibylline books are to be proffered to us for a third time, and the fate of Czecho-Slovakia is to decide the fate of the British Empire.

But if the present Government is to decide the fate of the British Empire, then the Empire is doomed. We shall either become a Fascist Power linked up with Germany and Italy, or

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we shall drift into war. And we shall have no chance of winning that war because we shall have lost Central Europe to Germany before we come in. It is futile to think that we can keep friends with the Dictators and not become Fascist likewise. Because, unlike a democracy, fascism is always expansionist. Of certain kinds of government you can say we can be friends with them because it is not our business what goes on inside their frontiers. But you cannot say that of German and Italian fascism because they do not stay inside their frontiers. Fascism means economic nationalism but neither Germany nor Italy can be economically self-sufficient; they depend upon outside sources for their raw materials. Of those raw materials. they intend to make themselves master, whether it is in Roumania or in Spain. And if we acquiesce in their depredations we shall be thinking like unto them.

Unfortunately there are signs these days of an increasingly Fascist mentality in our society. In industry you see it in the growth of monopoly. In our rulers you see it in their increasing tendency to shut the common people out of their confidence. The Simonite Liberals, for instance, passed a resolution the other day at their Party Conference advocating the setting up of an All-Praty Parliamentary Foreign Affairs Committee "whereby decisions on national safety and external relations might be taken in such a manner that the real and deep unity of the country might be truly reflected." The pious wording of this resolution covers up the very dangerous departure it suggests. Why should a *Committee* take decisions on such vital matters as external relations? In the old days these matters were decided upon in accordance with the mandate received from the electors...As Mr. Henderson Stewart said in opposing the resolution, it would turn Parliament into a body of yes-men.

The Conservative *Spectator* calls attention this week to the tendency to refuse information. The most glaring instance of this of course is in the Anglo-Italian Agreement itself. That Agreement is to come into operation when a "settlement" has been reached in Spain. But what is meant by this the Prime Minister never will explain.

This going over the heads of the common people, who elected them, is at its most insu able however in the state of affairs revealed Mr. Mander—in that fishing enquiry whic made in the House of Commons the other and to which reference has already been m He raised the question as to who had author a statement of British policy which appe in the American press. Apart from the m and demerits of the statement as such (an is full of such mischievous assertions as "Czecho-Slovakia cannot survive in its pre form" or Russia "cannot be counted upo move troops into Czecho-Slovakia any than France can" or again, "any sugge that Russia might fly 1,000 bombers to Cz Slovakia...is ruled out with the comment Czecho-Slovakia lacks the necessary equip and ground facilities for such an additional force") the occasion of its appearance is rageous. Mr. Chamberlain will neither ow nor disown it with the result, as one critic p out, that the whole world from China to believes he is responsible for it. But the l news is that it originated at a luncheon p at Lady Astor's. She says that the P Minister and the journalists were her gu but that "nothing in the nature of an of statement was made, although foreign poli were discussed around the table". Why sh Lady Astor invite journalists to lunch with Prime Minister and discuss foreign politics w they are in such a critical state? It is fas again, arranging public affairs at private m ings. It is an eye-opener and very dama to the reputation of a democratic Prime Mini To quote that same critic again:

> "I cannot imagine any thing more improper that a complete and elaborate statement of British p involving far-reaching decisions, should be given c sationally to a group of foreign and Canadian journa before it is made known to the British Parliament an British people."

Sir John Simon hinted the other day a General Election was only about a year a It would be a good thing if we could have Election now to blow some of these cobw away—or perhaps blow the Government high.

Westminster, London,
June 27, 1938

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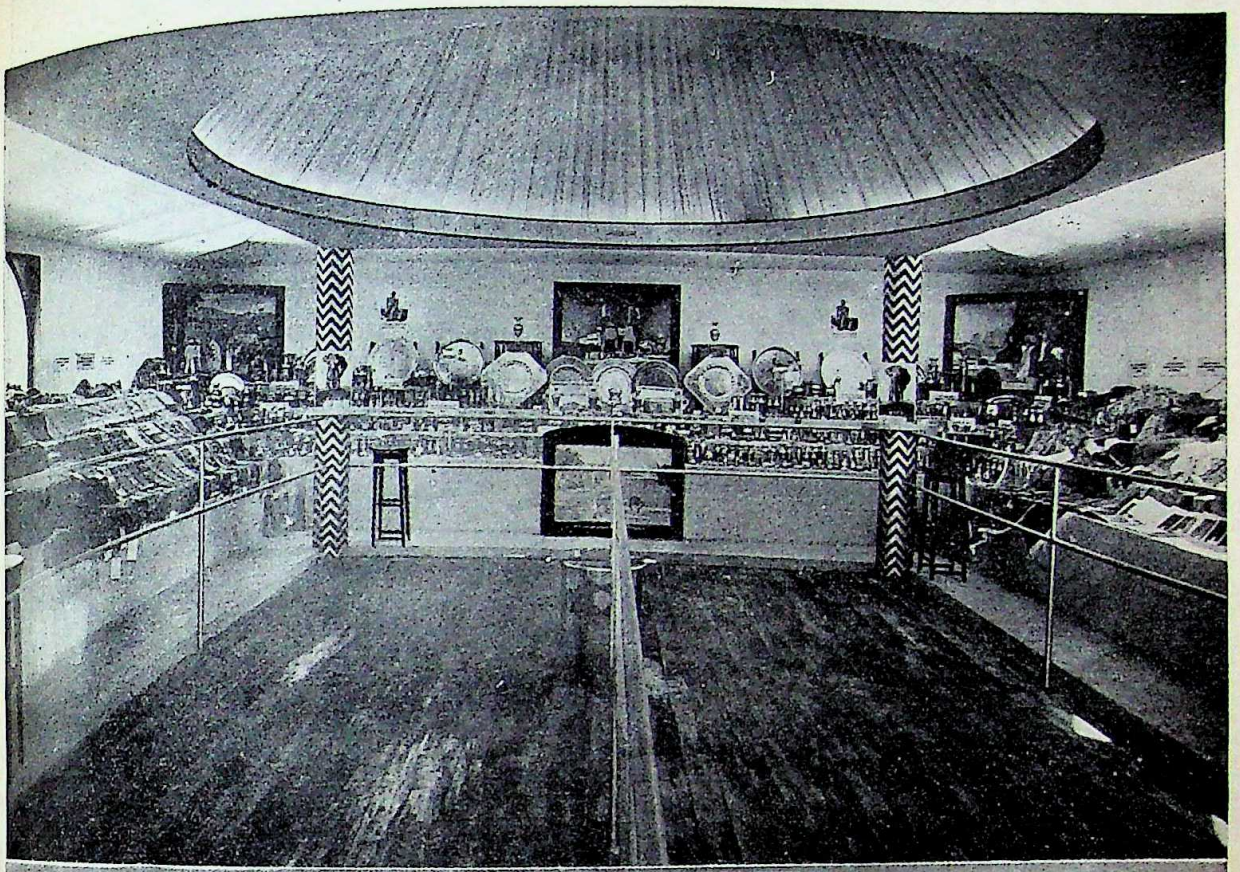
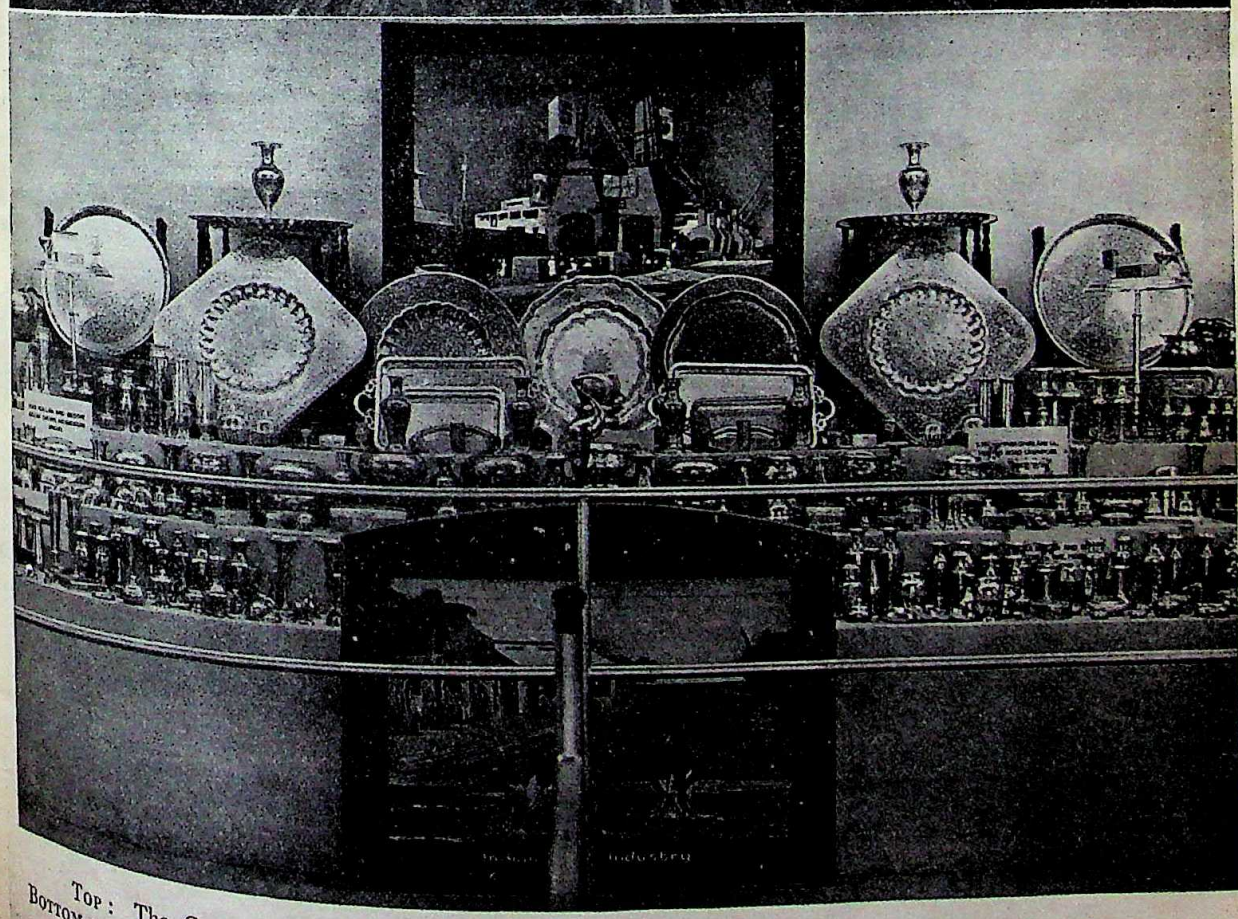
INDIAN HANDICRAFTS IN BUDAPEST FAIR





TOP: The Central Hall of the Indian Pavilion at the Budapest International Industrial Fair
BOTTOM: Some of the brassware exhibits inside the Indian Pavilion—remarkable specimens of Moradabad and Cawnpore craftsmanship

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Quelling of the Kaliya-naga

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Giri-Govardhana-Dharana

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AN ILLUSTRATED MANUSCRIPT OF THE BHAGAVATA FROM ORISSA

By O. C. GANGOLY

HOUGH illustrated manuscripts of the *Bhāgavata* e by no means rare, a very peculiar interest taches to a series of full-page illustrations hich occur in a manuscript written in Orissan haracter, now in the collection of an ancient amily hailing from Cuttack. In this manuscript the Tenth Chapter of the text, the chapter ost popular amongst all sects of the Vaishnavas, embellished with about seventy-seven full-age illustrations of the size of about 11½ inches 5½ inches with a few lines of the text at the ottom of the illustrations enclosed by borders red, and by four double-page illustrations. s the family Bible, daily read in thousands of omes in different parts of India, the text undoubtedly called for various *editions du luxe* of hich this version from Orissa is a typical xample. I am not competent to offer any remarks on the text, but the illustrations provide nteresting data as to the existence of a widely pread, common or analogous pictorial tradition hich links up the history of the various phases f Indian Art in closely related resemblances nd stylistic affinities.

By the courtesy of the owner we are able o cite here three examples of the illustrated ages from this MS., one of which is reproduced colours.

To take the Colour Plate first, it is an illusration of one of the events in the early Nativity f Krishna, where Kamsa, the Indian Herod, arries off Vasudeva and Devaki—the prospective arent of the enemy of the king of Mathura. They re seen standing on the chariot, well guarded by row of armed retainers in a heroic procession d by a rider on a galloping red horse, followed a standard-bearer on an elephant, at the ack of which are two lance-bearers whose eights rival those of the riders on the elephant,—piece of archaism, which is called for, by the emands and exigencies of the composition. he rear of the procession is made up by two iders (with drawn swords) on galloping horses. he other members of the procession are spread ver the composition in two sections,—the chorus musicians on the top of the horse and elephant, nd the trio of standard-bearers on the top of e horsemen. They really ought to come in line ith the other members of the procession, but re here placed on the top, *not* on the demands of "transcendental perspective" but out of the necessity of filling up vacant spaces.

This *naive* treatment and disposition of the figures, as also the primitive palette—confined to Light Red, Pale Blue, Rich Yellow, and Grey Black, lend to the picture an archaic romanticism, which is appropriate to the atmosphere of the legend.

The types of the retainers, their head-dresses, tunics and trousers, as well as the treatment of the horses recall the manner of the Hindu Paintings of Rajaputana. The landscape, on a white background, is treated symbolically by pairs of cypress trees (not indigenous to Orissa) and are borrowed from Mughal pictorial conventions. In this example the only evidence of its local Orissan character is the type of the chariot with *makara* brackets and the tri-foiled arch of the *vimana*.

The two other illustrations, here cited, offer novel treatment of well-known topics.

The *Giri-govardhana-dharana* theme, generally treated in Rajasthani and the Hill Schools, in oblong panels, is here spread out in a horizontal composition which somewhat discounts the intensity of a compact and crowded composition. If we compare the treatment with the well-known Kangra examples in the Ghose and Bharat-kala-Parisad Collections (*Rupam*, No. 41, January 1930, pp. 17, 18), we find that the artist of this MS., was not familiar with these well-known masterpieces and has treated the theme independently, and has not followed traditional patterns though the nervous and schematic treatment of the cows recall similar conventions in Kangra pictures. The most peculiar elements are the conical caps (*Kan-tope*), characteristic of Northern India and frequently occurring in Pahari miniatures.

The third example is of peculiar interest as it illustrates the Prelude to the heroic exploit of the 'Quelling of the Kaliya-naga'. There are numerous illustrations of the 'actual fight' with the Dragon, but our illustration treats of the moment *before* Krishna jumped from the Kadamba tree on the head of the Serpent. The three cowherd-boys on the shores appear to have guessed the resolve of the Hero, and are frantically gesticulating, to dissuade their young companion from the rashness of such a dangerous

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venture—an attitude which is echoed and emphasized by the row of cows in the foreground.

The manuscript offers a rich panorama of pictorial presentations of numerous themes from the text, and in many details of treatment, types, and conventions offer contact with pictorial practices of other provinces, attesting an unity and homogeneous character of culture at different centres of India—which is now cut up separated by divergence of outlook and provin pecularities. India was one, and permeated one uniform and homogeneous culture—w transcended political boundaries or geograph barriers.

Our manuscript is an interesting evid of this common link which strung together tant tribes and culture-units.

HOW INDIAN SHIPPING WAS RUINED BY VESTED INTERESTS

By C. A. BUCH, B.A., F.R. Econ. S.

Mahatma Gandhi, writing in *Young India* of 26th March, 1931 said that the British Shipping in India is built on the ruins of Indian Shipping. While this is a patent fact, attempts have frequently been made by the spokesmen of the British Vested Interests and the Government of India to show:

(1) That there never was any Indian Shipping worth the name, in recent past;

(2) That whatever Indian Shipping did exist, was ousted from the seas, because wood was ousted by steel and sail was ousted by steam.

These vested interests further try to show that the several Indian ventures in the field of shipping during recent years, came to grief because of bad finance and inefficient and inexperienced management.

Very interesting and informative evidence was tendered before the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee, which was appointed by the Government of India in pursuance of a resolution moved by Sir Sivaswamy Aiyar in the Legislative Assembly in 1922, among other purposes "for the encouragement of the growth of an Indian Mercantile Marine by a system of bounties, subsidies and such other measures". No less than 128 written statements were received by the Committee from all over the country, out of which 72 were tested by oral examination (and severe cross-examination) of their authors. Thirty-eight Indian witnesses out of these 72, including representatives of 15 Indian Commercial Associations were in favour of creating a National Mercantile Marine, owned, controlled, managed and ultimately named by the nationals of the country. Out of the 34 non-Indian witnesses, most of the 19 who were either independent of vested interests or were technical men like Port Officers, Surveyors, etc. were in favour of giving Indians a chance to carry out their desire, even as a national experiment. The of the non-Indians entirely opposed the very of a National Mercantile Marine, which contended was unnecessary, unjustified impossible. These were mostly Europ diehard representatives of British Shipping India, often representing various British C mercial Associations.

Captain Headlam, The Chairman of Committee informed a witness that he had him a table of ship-building in India in the and 19th centuries, but the figures were so that these can be regarded as negligible. the other hand notable men like Professors K Shah, P. N. Banerji and others quoted various historical records to show that In ship-building and merchant shipping was a very prosperous condition right upto fifties of the 19th century. A fact that req to be better known by the students of the His of Indian Shipping including that of In Marine is that about 1864 all the records vent to this, were burnt by the India Office. act of vandalism is mentioned by an Officer of Marine, Lt. Charles Rathebone Low, in the face of the first volume of his book (in 2 volu *History of Indian Navy*. No wonder then, C Headlam could not find any reliable record the existence of vast ship-building and merca marine activities of the Indians, even upto latter half of the last century.

Professor Cunningham, an impartial however, avers in his *Growth of English Ind and Commerce* that the ruin of Indian ship in English waters was directly due to the N gation Laws of England, which Laws were to secure for English shipping the place th has occupied ever since.

Leaving the history of the old Indian

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ng aside, it is enough to view the tragedy of ent attempts to show that the absence of a tional mercantile marine in this country is rectly due to the ruthless hostility of the ritish Vested Interests, who have monopolised e Coastal and Overseas trade of the country r over three quarters of a century and more.

The Coastal and Overseas trade of India is timated at Rs. 540 crores in cargo, stores, etc., ith 3 million passengers and 30 million tons cargo every year. The sphere of Indians in is vast traffic is less than 5%. The fate of veral Indian Shipping Companies that have ied to get a footing in this traffic, during recent ecades has been uniformly tragic—annihilation resulting in the loss of anything between 10 12 crores of rupees.

Tatas in the Overseas Trade

One of the earliest attempts to start Indian ipping was by the Tatas, who desired to carry ecegoods and yarn to China in their own ottoms. The powerful P. & O. Company, ffered competition and the rate per ton which as Rs. 15/- went down to Rs. 1/8/-. When e Tata venture was forced to extinction the te was restored to Rs. 16/- per ton. The llowing paragraphs from a booklet issued by Tata & Sons tell their own tale.

"Having been instrumental in destroying the old Indian shipping trade, it has been unceasingly employed ver since its establishment, in raising the rates of freight, nd consequently hampering facility of intercourse between India and the further East.

"With scores of liners, English and foreign, plying these waters, which our petted and much glorified Anglo-Indian Company can afford, and perhaps finds it ood policy to tolerate, it is only jealous of a small enterise like ours, and while it can lovingly take foreigners nd possible future enemies of England to its bosom, it iscards the poor Indian for whose special benefit it proesses to have come to India and from whose pocket it raws the greater part of its subsidy."

Rate Wars

As instanced above, rate war has been one f the most powerful weapons in the otherwise aried armoury of the non-Indian Shipping Companies. The various Coastal ventures that ave been annihilated so far, have all had to ace a ruthless rate war from their hands. Moulvi Mahamed Nur-ul-Huq Chowdhury of Calcutta old the sad tale of the killing of the Bengal Steam Navigation Company in the following words:

It was a purely Indian venture, but the B. I. and the Asiatic Companies were at that time trading with Rangoon, Akyab, Chittagong and Calcutta. The Bengal Company had two steamers in the same trade. Freight was cut down and the passenger fare was brought down to annas eight per head! Sometimes passengers went free and received a handkerchief as an extra inducement. Among other misfortunes the Admiralty Court at Rangoon issued an injunction against the Bengal Company's steamers plying in the Bay. The Chairman of the Company deserted the Company and the Company was liquidated after a prolonged struggle for existence. The ships were purchased by the B. I., their most aggressive rival for a sum of Rs. 6 lakhs!

Rao Bahadur V. Govindan mentioned the case of Swadeshi Steam Navigation Company which started passenger service between Tuticorin and Colombo and subsequently was killed, when the B. I. once gave clothes free to passengers travelling by their vessels.

Apropos of rate war on Calcutta-Arracan ports, a retired Branch Pilot of Calcutta, in his book *Thirty-five Years on Hooghly* mentions a telegram by the Chittagong Agent of a Company to his principals at Calcutta stating, "B.I. offering fowl free to passengers, may I offer turkey?"

Similar rate wars were waged against each and every Indian Company, everywhere. The Burma-Bombay rice rates went down to Rs. 6/- per ton from Rs. 18/- per ton when Scindia Company started its operation in the Indian trade. The ridiculously low rate of Rs. 20/- from Karachi to Jeddah in 1938 is but recent history, the normal deck passage being Rs. 172/- per passenger. While it is added that out of these Rs. 20/- the shipping company had to pay Rs. 33 in dues and taxes at Kamaran and Jeddah and had to bear Rs. 20/- food charges per passenger, the nature of rate war against Indian shipping becomes as ridiculous as it is vindictive.

Rebates and Refusal of Space

Whilst rate cutting is utilised by British shipping interests for killing a newcomer into their monopolistic preserves, the weapon of rebates is directed against the possibility of any newcomer finding support from the shippers. The institution of Rebates is a very well-known factor in World Shipping. It has been used as a powerful safeguard against recalcitrant shippers, who support a newcomer. It is a highly protective measure in favour of monopolists and thus is an anti-social weapon against principles of Free Trade and *Laissez Faire*. The evil is so deep-rooted and widely practised that even the British Government has not been able to check its spread by legislation. The Royal Commission of 1907 examined this question and the allied question of Shipping Conferences but the majority report held the system irradicable. Deferred Rebate is in various forms like Contract, Preferential Contracts, Agreements, etc.

The hold of the British Vested Interests on Indian shippers is so great, that despite every sympathy that the merchants have for a national

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venture, very few can dare to support it in a practical manner. The results are obvious. The existing lines coerce what is called "Loyalty" of the shippers. The newcomer dies a natural death for want of support. The freight rates remain high in favour of the monopolists. This weapon was and is ruthlessly used in Indian shipping business. Despite an attempt by Mr. T. V. Seshagiri Aiyar to get through a Bill to illegalise Rebate system, the Bill having been killed, the system still persists.

Whilst rebate system provides a weapon against the shippers in general, individual lapses from 'loyalty' are treated with a still more telling weapon of 'refusal of space' to the erring shipper, jeopardising his very existence as a merchant. Babu Jogendra Nath Roy, in giving evidence before the Government Committee referred to above, said:

"Even Indian shippers intending to ship jute by this Company's vessels to Indian consignees, such as mills owned by Indians, are restrained from doing so, by the threat that they will find difficulty in securing space for goods intended for the European Mills and also in shipping from stations where this Company's vessels do not run."

Another witness Babu Nil Krishna Roy told the following tale:

"I have found that if I want to ship by an Indian-owned Shipping Company, the European Companies would not give me space in their steamers for my goods for other ports. So, for the benefit of the other Ports I am compelled to ship by the English-owned Company's steamers. The B. I. has stopped booking my goods because I am the owner of a steamer. They never allowed me any space to book my goods to any other Ports in India. My only fault is that I am the owner of a steamer, which plies between Chittagong and Akyab in competition with the B. I."

"A merchant in Akyab once chartered a ship for rice to Jaffna and other Malabar Ports. For this fault, he was not allowed by the B. I. to ship his goods by their ships for four or five years. Now they have come to an agreement on better terms. The merchant is given special facilities so that he may not compete with the B. I."

Such a story was repeated all over the long coast of India, on the Hooghly and the Brahmaputra, on the Irrawady and the Salwyn, on the Karnaphully and in the Gulf of Mannar. Rate cutting, forfeiture of rebates, refusal of space and flagrant discrimination against Indian Shipping by allied British Interests like Insurance, etc., as well as petty harassments even by semi-Government authorities, Port Trusts, etc., were all combined against Indian Shipping till it was crushed out of existence.

Discrimination

An eminent freight broker of Bombay, the late Mr. Jiwandas Pitamber, J. P., said that

"for Colombo, Rangoon, etc., ports, the rates are Rs. 14 or Rs. 15 for certain industries and for the same if they are required for European-managed concerns, the is Rs. 9 or Rs. 12.

This is an instance of flagrant discrimina by British ship-owners against Indian ship The policy of discriminating in favour of Br shipping is as old as the early seventies of eighteenth century. Mr. D. P. Khaitan before the Committee a table showing that Customs duties in the Bengal Presidency so fixed that foreign cotton goods paid 50% duty if these were imported in British bott This discrimination continued for over a hun years, securing an immense import trade British ships. It was further pointed out the definition of British ships for the purpose this favourable treatment was so worded a exclude Indian ships from receiving such fav able treatment.

Discrimination by Insurance Compani

Babu Jogendra Nath Roy, a shipow stated that the British Insurance Compa would not insure goods carried by their ves at the same rate as goods carried by stea of the European Companies, even though steamers were new and in some cases strongly built. This very invidious and fair discrimination was put an end to various protests and through the interven of Sir Ernest (now Lord) Cable.

Similar discrimination was complained Mian Mahomed Baksh of the Hedjaz St Navigation Company even at the risk of b bullied into silence. The complaint was ident and was proved by production of the rule the Marine Insurance Agents, Karachi, w read as under, regarding classification of st ers for risks:

"First Class—All those not classed as "Second" "Third."

"Second Class—All-Indian owned and/or mana and/or chartered steamers other than those specially cl ed as third class."

Mr. S. N. Haji gave an interesting acco of how the steamers of the Scindia Comp were discriminated against by the Insura Companies, in a similar manner, till after p tests and recourse to non-tariff Companies, invidious discrimination was removed.

Harassments

Mr. S. N. Bandoo complained that he c not take their coal for three days from the j because the English firms simply make delay that their customers may get annoyed with th and they may not be able to load their stea in time. He further complained that a cert European Auditor could not take up their a work because pressure was put upon him by

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ntrymen against it, and European Banks uld not deal with Indian shipping firms like which, he added, is a fact, though a revolting t.

What may be regarded as the climax of anti-ian feeling was related by Babu Nil Krishna y as under:

"I had ordered a launch from the Eastern Bengal vice, Ltd., for a marriage ceremony and she was ound near the channel at Joffsher behind a steamer. ough she whistled 3 or 4 times for help, nobody e any sort of help and at the request of the passengers after great difficulty they agreed to the Master ging the launch. The result was, the Serang of boat was dismissed from service, because he was ing an Indian launch out of a difficulty."

Nautical Training

The inauguration of I.M.M.T.S. "Dufferin" due to the hard fight put up by the Indian mbers of the Legislatures pursuant to the ommendation in this regard of the Mercantile rine Committee. While on the one hand the olastic qualifications required for the entrants ke it possible for middle class families to d in their sons for training, the sons of sea-ing classes are precluded from taking advant-e of this training. The intellectual standard uired is of the High School cadre and as the faring classes do not take to high schools, bar is efficiently prohibitive. With a coast-e of 4500 miles, India is studded with usands of villages exclusively populated with faring communities, whose sons take to sea as naturally as duck takes to water. If nacularly were to be made the medium of ruction, these class sea-men will prove a at success from the very beginning.

A vernacular school was opened at Masuli-tam, not for boys but adult fishermen, and urally failed. No school for sea can thrive ess the pupils are 'caught young and treated gh'. A vernacular instructor, who had been aptain on the high seas was engaged and n dropped. The result was that the school s closed down 'for want of boys'.

The story of the downfall of Indian Shipping be concluded with what appears a very ously strange episode in the South-west st of India. The Swadeshi Steam Naviga-n Company, that bore the wrath of the erful British monopolist between Tuticorin Colombo was declared to have come into stence for "Political Motives". The closing this venture was followed by riots in Tuticorin ch were traced to the promoters of this ping Company, some of whom were demned to jail! Of course the promoters claimed all political motives attributed to them. It is a novel idea that for political motives, a few merchants should start a passenger Shipping Company!

British Navigation Laws to protect British shipping against outsiders including India, discriminating Customs Tariff by Fort William at Calcutta, against all non-British incoming bottoms, including Indian bottoms, active help to British ventures by the East India Company's Government, rang the death-knell of Indian Shipping in the recent past.

When the British Shipping thrived on carriage of stores, mail subventions, coal carrying contract and other subsidising preferences, the precursors of Lee Concession passages by British steamers only, they consistently succeeded in crushing out all attempts by Indians to built up a Mercantile Marine by rate wars, rebates, refusal of space, discriminatory acts of the most flagrant type and innumerable petty harassments on all sides.

The results were always the same. Gradual collapse, followed by liquidation. A score of companies thus went down to Davy Jones's locker, the capital loss to India being estimated from ten to twelve crores of rupees!

On the other hand a company like the Bengal Steam had to sell their fleet to the British rivals for cheap returns. This was a variation to total annihilation. Such offers were rarely rejected though often made. Raja Shri Nath Roy's venture did not feel the full brunt of the British compact until they refused to sell out their company outright to the Britisher. The story is told with simple naivette by Babu Jogendra Nath Roy:

"The Hon'ble Mr. Mackenzie of Messrs. Macneill &, Co., threatened us in so many words, that unless we sold or made over the management of this company's business to them they were determined to crush our company."

But these Bengalis were made of sterner stuff.

The picture today is tersely eloquent. India's Coastal and Overseas trade is worth Rs. 540 crores annually out of which even 5% is not by Indian bottoms. Thirty million tons of cargo and three million passengers yield crores of freight and passage earnings to enrich the already bloated coffers of non-national shipping. Truly the word ICHABOD* is written on the portals of the seaways of India, by gory hands of the ruthless foreigner. The words of Mahatma Gandhi never rang truer than when he said, "The Indian Shipping had to perish, so that British Shipping might flourish".

* The glory has departed from here.

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CRITICISM OF MARQUESS OF ZETLAND'S SPEECH ON FEDERATION

By K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), *Barrister-at-Law, Reader of Law, Allahabad University*

The Marquess of Zetland has at long last blessed the Federal constitution in a speech at the Bombay Dinner held in London on the 27th May last! Lord Lothian and Lord Samuel a few months ago did the same. They went a step further and pleaded strenuously that as the Act was not rigid, but flexible and elastic, the Indians would do well to accept the Act, so that with the process of the suns the constitution may expand. Little did their Lordships think that this conclusion, which their Lordships came to, was unwarranted by the sections in the Act, as also by the declarations of Sir Samuel Hoare, the then Secretary of State, in the House of Commons. A passing glance over section 6, clause (5) read in conjunction with the second schedule would confirm one in the belief that not only is the Act rigid, but it is cast-iron. Furthermore, even the Instrument of Instructions issued, and to be issued to the Governor-General and the Governors, will have to be approved of by the Parliament—a procedure not adopted in any of the Dominions. I would like to make a present of the protected provisions of the second schedule to their Lordships to convince them that the special plea that the constitution is not rigid, is legally unfounded.

When the Governor-General's various powers are analysed they fall under six categories:

(1) Powers and functions relating to the Reserved Departments.

(2) Powers and functions to be exercised in his discretion.

(3) Powers and functions to be exercised in his individual judgment.

(4) Powers and functions to be exercised on the advice of his Ministers.

(5) Extraordinary powers of legislation, supervision over Provincial Legislatures, etc., and functions relating to excluded areas.

(6) Powers and functions as representative of the Crown relating to the States.

The two offices of the Crown representative and the Governor-General have been combined in one person, namely, the Governor-General. Armed with these powers the Governor-General will arrogate to himself such a position as has never been enjoyed the Governor-General in the Dominions the Kings in England since the days of t Stuart Kings. If, notwithstanding the vig ous protest registered by the whole Ind nation against the proposed Federation, t Secretary of State is still convinced that t Federal scheme, as outlined in the Gove ment of India Act, 1935, is something wh is for the real good of the country, he m be treating his Indian critics, in fact the wh Indian nation, as a band of foolish petul boys completely ignorant of what is good them. We, Indians, however, refuse accept the fact that reason had deserted us, that we have not passed beyond the stage political babyhood. We are still unconvinc despite the special pleas advanced by his Lo ship, that the Federal scheme will be product of any real good to India.

If we direct our attention to the analy of the provisions of the Federal structure will be struck at once by the fact that Governor-General has been vested with s enormous powers as to be able to overshadow whole Indian Constitution and reduce Ministers to mere puppets, who will have carry out his behests, register his decrees get out of office. It really strikes one as pa ful that when dyarchy was found unworka in the Provinces, it should have been in duced in the Centre giving the Governor-Gen powers over the Army, defence and for relations, not to speak of ecclesiastical aff and tribal areas. He will be advised on reserved side not by Ministers responsible the Legislature, but by Counsellors respons to the Governor-General. Thus the Gover General and the Counsellor will play role of irremovable executive having enorm powers and no responsibility towards Indian Legislature, turning now and then life, light and guidance to White Hall. I the contention of the British Government an Indian Minister is still unfit to admin the reserved side of the Government? D it require any special training to run that

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so, may the Indians in all humility ask the Secretary of State where such coaching classes can be found and who will be the teachers there?

Why should not the Army and the Navy be thrown open to the Indians, who cannot be deemed to be lacking in warlike qualities? The martial traditions of the Rajputs, Sikhs, Mahrattas, Pathans, and Bengalees should not be forgotten. Why should the children of the soil suffer from hunger and misery unable to get two coarse meals a day, while the English boys should be fed on butter and cream in the shape of fat salaries in the Army? Is there anything unreasonable in our demands that we want to be the protectors of our own hearth and home and defenders of our country? If today the British people, on account of international complications, have to take away the British elements in the Army and Navy to defend their own country, are we simply to sit with folded arms in our rooms praying to God Almighty against foreign aggression? The most abject dependence upon British Army can hardly be over-estimated, and it is time that the whole matter should be overhauled and there should be a preponderant introduction of Indian element into the Army and Navy (if not immediate and thorough Indianisation) which would make a vast curtailment in the military expenditure, while at the same time providing food for the starving young men of our country.

The Governor-General has also extraordinary powers of legislation, supervision over Provincial Legislatures, etc., powers to be exercised in his individual judgment and discretion.

If in these circumstances, even if strong congressmen are selected on the Federal Ministry, is there any doubt that they will be like Samsons shorn of their locks, and as soon as they get the ministerial portfolios they will have their loss and get extinguished, or if they refuse to be extinguished they will be dismissed by the Governor-General? A cursory glance at the Government of India Act, 1935, will convince one that the Federal Ministers will have a very narrow field of operation and, therefore, no self-respecting man will choose to be a minister when virtually he will have little power and far less responsibility, while the Governor-General will play the part of superminister.

The noble Marquess says that the Parliament will not alter the constitution before Federation has been accepted and, therefore, he pleads that the Act should be accepted. This is a most queer way of looking at things. If the Indians are convinced that by accepting the Federal scheme, the future progress and the advance of the country are doomed, why should they put their seal of approval upon the Act? It is just like telling an undesirable man to get into water, which is reputed to be full of sharks, assuring him that he will be lifted out of the water, if and when attacked by them. Just as no man with a modicum of common sense in him would listen to his adviser, however aged he might be, so the Indians will not listen to the Secretary of State.

So much of sophistry and special pleading are apparent upon the speech of the Marquess that even a most commonplace brain can detect the specious line of reasoning. He says that the acceptance of the Federal scheme will bring about unity of the Indian people. But at what cost and with what future and will it ever do so under the present scheme? If one's attention is turned to section 6, clause (5) and to the second schedule to the Act, it will be manifest that no future progress can be made in any direction, unless and until the Princes choose to consent, and if they do not, the Secretary of State himself stated in the House of Commons, that it will be open to the Princes to walk out of the Federation. It is therefore crystal clear that the Princes will be the arbiters of India's future progress. The British Parliament has put legal fetters upon its legislative competence, though it is a well-known proposition of constitutional law that no Parliament can bind its successors. But in view of the declaration of Sir Samuel Hoare and the wording of section 6, clause (5) and the second schedule to the Act, it is abundantly clear that the Indian Provinces will have two masters to please, if the Federal scheme is introduced—(1) the Federated Indian Rulers and (2) the British Parliament. The future progress of India is therefore mortgaged primarily with the Indian Rulers.

It is they and they alone who will reap a rich harvest by accepting the Federation. They will send 33 per cent to the Lower House and 40 per cent to the Upper House of the Federal Assembly, while their population is only 23 per cent—men who will not be elected by the States' people, but who will on the other hand be the nominees of the Princes looking to them for inspiration and guidance, while the people in the States will be totally unrepresented. Can any scheme more prejudicial to the interest of the States' people be imagined? The noble Marquess in his speech stated that

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the Indian Princes may send representatives of the people, but even in that case it is open to the objection that so long as there is nothing in black and white in the constitution the Princes may simply ignore what the Secretary of State wishes them to do. Let us suppose that the Princes choose to send half the number by nomination and half by election. Will it satisfy the States' people, or the people in British India? Certainly not. There must be undiluted democracy in the Indian States and thorough elimination of the principle of nomination.

Today, while the Indian Princes are clamouring for establishing their claims for internal sovereignty, the States' people are without any democratic institution worth the name. The Princes have got their rights guaranteed and the orders of the Rulers are final, over-riding the most elementary rights of personal freedom, not to speak of the complete control over the administration of the States. There has been some attempt on the part of some States to introduce a semblance of democratic institution, but no tinkering will do. The people must feel that they are the masters in their own house able to have their say, and most effective say, on all affairs within the State and the Princes must be content to play the part of constitutional rulers. The States' people must also have the inalienable birthright of human beings, of which they cannot be deprived, except in due process of law. Dr. Keith in his book on the Government of British Empire at p. 554 says:

"To make the experiment safe it was desirable to create a conservative central legislature and this could best be accomplished by granting more than numerically proportionate representations to the States. It was assumed that their representatives in the legislature would solidly support the wishes of the Crown."

I am not drawing upon my own imagination. To quote the exact wordings of Col. Wedgwood, M.P., who in the House of Commons on the 19th February 1935, spoke about the Bill as it then was:

"It is undignified to go on pretending that by this constitution we are providing something for the benefit of India....What we are proposing is obviously worse at the centre than the present situation. If the Bill goes through its present stage there is no chance of any further step towards freedom, towards Dominion Status and towards a democratic franchise."

Mr. Cocks, M.P., in his speech in the House of Commons on the 19th February 1935, stated:

"It did not give responsible Government. In the centre we do not think that there is any democratic Government at all. Labour party would prefer a Federation of the British India which leaves the Princes out."

In the face of these opinions of responsible men can it be said that we Indians are most unreasonable in asserting that the Federation is unworkable and should not be thrust upon us. In my opinion if the following proposals be accepted then and then alone the Federal scheme be worked. It would be in a period of peace and prosperity for India as a whole and the establishment of cordial relations between the British Government on the one hand and the Indians on the other. We Indians want to control our own house, fashion our own constitution and not to be dictated to from 10, Downing Street. The proposals are:

(1) The introduction of a thorough responsible Government in the States must be the condition precedent to the admission of the Indian States into the Federal structure.

(2) The nominees of the Princes must never be allowed to go to the Assembly or the Council of State, only the elected representatives of the people must be sent there. The population of the States being [illegible] per cent, when compared with that of the British Government, 23 per cent of the representatives of the people of the States should go there.

(3) The Princes are to be guaranteed all the existing sanads, treaties and engagements along with [illegible] which must be a fundamental article in the constitution.

(4) The Rulers of the States must be constitutional Rulers acting upon the advice of the peoples' representatives in the States. "Paramountcy" is to be exercised by the Federal Ministry responsible to the Crown.

(5) The Princes may be given some seats in the Council of State.

(6) In case of disagreement between the Federal Government and any State regarding any interpretation of any treaty, engagement or otherwise, reference must be made to the Federal Court for adjudication and the decision of that Court will be final and conclusive.

(7) The method of indirect election must disappear for electing members to the Federal Assembly. There should be thus direct election.

(8) Dyarchy from the Federal Legislature must disappear. The Reserved Departments are to be handed over to popular control, that is, to the Ministers.

(9) The Governor-General's powers to exercise his responsibilities, his individual judgment and control of legislation, etc., must go. His powers to act in his discretion must be abridged within the strictest possible limits. He has to be mainly a figure-head, and to act upon the advice of the Ministers, just as is the position of the Governor-General in the Dominions.

(10) The Council of State must be relegated to a distinctly subordinate position. It must be more [illegible] in the nature of a revising chamber.

(11) The high property qualifications of the Council of State as also the long tenure and the elaborate nomination must disappear. The House must be representative of the best talents of the country, if it is to serve any useful purpose, and suffered to exist.

(12) The Draft Instruments of Accession must be changed, so that there may not be two Indias—India and Indian-India.

(13) India should have the fulled [illegible]

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termining her economical, commercial and fiscal policies.

(14) Fullest control over all the services must be ted with the Ministers. Recruitment, etc., of all ser- es should be made in India. Imperial services must and the Ministers should have the unfettered control r all questions relating to recruitment, promotion, etc.

(15) Constituent powers must be provided for in Act.

(16) Communal electorate must go, and be replaced joint electorate.

(17) The pernicious section, section 6, clause (5) the protected provisions under the second schedule to Act must go.

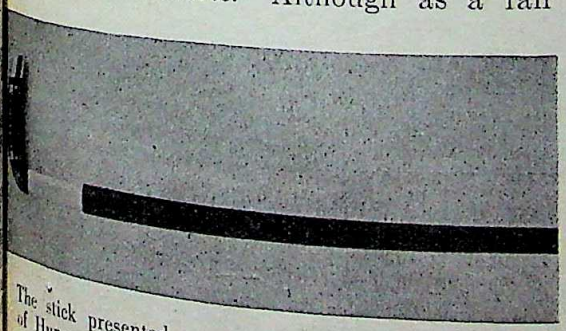
(18) Treaty making powers must be accorded to ia.

The Federal scheme in order to be rkable must comply with the foregoing oposals. They represent, in my judgment, irreducible minimum demands of the Indian ople. It will be in the supreme interests of British Government to accede to all of these mands in order to avoid bitterness in the minds the Indians. The noble Marquess has not rhaps taken stock of the political situation in India today. Eight Provinces are under the Congress Ministry and of the three remaining Provinces, Assam may be Congress Ministry any day. Bengal may follow suit. It will then be the lonely Punjab, which might not form a Congress Ministry. It is high time for the British Government to ponder over the political situation calmly and dispassionately, and gauge the sentiment as well as the strength of the people. It will be a political catastrophe of the highest magnitude if in the face of the emphatic protests against the proposed Federation, it is foisted upon an unwilling India. While a timely grant smoothens the feelings, a long delayed privilege, which is wrung out of unwilling hands, loses all grace. Let it not be said of the present British Government that while they are fertile in administrators, they are sterile in statesmen, who cannot peer below the surface and understand realities; and it is far-sighted statesmen who are required at this juncture.

INDIAN HANDICRAFTS IN BUDAPEST FAIR

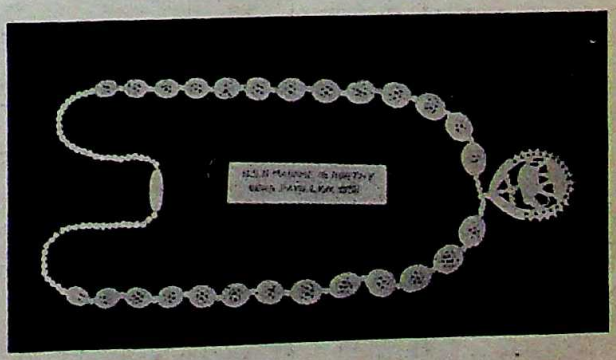
By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC., Pol. (Rome).

the glorious spring weather of Hungary an ternational Exhibition of Industrial Arts kes place at Budapest every year, where most the leading industrial nations of the world hibit their handicrafts. Although as a fair



The stick presented to Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, by the Indian Govt. Trade Commissioner, Mr. M. R. Ahuja

had rather a modest beginning, it has now ined enormous popularity as an annual exhi- tion and occupies today a large space on the tskirts of the city. India was represented r the first time in this fair last year, and the sults of the experiment were so remarkably couraging that the Indian Pavilion was raised in the Budapest Fair this year too, with greater pomp and displaying more varied and a larger number of exhibits than it was possible to do last year. The Indian Pavilion has been organized by the Indian Government Trade Commissioner at Milan, and it is entirely due



A photograph of the ivory necklace presented to Madame Horthy. It was made at Amritsar

to the organizing genius and business talent of Mr. M. R. Ahuja, that the Indian Pavilion at Budapest has achieved so much popularity and success.

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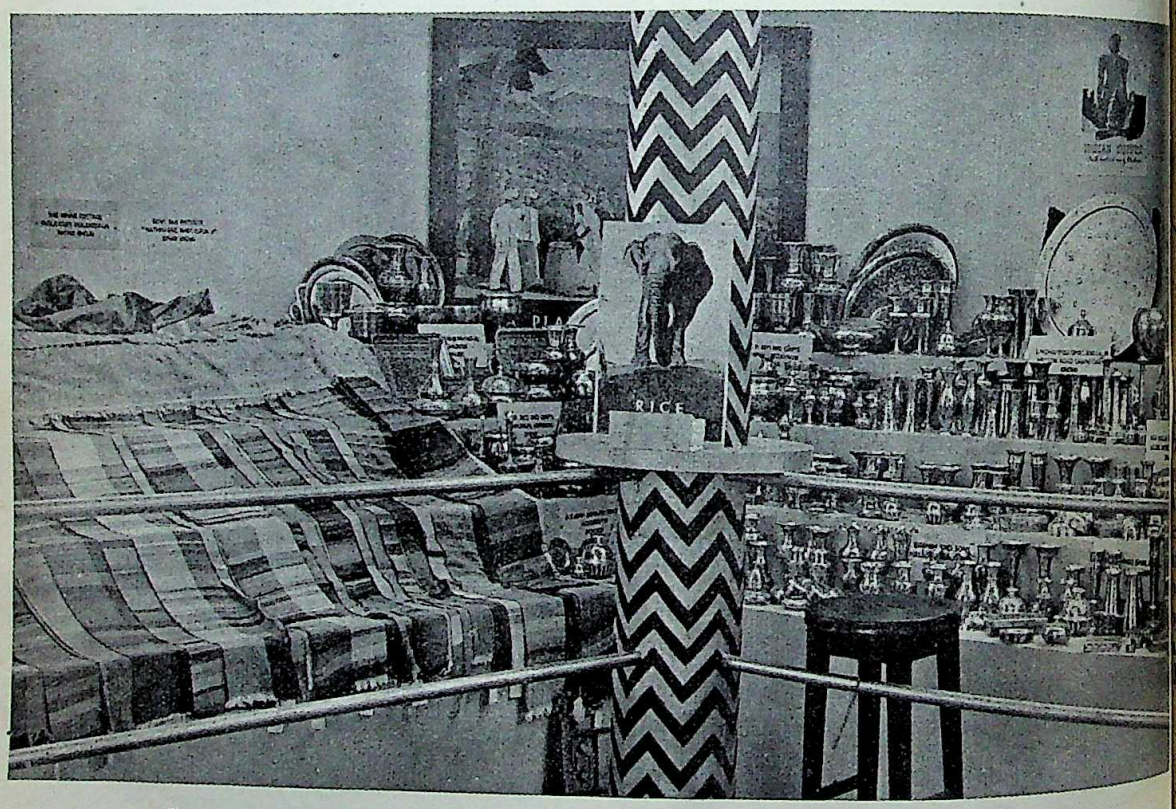
The Indian Pavilion was situated this year in a very striking position, just facing the main entrance to the Fair, and there was something in the architectural design of the Pavilion which would easily remind one of the Orient. It was larger and more striking a structure than that of the previous year. The exhibits were arranged round the walls of the Pavilion and the passage for visitors circled around the exhibits. The brasswares of the incomparable Moradabad craftsmanship were the most popular among the visitors, and the entire supply of brasswares were sold out before the Fair closed. Next in popularity came the silk materials. Sports goods too were much in demand. Being asked by me, Mr. Ahuja explained how the general uncertainties of the political situation in Central Europe have affected to some extent the usual enthusiasm of buyers and the briskness of traffic that had characterized the Fair during the previous years. So, whatever drawback was experienced in the sale of articles it was a general feature of the Exhibition and not of any particular Pavilion. Mr. Ahuja, however, made it clear that although the highest hopes raised by last year's success at Budapest have not been fulfilled, yet in absolute figures the results of this year are highly encour and extremely satisfactory.

In addition to that there was a very de ful function this year at the Indian Pav when Admiral Horthy accompanied by Ma Horthy paid a visit to the Pavilion and rec gifts from the Indian Government Trade C missioner; Sir Geoffrey Knox, British Mi at Budapest, was also present at the cere Admiral Horthy, Regent of Hungary, was sented with a cane stick finished in silver mother of pearl, which was specially mad the purpose at Bhera in the Shahapur di in the Punjab from which Mr. Ahuja hi hails. Madame Horthy was presented w magnificent ivory necklace specially mad Amritsar. Admiral Horthy, when he was a Naval Officer in the former Austro-Hung Navy, visited some Indian ports and is kn to have unbounded sympathy for the et elements of Indian culture.

Although it is the apparent desire the Government of India to expand the ma for Indian arts and crafts abroad th these Industrial Fairs and Exhibitions, serve a still higher purpose than m commercial. Such fine specimens of In



Corner of the Indian Pavilion, showing a part of the silk and brassware exhibits

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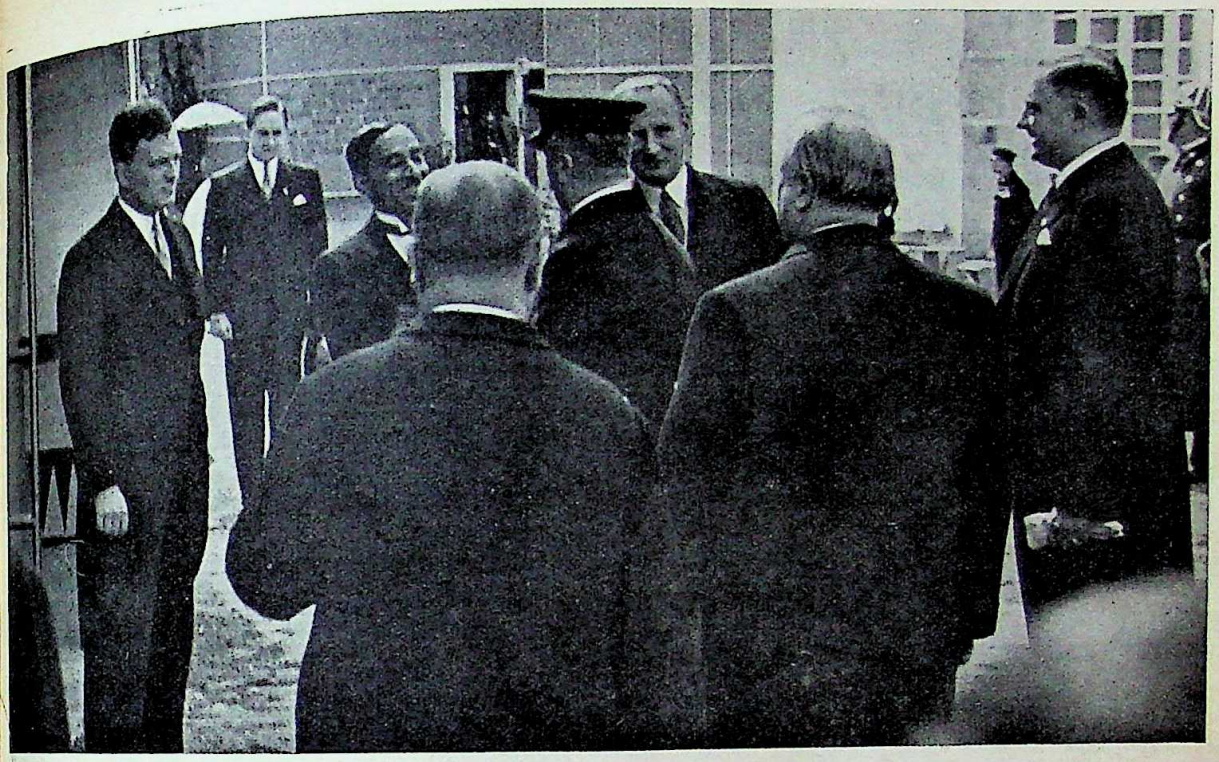

Admiral Horthy being welcomed by Mr. Ahuja, the Indian Trade Commissioner at Milan. Sir Geoffrey Knox, British Minister at Budapest, is also seen in the picture, facing the camera

raftsmanship and industrial art which have een exhibited at Budapest evoke much adiration and esteem for India's artistic genius nong the European public. I have noticed ven persons, who are supposed to be wellformed and educated, wondering and asking the ficers of the Pavilion if they were really made hand in India. There is indeed a large mount of subtle propaganda for Indian art in ese exhibits, which is, by the way, not the first objective of the Government in organizing it. In any way, whatever may be the commercial success of this enterprise, the Indian Pavilion at Budapest should be made a permanent feature of that Fair, and its example should be followed in all other International Exhibitions in different parts of Europe and America, where the exhibits may speak very eloquently of the artistic genius of Indian craftsmen, ancient and modern.

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THE INDUSTRIAL MOVEMENT IN INDIA AND HOW WE CAN HELP IT

By Professor S. S. BHATNAGAR

I see the dim lights of a new dawn in the distant horizon of Indian progress. These faint radiations are not the vanishing streaks of our glorious past; they are the sure signs of a new birth full of promise and glory for the future. This dawn represents the birth of the Industrial Movement in India. The movement has been rather delayed, though its genesis could be traced to the years even before the War. The events of the war, however, gave a great impetus to the development of indigenous industries. Even the Government, whose lukewarm interest in industry had become proverbial, realised the importance of industrial expansion of India and we note that the Indian Industrial Commission appointed during the years 1916-1918 reported

"that the experience of the war itself has been responsible for a new attitude on the part of both Government and leading industrialists. They realise that it is necessary to create in India the manufactures that are indispensable for industrial self-sufficiency and for national defence and that it is no longer possible to rely on free importation of essential articles in time of war."

The successes of the textile industry and the sugar industry furnish illustrations of the fact that, given adequate facilities, Indians are capable of handling big businesses intelligently and efficiently. Not only are these two industries in a flourishing state, but the Electrical Companies and the woolen industry, besides many others, have also done good business. These examples further bring home the fact that all Governments can really stimulate industries by the granting of subsidies and loans from official banking institutions or by the imposition of protective tariffs. The Indian industrialists should not be slow to realise that the secret of success in this or any other industry lies in the economic utilisation of all the bye-products of an industry and that this can be achieved only by contact with the methods of science. The businessman, proud of the initial success in a new undertaking, is apt to become a slave of tradition and the rule of thumb and often begins to look with scorn upon scientific discoveries which he contemptuously calls "theories." An example of this may be found in the pre-war history of the British industry. There was practically no intercourse and no co-operation bet the men of science of that country and leaders of industry. There were, here and th a few enlightened industrialists who w interested in applying the methods of scien research, but it became a reproach to Bri industry as a whole that it ran only in established grooves and refused to adapt products to the requirements of the time the result that the continental products, pa cularly the German articles, gradually ou the British goods from the market. T achievement of the Germans was no do due to the recognition by their Governm and industrialists of the need of active operation between the men of science industries which led to the introduction many new processes in industry and to extensive employment in Germany of scie fically-trained men for industrial research.

British industrialists as a body paid heed to these warnings and reproaches rarely called in the aid of science and scie fic workers. When, however, the war of 1 came with all its imperious and multifar demands for greater production and be articles than already available or for suit substitutes for materials, the supply of wh was diminished or cut off, there was a sud awakening and an immediate change of a tude which has been maintained ever sin Now that Europe is on the threshold of anot war, the need for co-operation between scie and industry has become more increasin apparent, particularly in countries which h peace but maintain that a strong preparat for defence is the surest guarantee for pea Not only England but India also has felt necessity of such a co-operation. It is repor that a Government Committee has been up with a view to study the subject of air-r precautions necessary for the defence of towns of India and her civil population. is also considered necessary that the provin governments and local authorities should instructed in good time in the arrangeme to be undertaken, if India is to be prepa to meet a danger which undoubtedly exp But the industrialists in India are far too s in recognising the need of an active program

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industrial expansion in this country which ould manufacture not only the principal icles of every-day use in times of peace but so war materials and munitions which can- t be imported easily owing to the exigencies a coming war which threatens to put an d to modern civilisation. There is no doubt at there is some awakening in firms which long to Tatas, Birlas, Seth Padampat and la Shri Ram, but it is not commensurate th the gravity of the present world situation th its terrific roll of unemployment and the sery of the farmers owing to a fall in the ices of agricultural goods. Even the indus- es which are considered to be flourishing e not free from danger. Take for instance e much-talked of sugar industry. It is vious that success in this or any other ilar industry would lie in the economic lisation of its bye-products. Yet how many gar manufacturers are there who have nously given thought to the problems of lasses or bagasse? It also remains to be en whether Indian industrialists would come rward and help in developing schemes which ve been suggested by the Joint Committee the U. P. and Bihar Governments for the lisation of molasses. The advantages which e sugar manufacturer now enjoys might ppear or science may so revolutionise the duction of sugar that even the protection ich he now enjoys may not be able to help m. The only thing which can save him when e real competition comes will be the subsi- ry industries which he develops, and it is erefore necessary that he should lay aside part of his income for researches into the onomic utilisation of the bye-products, for improvements in the breed of sugarcane and il and for the technical procedures involved sugar production. A small permanent profit more useful than a windfall for a few years d it can be achieved only by a complete *ete cordiale* between the technical staff, e labour and the capitalist. The present actice of paying off the technical staff when e season is off and re-employing it when the ushing of the cane re-starts reduces the status the technical staff to that of a daily wager d kills all initiative for hard and honest ork. A distressing feature of industry, rticularly in the Punjab, is that relation- ip to the directors and external influence are coming more increasingly a pass-port to ployment than talent, even in technical bs. (This equally applies to the textile d other Indian industries, perhaps not yet in so flourishing a state as the sugar industry).

There are several causes which are responsible for this lack of co-ordinated efforts for a rapid industrialisation of our country. Of these perhaps the most outstanding one is the attitude of the capitalist. The capitalist all the world over, perhaps to a lesser extent in India, seems to be imbued with only one desire, namely, that of making money. While it is obvious that the financial aspect of an industry is its most attractive feature, an industry should not exist solely for the purpose of further enriching a set of financiers. The real industrialist is essentially a moral being, a real servant of society who is content if his money brings a small reasonable return in the shape of profits, his main dividends are the benefits which he confers upon society by providing employment, and by the public service he does by producing a national commodity.

If more industries are not promoted in this country, it is mainly due to the fact that the capitalist is very shy to invest, when he knows that the returns on his capital are going to be less than what can be earned in the shape of interest. I am not a communist and the capitalist should know that these suggestions are entirely in his interest. If the accumulation of explosive material in the shape of unemployment is allowed to continue, it might in the end blow up the foundations of society from which he will be the greatest of all the sufferers. If I strongly disfavour this happening, it is because I fully realise that the ravages of a ruined society will take ages to clear and because there is at the moment no improvement trust which society as a whole recognises and no admittedly superior or definite plan for reconstruction. It should be admitted at once that no Government can cure unemployment, nor any college or university. Its cure lies in a thorough repair of society and a process of industrialisation free from the defects inherent in the European or the American system, for example, over-mechanisation.

It is obvious that if the superstructure of society has to be preserved, in the suggested process of extensive repairs, the ugliness of it must vanish and the weak elements must be strengthened. It is best if the material for this support comes from those, who are now top-heavy, in a gesture of self-surrender, rendering the work of the chisel and the hammer unnecessary and making all the parts symmetrical and beautiful.

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The present slow pace of industrial progress is not entirely due to the capitalist. Whatever little in the shape of industries exists in India is due to the enterprise of the British businessmen and the Indian capitalist. There were and there are still in India investigators in pure science who not only carry on their work without any thought of the possible utilisation of their results in industry or in everyday life but go so far as to say that science would be degraded by having its discoveries put to such a base use. The science teaching in the universities and colleges was therefore planned to give students a mere theoretical smattering of these subjects. The Indian industrialists were therefore justified in looking upon our graduates as unfit for technical employment in industry. Things are, however, fast changing and the modern young student of science realises that while fundamental theoretical work must continue to be the basis of all scientific advance his subject would lose all its importance if this training did not fit him for tackling large-scale problems which arise in industries. Several Indian universities have now instituted courses of studies for technical Chemistry in their university curricula. The Punjab University was one of the first in the field and the success of industrial research in the University has more than justified the experiment. Besides Lahore there exist in Calcutta, Benares, Bombay and Nagpur facilities for meeting the demands of some of our successful industries and the industrialists would do well in giving these institutions a chance to show what they can do in the matter of industrial researches. There is, however, a great deal yet to be done in the Indian universities in that direction. The courses of studies themselves require careful recasting not only at the university, but at the school stage more particularly.

Let me illustrate this need further. The trees flower and bear fruit, the sun shines, the clouds appear and it rains, the wind blows, a rainbow is seen, the thermometer rises, water boils and becomes hot or cold, the moon waxes and wanes, a boy wears glasses, the smoke rises into the chimney, the polished floor is slippery and some colours get fainter on washing or in the sun. How many children are taught the meanings, the causes or effects of any of these happenings? I am certain that a grasp of these phenomena would do more to foster a truly scientific spirit and understanding than all the texts drilled into the aching heads of our young children.

It is to be hoped that the respons government now introduced in the land w do something in this important matter, for perfectly useless to build up an edifice of in the shape of a high university educatio so slender a foundation as our school curri provide at present. Those who are fam with the education of children in Ameri British and Continental schools would ap ciate the significance of the above rem The general knowledge of a young chil Europe is far superior to that of a school in India, even of a higher age. This stat affairs points to the urgent need of a com overhaul of our system of education in infant and primary classes, as without a per foundation it would not be possible to the maximum benefit of the higher educa which is comparatively better organised in country.

It is only proper that the Indian indus which has not as yet risen to such height prosperity as to maintain a separate indus research organisation of its own, should ness to its advantage the services of som our distinguished university professors and excellently equipped laboratories which colleges and the universities have at disposal. It is to be regretted that amo so many of the scientific workers at univer research centres only a noted few realise vital necessity of industrial research. apathy may, however, to a great extent, be to the industry itself which is unaware of facilities and talents for research which exis this country. This state of affairs has brought about by a lack of contact between heads of the university research laborat and the leaders of industry. Every go-a industrialist should know what type of eq ment and facilities exist in the various dep ments of different universities so that he know as to which centre is best suited to him in a particular requirement of his. absolutely clear that there should be an India Industrial Research Council to bring heads of the university research departm and the captains of industry together in to discuss and evolve an active programme the industrial development of the cou This All-India Council may have provi branches, but it would be fatal to fix provi limits to industries particularly in the pr stage of our developments.

If the governments have not done mu initiate new industries, the reasons have been entirely political. Our industrialists

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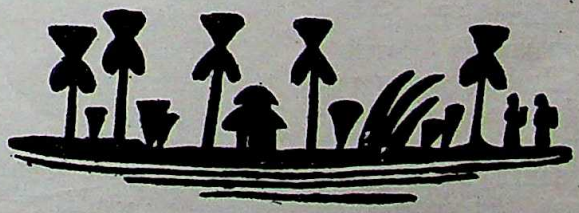
ientific workers are as much to blame. As a acher of science I know to my utter shame e attitude of the student community. They efer the Government service to an equally munerative or even a better post in industry. hey are afraid to run risks. Owing to the ucity of Government posts, there is, however, change in their frame of mind and just like e Indian capitalist, they are now less afraid take more risks. One hopes and prays that is new attitude would continue not on senti- ental grounds but as a matter of a considered ogramme before the nation.

If I were a politician I would not mention e danger to the industrial movement in India m those who having achieved nothing in ience or industry have still the ears of the lustrialists owing to political and sentimental asons. One may start an industry for poli- al or sentimental reasons, but its measure success as a true industry is its financial hievements based upon the cold and calculat- facts of economics and science. I have in mind particularly the Congress provinces ere the political zeal of a promoter of lustry may weigh strongly with the Govern- nt. If this zeal is not supplemented by ason and a knowledge of the hard facts of e, it may lead to disastrous results which y give a setback to the industrial movement India from which it may be difficult to over. It is therefore imperative for all who ve experience to advise the Governments ainst these dangers. Nothing will help the cess of the national movement more than development of key industries in India ich the Governments in the autonomous vinces wish to initiate.

All classes of people can help in this pro- s of nation-building:

1. The capitalist by his benevolence and courage to invest.
2. The Government can help
   (*a*) by allowing subsidies, protective tariffs and loans to industries and by promoting State and semi-state industries;
   (*b*) by procuring financial help from the rich by the method of gentle persuasion the technique of which is entirely their own. This has enabled them to raise charities and memorials on special occasions. The finances so obtained should be utilised in developing big industries which no single financier in India can undertake;
   (*c*) by helping in bringing about "mergers" or combinations of industrial enterprises and stopping cut-throat internal competition;
   (*d*) by gradually reducing expenditure on administration and effecting a more balanced distribution of remuneration in their services;
   (*e*) by diverting funds thus saved to improving the system of education so that it is more suited to our present-day needs.
3. The Universities can help
   (*a*) by directing their energies to making education a real incentive to work. A man is truly educated if he knows how to make a tool of every faculty—how to open it, how to keep it sharp and how to apply it to all practical purposes and to all contingencies of life;
   (*b*) by creating new knowledge without which no industry can exist or stand competition;
   (*c*) by supplying to those interested material and data which may lead to the ultimate development of industry and agriculture and by allowing freely the use of talent and material available with them for industrial development.
4. The Students can help
   (*a*) by returning to the land and to the professions which they now despised;
   (*b*) by recognising the dignity of labour, for, "It is to labour and to labour only, that man owes everything of exchangeable value. Labour is the talisman that has raised him from the condition of the savage; that has changed the desert and the forest into cultivated fields; that has covered the earth with cities, and the ocean with ships; that has given us plenty, comfort and elegance, instead of want, misery, and barbarism".



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INDIA'S MILK PROBLEM

By DEWAN BAHADUR D. ANANDA RAO, B.Sc.,
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India's heritage is its cattle. It is the largest in the world accounting for 31 per cent of the world's cattle population. Naturally, a country so rich in cattle, about 230 millions all told, but whose teeming populations are poor and who have to depend largely on vegetarian diet containing but a small proportion of proteins, is expected to have for its people a plentiful supply of milk. Three hundred crores of rupees—about six times the annual army expenditure—is the value of India's annual output of milk. Colossal as it sounds, it is hardly sufficient for its needs. For statistics tell us that while in volume it is the second largest in the world, in its per capita consumption it is one of the lowest. While the American and the New Zealander consume as milk and its products 35 and 56 ounces per day respectively, the Indian has to be satisfied with only 7 ounces. This quantity is said to be less than even the minimum requirements necessary for normal health and growth. Recent investigations in seven widely differing cattle-breeding areas of India in regard to the average amount of milk consumed have also indicated that males consume more than the females. One wonders whether this greater consumption by the male is due to the desire on the part of the mother and the wife for a preferential treatment of one who has to bear the burden of the day. But, is not the woman in India also the burden bearer and is she not the producer of the future generation of men? Be that as it may, the fact remains that the milk produced in the country is not sufficient to meet the normal needs of the population.

While India is rich in its cattle wealth, the Indian cow is a very poor milker. In spite of the fact that there are certain breeds famous as heavy yielders, the average Indian cow's milk yield is in the neighbourhood of four pounds per day, whereas the European cow is reputed to yield four to five times this quantity. No doubt, Departments of Government throughout the country have been endeavouring to tackle the problem of cattle improvement in a two-fold direction, namely, by selection or crossbreeding and the production of better fodder crops. In fact, emphasis hitherto has been laid on the former by the introduction of good breeding bulls. It may be pointed out that improvement of b alone is not likely to take us far. It is no exaggeration to say that bad managem mainly responsible for this low output in Agricultural Departments in the majorit Provinces are still responsible for the imp ment of live-stock of the country though regrets to find that frantic efforts are b made in some provinces to transfer the resp bility to Veterinary Departments, because feared that the former take a step-mot interest in cattle inasmuch as their main is crop improvement. This fear, howev unfounded, for cattle and crops are insepar and one interested in crop improvement ca afford to forget that it can not go far wi improvement of cattle keeping pace wit But, whatever Department is in charge of stock improvement, so long as this improve is one-sided, one might hazard the opinion improvement will not be perceptible, and to extent money and energy expended would ly be dissipated. Unless cattle have plen nourishing and succulent food, it would be a pity to produce a better type of cattle they would rapidly degenerate under ex conditions. It is, therefore, obvious that producer should be taught first to look the cattle he possesses better than he does But can he do it? This indeed is the cr the whole problem. When the owner has the wherewithal to have even one square a day, is it not too much to expect him to his cow so well as to make the concern a munerative one? As things are at present poverty of the Indian cow owner stands in way of making it a better yielder.

Take again the point of view of consumer. He is always anxious to pay little as possible for milk whatever its qu Quality in milk is indeed difficult to te the ordinary consumer, and as long as present mentality—the educated man is n ception to it—continues, the producer do consider it worth his while to maintain a standard in quality. With high feeding cos low prices for milk and its products, the pro finds it impossible to make dairying a concern. The danger of underselling one a

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makes the concern still more precarious. In order to make the trade at least self-supporting, the producer takes recourse to adulteration. The loss to the dairy industry through adulteration is said to be to the tune of ten crores of rupees. While legislation against adulteration does exist in the country, it is so inefficiently applied that the State, whether it can afford it or not, is losing this large amount.

Insanitary milk is the necessary concomitant of adulteration; impure water supply is the bane of the villager and in consequence in spite of the fact that unboiled milk is the most wholesome, people refrain from using it for fear of becoming victims to water-borne diseases. Methods employed in the production and distribution of milk intended for human consumption and the colossal ignorance of the milkman and the cultivator in general in regard to the elementary principles of cleanliness are deplorable.

It is a fact worth remembering that only a third of the milk produced in India is consumed as such but the rest as curds, ghee, khoa and other byproducts. Milk products patronised by Indians consume 760 million gallons of milk; they are more remunerative than milk itself and are valued at 80 crores of rupees. Besides, it is reckoned that a million maunds of separated milk, a byproduct in the manufacture of creamery butter, is utilised in the preparation of casein for export. One has to seriously consider whether in a country where diseases due to malnutrition are so rampant and where milk is so scarce, such manufacture and export is justifiable. One would expect that indigenous products which to Indians are items of major importance would receive the most serious attention from the authorities concerned. But the pity of it is that they seem to think that manufacture of creamery butter, cheese, condensed and dried milk are of greater moment than indigenous products. Let it not be forgotten that India is a land of small holdings, that 90 per cent of its population lives in villages and that the Indian cultivator is in need of experts who would put their heads to the work of immediate practical benefit to him.

Two problems of vital concern to us are the insufficiency of milk and its prohibitively high price for the man-in-the-street. It is the poor man of the village that now produces it and his poverty tempts him to sell practically all he possesses to the more well-to-do townsman. It should be the concern of the Departments of Government dealing with live-stock improvement to see that larger quantities are produced and sold at prices that a much larger number could afford to buy. The villagers should have sufficient quantities for their own use. This would naturally necessitate the production of much larger quantities of suitable fodders, a point already emphasised, and waste rigorously prevented. Although efforts made during the last 35 years or more have resulted in trebling the area under green fodders, obviously there is much room for improvement in this direction as only a very small area sown to crops is confined to fodder crops. Much larger areas should be apportioned to leguminous crops which are highly nutritious and cost not more to produce than cereals.

The Royal Commission on Agriculture opined that for the improvement of live-stock there ought to be at least one million of pedigree and improved bulls. But the number available in all Government farms is said to be only one per cent of this estimate. Therefore, even the fringe of the problem has not yet been touched. Efforts in this direction should be greatly augmented. Bulls born to the selected ones should not be lost sight of or converted into work bullocks, and steps taken to select good bulls from those already in the villages. To do this a special staff may be necessary whose business would be to select, purchase and make available good bulls at suitable centres to those needing them.

While too much emphasis can not be laid on the importance of improvement of pastures, fodder crops, water supply, castration of unsuitable bulls, and cattle breeding, it should be recognised that these are but palliatives. As has already been pointed out, the economic condition of the ryot stands in his way to give effect to these suggestions. To him the cow is sacred and yet slaughtering of dry cows in the cities is a daily occurrence. To raise economic position of the ryot should be the first item in the programme of all rural uplift work. Since the milk problem is of vital importance to us as a nation, it is time that the State bestirred itself to strike at the root of the evil. Individual initiative and enterprise, important as they are, can not adequately meet the situation. State aid and State leadership are essential for a successful solution of this complex problem. India can not grow to a healthy and self-reliant manhood without an adequate supply of wholesome and rich milk. Surely, India's destiny is linked up with that of her cattle.

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THE BURDEN OF PROTECTION

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The economic organisation of the leading countries in the world is changing so quickly under the pressure of modern political and social forces that we are compelled to revise our opinions of the part which both the State and the individual should respectively play in the same. The accepted notions of economic theory of pre-war days have in many cases been thoroughly revolutionised, with the consequence that those who are still under the influence of pre-war ideas will find themselves hopelessly behind the march of events. These changes have occurred in the external economic relations of countries, no less than in their internal economic arrangements. While the economic order of the future has thus not yet shaped itself, and is still in a process of transition, it is difficult to pronounce judgment on contemporary events in the light of old theories. Whereas in some cases it is true that ideas are in advance of practice, we are now witnessing a situation in which the practice of modern nations will lead to fundamental changes in economic theory.

While we find that the otherwise conservative British people have been quick to perceive the nature of these dynamic changes and have been trying with extraordinary zeal to adapt the economic organisation of Great Britain to the same, irrespective of the classical economic theories, we find that the British authorities in this country, are amazingly slow in showing an appreciation of the need for a corresponding change in outlook for the economic organisation of this country. Such a change is all the more required because in the past, on account of a variety of reasons the economic aspirations of the people could not find adequate manifestation.

The development of industries, large and small, has been accepted by all as one of the most important measures that must be taken in this country in order to relieve the pressure on the soil, to increase the national production and thus help in raising the standard of life of the people or in removing even to some extent the poverty of the people. To achieve this such development must be comprehensive and prompt and above all, in national interests.

A small beginning in this direction made in 1923 when the Government of I accepted the policy of Discriminating Pr tion. With the help of that policy a few in tries have received State assistance; the c city of the people of this country to orga and run modern industries has been proved some progress achieved. But even the lim progress which could be thus made aro jealousies which resulted in organised atten either to put obstacles in the way of the in trial progress of the country, or to obtai share of the benefits of such progress for pe other than the nationals of this country. order to appreciate these observations, one merely to refer to a few leading tendencie the industrial and commercial policy of country in more recent times. In the Se Steel Protection Act of 1937, preference granted to British steel within the protec scheme. The same was done with referenc cotton piecegoods a few years later. It is w known that both the steel interests and textile interests in this country were co into the acceptance of these arrangeme because of the threat that unless they did s protection would be granted. Indeed ha loaf was better than none, was the logic of persons concerned. These exceptional arra ments made under such unusual circumsta were quoted to prove the willing accepta by India of the principle of preference British goods at the Ottawa Conference in 1 The Ottawa Trade Agreement which follo was, as it is well-known, rushed through, wit consulting the industrial and commercial in ests in the country. It gave a large amo of advantage to British trade in this cou without reciprocal advantages to Indian t in the United Kingdom. It ignored altog the possible repercussions on the growing s industries in the country under the imp of the Swadeshi movement. The warning sounded by a few economists* roused p opinion, and the Government of India it difficult to convince the people about

* *Cf. The Ottawa Trade Agreement between and the United Kingdom*, by C. N. Vakil and M. C. M

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dvantages of the Agreement. But it was a eriod when it was easy for the Government of ndia to sanction any arrangement irrespec- ve of the weight of public opinion in the coun- ry. The leaders of public opinion in the ountry were in jail; Indian commercial inter- sts were also aloof so far as Government olicies were concerned because of the political ension; a tame Legislative Assembly with a eak and unorganised opposition could be asily made to accept arrangements of this ature. The only thing that could come out of e opinion then created, was that the Agree- ent was made for a period of three years, at e end of which it could be terminated by ther party; besides, annual reports of the work- g of the Agreement were to be issued by the overnment of India.

The reports which were published from me to time could not establish the case in vour of the Agreement, and in due course the nticipation of those economists who had tried prove the unfairness of the Agreement were rne out. The Assembly at the end of three ars passed a resolution asking the Govern- ent to terminate the Agreement. The neces- ry notice has been given, but the Ottawa ties continue on the Statute Book, on the ound that fresh negotiations with Great ritain are in progress pending which changes in ties are not desirable. Somehow these nego- ations have been protracted now for nearly two ars; delegations have gone to and fro; the dian Commerce Member has flown several mes to London, but we have not yet seen the d of the negotiations. In the meanwhile, portant departures have been made regarding e manner in which protection may be granted Indian industries. For example, it has been mitted that in the case of any Tariff Board quiry, British industrialists are at liberty t only to make a representaton to the Tariff ard but also to give evidence before the me. In no country in the world intending to otect its industries is the right of the com- ting party to lead evidence in this manner cepted.

Besides this, the Government of India Act, 35 provides that in any State assistance that ay be given for the development of trade d industry in this country, there shall be no crimination against the British. In other rds, the British shall obtain in this country the privileges of a national if they want to art industries in this country.

Putting all these tendencies together, one is ced to the conclusion that the industrial and commercial policy of this country is that of discrimination in favour of the British producer and the British importer; that subject to this policy, assistance may be given to Indian industries against third parties, and that in the giving of such assistance the hampering conditions of the policy of discriminating protection may be applied in a manner not conducive to that all-round progress which is so urgently required.

The adoption of the policy of Protection by a country involves a conscious burden on the people at large in order to help industries. Such a burden, however, is undertaken willingly because in the long run the development of industries creates greater employment and a larger production in the country, which enables the people to have a higher standard of life ultimately. It is possible to exaggerate this burden and sacrifice, and it is invariably so exaggerated by vested interests. An impression is created that the advantages due to protection are monopolised by the capitalist producer, and that the consumer is made to pay a higher price for his goods in order that the producer may flourish. It is however, forgotten that a stage arrives, when the producers of a protected industry are able to reduce prices because of internal competition, and in due course are able to do without protection when they have grown sufficiently strong. In return for the sacrifice of the consumer, the protected industry is in this way able to create both direct and indirect employment, a larger production and a state of affairs by which the resources of the country are retained within the country. If in some cases the distribution of these resources is uneven, it may call for steps to remedy the inequality by means of higher taxation of the rich or similar other methods. If we view these processes in their proper perspective, it will be obvious that there is no antagonism between the interests of the producer and the consumer in a country; their interests are supplementary because they are parts of a larger whole, namely, the interests of the community in the aggregate.

When therefore attempts are made to point out and exaggerate the so-called antagonism between the interests of the producer and the consumer in a protected country, we should realise the fact that it is the work of some alien interest desiring to have some advantage in the country by diverting attention from the real economic goal of the country, and creating conflicts between parties which should otherwise co-operate for the good of the country as a

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whole. In this connection, we may refer to the attitude of Sir James Grigg towards the policy of protection in this country. He has made no secret of his free trade convictions; his constant flings at the producer in this country are familiar to everybody. He has found it perhaps difficult to undo the existing protective policy of the country by a direct attack. But protection is imposed by means of duties, and duties are a form of taxation, and taxation is within the purview of the Finance Member. It was significant that during the budget session at Delhi in March 1938, in answer to some observations by a European member, Sir James Grigg referred to the inequality of incidents of taxation in this country, and suggested that that was a subject which the new Economic Adviser to the Government of India would take up for investigation. The inequality in the incidence of taxation in this country is not denied by anybody. Land revenue is regressive in its effects and we have several taxes on articles of common consumption, like salt and kerosene, which are bound to affect the poorer man more than the richer. It does not require any detailed investigation to prove this obvious fact; the only remedy is that these taxes should be removed or reduced; if these taxes cannot be removed arrangements should be made to tax the richer class by progressively higher rates of income-tax, by death duties and such other methods.

But the intention of the proposed inquiry is not so much to study the incidence of taxation, but to study the incidence of the burden on the consumer due to the protection to industries in the country. If this is intended to create that conflict of interests between the consumer and the producer which was referred to above, there will be a new obstacle in the name of the people of the country themselves in the way of the development of industries in the country. It is one thing to welcome the burden of protection, and having welcomed it to see that it is distributed properly; it is another thing to create a conflict of interests because of this burden with a view to prove that it is undesirable, and thus divert attention from the good of the country as a whole to the sectional interests of the different groups of people.

With the record of the Fiscal Policy of India in the past, and with the present arrangements in the country by which the British producer and the British importer must be favoured in this country, one may well doubt the nature of the sympathy of the British capitalist and the British statesman towards the Indian consumer as against the Indian producer.

Besides the growth of these tendencies find that an organised attempt is being by foreign capitalists to build industries in country. A large number of concerns have recent years established branches in this try, and started companies nominally fulfi ing the conditions of the Indian Compa Act. Some of these are taking advantage the protective system; others are taking vantage of the general feeling in the coun for a larger industrial production. Becaus the command over a large capital, lo experience and contact with corresponding abroad, these concerns are able to secure a footing in the country. They are fur assisted at least in the case of the Br Companies by the existing arrangements in country, which enable them to obtain advan from the State as if they were the nationa the country. Most of these concerns e assume Indian names or are registered u the Indian Companies Act, and in any have a sprinkling of Indian Directors on Board. Barring the small advantage w accrues to Indian labourers that they employ, the profits mostly go out of the cou and the experience and skill of running concerns is denied to the people of the cou because the superior posts remain in the h of foreigners. Nominally it appears that industrial production of the country increased in this or that respect, but it not necessarily follow that the reso available for distribution among the peop the country have therefore increased in pro tion. The whole object of industrialisati therefore defeated, because the full ben of such industrial growth are not shared by people of the country. It is significant those who cry hoarse for the Indian consu are not in the least perturbed by this infl foreign manufacturers in the country, wh taking the profits out of the country, ma increasingly impossible for the average In to have a larger share of the national divi In this connection the considered opinio Mahatma Gandhi as expressed in the *Ha* of 26th March, 1938 is appropriate and ti It is so because it draws pointed attenti the need of having genuinely Swadeshi inde in the country instead of industries whic controlled, directed and managed by non-In If we allow the development of such Swadeshi industries in the country we sha

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at our poverty problem will be as acute as er.

But this expression of opinion endorsed by Congress Working Committee is inadequate m the point of view of the industrial problem a whole in the country. As pointed out ove what is required is a new industrial policy the country instead of the present halting licy of Discriminating Protection, which shall ble us to achieve a comprehensive industrial gress as soon as possible. What is further quired is an organised attempt to see that the vantages of such a policy are reserved for people of the country themselves in the nner suggested by Mahatma Gandhi. At the same time effective arrangements should be made to combat the clever devices of certain parties to divide and rule in the economic sphere even as they do in the political sphere.

Whereas the opinion expressed by Mahatma Gandhi and endorsed by the Congress Working Committee is useful inasmuch as it indicates the attitude of Free India, it does not materially help in removing or minimising the existing tendencies explained above. If the Congress hopes to get the value of the rupee changed by means of an organised agitation, it should also take up the question of a correct industrial policy for the country, and force the issue with all its might.

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM AND INDIA

By GAGANVIHARI L. MEHTA

conomic nationalism is no single theory or inciple but a complex phenomenon whose igin lies in economic, political and social ctors. It arises from the effort of a country obtain its essential requirements from its n national resources and to protect its own onomy. It differs from the theory of *laissez-re* in its emphasis on national self-sufficiency ther than international division of labour as ell as in its insistence on deliberate control economic activities by national authorities opposed to achievement of economic rmony by the free-play of economic forces. is, in its present manifestation, a develop-ent of the economic and political forces nce the last war.

Economic nationalism is, indeed, less a ctrine than a tendency. It is an inevitable ncomitant of the more intensively organised e of the modern State due not merely to litarism but to the desire for maintaining a tain standard of life for its people and a lanced economy within its control. It is an pect of the prevailing forces which have tended undermine the economic order, under which small number of large industrial countries ve controlled the markets of the world. Every untry is entitled to develop to the utmost its n resources and the weaker countries turally resent any attempts to prevent such velopment on the plea of economic inter-tionalism. International trade, after all, is not an end in itself; it does not function merely to maintain exports and imports. Classical economists are prone to exaggerate the importance and value of international trade. The criterion of international trade as a measure of national recovery has its limitations. As Mr. Harold Butler, Director of the International Labour Office, observed in his annual report of 1937:

> "One of the clearest teachings of the depression is that the maintenance of the domestic equilibrium must be the primary objective of monetory policy even if it entails lowering the external value of the currency" so that "internal stability must in future take precedence of external stability."[1]

This undue emphasis on external trade and exchange and international market is the result of the predominance of a few powerful countries in production and trade which has involved an economic dependence on the part of the weaker and smaller countries. These newer or backward or weaker countries have failed to develop their own resources owing to this predominance which has led to a national inferiority complex in the economic sphere. The bare notion of international trade has, therefore, in the present-day world, to be co-ordinated with the whole economic activities of the country and its people. Nor is that all. In evaluating national prosperity and economic

1. Report of the Director: Twenty-third Session of the International Labour Conference, 1937.

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progress, mere arithmetical computation of figures of imports and exports is no sure test and might even be misleading unless the character of the particular trade as well as the nature and value of the different commodities are taken into account. India, for example, has a large visible balance of trade, but this is no indication of its prosperity since that trade itself is the outcome of its external indebtedness so that it remains one of the poorest countries in the world, despite its vast natural resources. Such an economic paradox can only be resolved if internal economic development takes precedence over the development of external trade. For, in the economic policy of a nation, the centre of importance has definitely shifted from foreign trade to internal economy.[2]

Much is spoken and written about the excellence of the principle of international division of labour. It is, however, pertinent to enquire whether the existing location of industries in different national areas is the result of purely economic forces and whether political factors have not helped the stronger powers to build up their industries and trade on the basis of their colonial possessions. Why are countries which do not grow the raw materials essential for their manufactures and do not possess adequate home markets for their disposal but are able to acquire both these through the adventitious aid of their colonial and imperial possessions considered to be *naturally* suited, in the strict economic sense, for the manufacture of such commodities? Would Britain's shipping industry, for example, have been built up without its overseas possessions and colonies? It is a strange vindication of *laissez-faire* and of the principles of international division of labour that economic laws and forces operate freely only in a world whose sources of supply and markets have been and are determined by political considerations and forces. As Dr. Schacht, the late Minister of Economy and President of the Reich Bank of Germany, observed in his speech at the Berlin Congress of the International Chamber of Commerce in July last year:

"Economic nationalism only arises where the nation's conditions of life have been cramped by external forces."

It need hardly be pointed out that India's natural economic evolution has been hampered and the economic ambitions and aspirations of its people have been impeded and frustrated by such external forces which have not hesit in the words of a British historian, "to us arm of political injustice" to keep down strangle the ancient handicrafts no less to prevent the growth of modern enterpris the country. But that is not all. The techn of modern manufacture along with the faci of modern transport has tended to under the principle of international division of la by diminishing the advantages of specia tion of industries in particular localities. can almost make anything anywhere n adays and the location of particular dustries is, therefore, relatively a matte economic indifference. In order, howeve encourage the growth of incipient industri particular areas against long establi competitors from outside, it might be esse to protect them. It is a mere abstractio ignore the existing division of the world separate national areas and to under-rate importance of balanced national economie a genuine world order. As Herr Frowein President of the Berlin Congress of the I national Chamber of Commerce, pointed ou

"International trade can only reach its optimum de ment if based on sound and prosperous economies."[3]

The national economy of India is, reasons on which it is unnecessary to dwell not prosperous. Until, therefore, India grown to the full height of its economic sta and can secure the maximum satisfaction o domestic requirements by its own industrie cannot usefully participate in any move for the development of international trad a genuinely reciprocal basis. As Mr. Ha Butler observes in his Report this year:

"If social justice is to form the basis of universal p there must be some approach to greater equality bet nations".[4]

It is necessary however, to eliminate s political bias attached to the movement economic nationalism owing to its associat with the Fascist States. Economic planning a national basis is not the same as *auta* which involves complete control of foreign t and economic processes for defensive even than for economic reasons. For example, G. D. H. Cole acknowledges that

"a country which has so wide a diversity of natural sources and so large a population that it can produce out serious economic sacrifice nearly everything it for an advancing standard of life is in a positio adopting economic nationalism to escape the fatal

2. See *Foreign Trade Policy of India* by P. R. Srinivas, Editor, *Indian Finance*: a stimulating course of lectures delivered at Madras last year.

3. Article in *World Trade*, June 1937.
4. Report of the Director of the I. L. O. for 19

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high wage policy which international competition sets

Potentially, India is very much in this sition but it is sheer misrepresentation to nfuse Indian demand for and efforts towards tional self-sufficiency with totalitarian tarkie. The development of the vast economic ources of India, industrial no less than ricultural, is a fundamental of its national nomy. Industrialisation is an integral part India's economic and fiscal policy and is emed essential in order to secure a proper uilibrium between industry and agriculture. otection to national industries is, consequently, necessary instrument of national economic velopment. It is well-known that although dia is considered one of the important ustrial countries of the world, it is extremely kward in industrial production and the ndard of living of the mass of its people is plorably low. The Indian intelligentsia, there-re, desires to develop national resources and lise the raw materials within the country for nufacturing goods, thereby not only creating ger avenues of employment but also securing liversification of economic pursuits. If such orts are considered as "economic nationalism" the more highly developed countries which ve attained their present economic position ough their control and dominance over the aker and backward peoples of the world, we uld gladly plead guilty to the charge. hatever orthodox economists might say, we uld consciously and energetically establish ustries of every kind, from a pin to a steamer, m hydro-electric power to steel. The terment of a people's welfare depends upon increase in economic productivity, both ricultural and industrial, and this economic vancement is inextricably bound up with the velopment and extensive use of our own natural ources. This view has received the powerful pport of no less an authority than Mr. J. M. ynes, one of the truest liberals and ernationalists of today. Says Mr. Keynes:

ympathize with those who would minimize, rather than kimise, economic entanglement among nations. Ideas, owledge, science, hospitality, travel—these are the ngs which should of their nature be international. But goods be homespun wherever it is reasonably and con-ciently possible...a greater measure of national self-ciency and economic isolation among countries than ted in 1914 may tend to serve the cause of peace rather n otherwise."[5]

The "homespun goods" of Mr. Keynes are at India's economic nationalism, in its essence, is at producing. The problem is wider than one of pure economics. Mr. Bertrand Russel also visualised the evolution of international peace through the organisation of large land blocks each strong for defence but weak for attack involving a minimum of foreign trade and a maximum of self-subsistence.[6]

Indeed, under the present conditions of world economy, economic nationalism for a country like India is not only a right but an obligation. For, the tariff is as much an instrument of resistance and defence as of construction. The decline in international trade is not a theory but a fact, however much orthodox economists might regret it. The free market is an abstraction; it does not simply exist. In the field of foreign trade there can be no "back to normality". The formula of free trade may be sound in an ideal international society, but it is peculiarly irrelevant at present because it has little relation to economic facts of today. No one can, even if he wishes it, go back to the old policy of free trade which, so far as India is concerned, was really free imports without free trade and was imposed upon, rather than accepted by the people of this country. It is essential, therefore, to recognise that in the present changed conditions, wherein countries to which we exported have abandoned *laissez-faire* and free trade, India should also evolve a policy of reducing the national dependence on foreign trade and concentrate increasingly on internal development. Under prevailing conditions, there is no such thing as an absolute criterion of economic rightness. Economic policies cannot operate in a vacuum. National economies have to take into account new factors of planning and control and must seek to adjust themselves to them as well as to the decay of international trade. "Theoretically" the principle of international division of labour may be valid but then no one knows precisely what "theoretically" means. Unless our economic principles and policies are to be completely divested from realities as they exist and are to be barren of any results, the new elements of planning and control must enter into the sphere of international trade movements and expansion. The principle of *laissez-faire* implies achievement of economic equilibrium and harmony by the automatic working of economic forces and processes. But such *laissez-faire* is at an end, if ever it was strictly practicable. The enormous waste and frustration of efforts involved in the free-play of economic forces need no emphasis. It is widely recognised that national economic progress

5. "National Self-Sufficiency", *Yale Review*.

6. See his *Prospects of Industrial Civilisation*.

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cannot be achieved merely by leaving economic forces to work themselves out as that might have catastrophic results; the preservation and expansion of national wealth is, therefore, acknowledged to be the concern of every progressive modern State. Yet if some sort of regulation or planning is needed and if today there is no international authority to do so on an international basis, the centre should, at least for the time being and as far as one can foresee, be the nation. Internationalism, after all, is still an aspiration, not a fact: it is less a force than an ideal. Economic prosperity of the Western countries has been mainly based on the political domination and exploitation of the Asiatic and African countries which provided raw materials and markets. The East has realised the futility of exporting raw materials to Europe and America in order to import them back again in the shape of manufactured goods; it would be much cheaper to manufacture them within one's own country. This development of self-sufficiency on the part of countries which served as markets is resented by nations which had an initial advantage in industrialisation and which are economically stronger. Behind the policy propounded for the international utilisation and rationing of raw materials is an undoubted apprehension of the loss of markets in undeveloped countries. This fear is not anything new. Industrialised England had the same apprehension when the continental European countries were developing their own industries; later, Europe had the same fears when the United States became industrialised and the whole West was alarmed when Japan underwent the same process. One finds, for example, an analogous position in shipping, an industry intimately related to international trade and the carriage of world's men and goods. Because certain countries developed their own shipping in the past and were able to carry a major portion of the traffic, they object to the establishment of national mercantile marines by other countries on the ground of an over-abundance of tonnage in the world. Just as the highly developed countries apprehend the loss of their markets by the industrialisation of the backward countries, so they fear the loss of their own predominance in the sea routes of the world through the development of national shipping in other countries. But every maritime country is entitled to have its own shipping for the carriage of its own coastal and overseas trade and the earlier development of some countries through fortuitous circumstances or political conditions does not give them a prescriptive right on the oceans of the world any more than on markets of the undeveloped countries. apprehensions regarding the industrialisati countries producing raw materials should therefore, be permitted to influence international economic policy. The industr powerful countries of the world will have learn to adjust themselves to the chan currents of international trade in so far as industry is redistributing itself geographic on a more comprehensive basis in accord with the change in productive technique on one hand and the increase in social obliga of the State on the other. World econom today in a process of readjustment and seek rectify some of the maldistribution of econ resources and some of the economic inequali particularly between the East and the W India is, therefore, entitled to claim the right liberty to utilise its raw materials itself in first instance and no extraneous influences be permitted to impede this right of a coun normal economic development in the nam a "rational" distribution of world econ resources or of "unfettered" international tr Indeed, a policy of national economic deve ment is not detrimental even to internati trade, rightly conceived, because the proces industrialisation would lead to the expansion wealth and is likely, therefore, in the long to help rather than hinder international tr As the example of Germany in the past an Japan more recently shows, with the progres industrialisation a country tends to purc more goods rather than less even if they goods of a different variety and kind. Econ nationalism, as is envisaged in India, does imply a withdrawal from international trade a change in its character and direction. economic co-operation is not and cannot be international until it is based on the free independent national economies of the var countries, including the countries of Asia Africa co-operating for mutual benefit. A division of the world into economic hemisph resulting in the perpetual exploitation of resources of the weaker countries by the powerful ones cannot be regarded as econ internationalism in any true sense. India can therefore, subscribe to any idea or scheme the promotion and extension of internati trade irrespective of its effects on a balan national economy. We rightly believe nationalism not only as a political and cul policy but also as an economic policy and need not at all feel apologetic about it.

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By Nagesh Yawalkar

Nagesh Yawalkar at work
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THE INDIAN COTTON TEXTILE INDUSTRY

By D. P. KHAITAN

The Cotton Textile Industry was one of the first large-scale industries to be established in this country. Though the first cotton mill is said to have been erected in Calcutta as early as 1818, the real development of the industry may be taken to begin from the middle of the last century. During all these long years, this industry has to pass through many troublous times. The one special circumstance which has affected its progress throughout these decades has been the fact that it has had to encounter constant opposition from a quarter which had political power on its side, namely, from Lancashire.

In spite of all the vicissitudes through which this industry had to pass, its progress has been steady during these years. I do not propose going into the long history of this industry but to trace its development in the post-war period only, taking the immediate pre-war year as the basis. It will be seen that the volume of cloth produced in the Indian mills increased from 1,220 million yards in the year 1913 to very nearly 4,000 million yards in the year 1937. The average number of working spindles and looms likewise increased during this period from 5,736,701 and 82,577 to 9,856,658 and 2,00,062 in 1936 respectively. It was natural that with this development of the indigenous industry, the imports of piecegoods from abroad would be restricted. It is almost common knowledge how from the position of the prime producer of cotton textiles, India was reduced to the position of absolute dependence on her foreign suppliers for the clothing of her vast population. In the year 1913-14, over 3,100 million yards of piecegoods were imported into India from foreign countries and India had to pay over 66 crores of rupees in return. Most of this trade, almost entire, was of course with the United Kingdom. The progress of the indigenous industry, however, acted as a check on this huge annual drain with the result that in the year 1937-38 our total imports amounted to only about one-sixth of those in the year 1913 in respect of both yardage and value :

TABLE I.

Year	No. of average working spindles	No. of average working looms	Yarn manufactured (Bales of 400 lbs.)	Cloth woven (Thousand Yards)	Cotton consumed (Bales of 392 lbs.)	Persons employed
1913 ..	5,736,701	82,577	1,721,182	1,220,443	2,096,016	253,786
1920 ..	6,238,771	105,169	1,589,400	1,639,779	1,952,318	311,078
1928 ..	6,505,175	126,235	2,022,351	2,356,565	2,009,782	360,921
1935 ..	8,441,464	174,114	2,501,889	3,397,107	3,123,414	414,884
1935-36 ..	*9,856,658	*200,062	2,648,216	3,571,371	3,109,624	417,803

* Total number.

TABLE II.

Year	Mill production (Million Yds.)	Handloom products (Million Yds.)	Imports Million Yds.	Imports Lakhs of rupees	Total piecegoods available for consumption (Million Yds.)	Per capita consumption (Yds.)
1913-14 ..	1,164	1,068	3,159	6,630	5,421	17
1920-21 ..	1,581	1,148	1,510	8,378	4,239	13⅓
1925-26 ..	1,954	1,160	1,762	5,450	4,876	15¼
1934-35 ..	3,554	1,426	983	1,650	5,963	17⅓
1935-36 ..	3,529	812 (6 months)	836	1,419		

The growth of the handloom and the cottage industry side by side with the cotton mill industry has, of course, had its share in preventing this huge drain from India to foreign countries. It will, however, be seen from the figures given above that the textile mills alone now produce, roughly speaking, about 100 crores worth of piecegoods annually and but for the existence of these mills this huge amount would have been added to our annual drain. It should also be remembered that not only has there been a quantitative development in the textile industry but there

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has also been a great improvement in the variety and the fineness of the cloth produced. Printed and coloured cloth is now being produced in increasing quantities in India and there has also been an increase in the manufacture of finer counts, as will be apparent from the following figures :

TABLE III.

Total Quantity Manufactured in British India and States

Year		Gray and bleached piece-goods Yds.	Coloured piece-goods Yds.	Yarn spun Nos. 31 to 40 lbs.	Yarns above 40 lbs.
1927-28	..	1,675,011,583	681,553,222	33,757,097	11,141,821
1935-36	..	2,772,980,036	797,878,975	112,026,209	58,528,164

There is often a misconception prevailing in the public mind that there is some antagonism between the development of a large-scale industry on the one hand and small and cottage industries on the other. With her vast market and on account of her peculiar conditions, however, India offers equal scope for the development of both large-scale and small and cottage industries. It will be seen from the figures given above as to how the volume of cloth produced by handlooms has increased along with the development of the cotton mill industry in recent years. It will be apparent that the grant of protection has been equally beneficial to the small-scale and large-scale producers.

The increase in the production of Indian mills has naturally provided an ever-increasing and a certain market to the cotton-grower in this country. The quantity of Indian cotton consumed in the mills has increased from 1,835,943 bales in 1923-24 to 2,625,485 in 1936-37. It is needless to emphasise that not only has the Indian cotton-grower been able to dispose of increasing quantities of his produce to local mills but he has also benefited in another manner inasmuch as the creation of this home market has reduced his dependence on the uncertainties which always accompany a foreign market. It is obvious that in the absence of a substantial home market, the plight of the Indian cotton-grower would have been very unenviable. It might also be pointed out in this connection that the cloth that we import from foreign countries is not made from Indian cotton except in very small quantities for much of our imports are of finer counts in whose production only American or Egyptian cotton is used. It is therefore wrong to assume that the offtake of cotton by foreign countries will in any way be seriously affected as a result of the increase in the indigenous production of cloth with a consequent fall in the quantity of imported goods.

Apart from the benefit that the development of the Indian Textile Industry has afforded to a very large number of Indian agricultural population, it has also been responsible for giving direct employment to lakhs of workers. The number of persons employed in the industry has naturally been continuously on the increase. The number of persons employed in 1913 was 253,786. It increased to 414,184 in 1935. It is estimated that on the basis of the present figures the wages bill of the industry amounts to over 10 crores of rupees per annum.

It will thus be seen that the growth of the cotton textile industry has been accompanied with all round benefit to the people of India. It has not only saved millions of [illegible] money from going abroad but has brought positive gain to the doors of millions of agriculturists and labourers, not to speak of a very large number of shareholders in the industry.

The textile industry today is the most important industry of the country. Indeed by its very nature the textile industry is such that its place cannot be taken by any other industry in the country. Clothing is one of the prime necessities of life and looking to the vast population of this country, it is obvious that the textile industry would always occupy a most important place in the economic system of the country. There is no doubt that the country is yet far behind most of the progressive nations of the world in economic development. There is a large scope for the development of both large and small cottage industries in this country, in various spheres. This is, however, sure to give a further impetus to the textile industry inasmuch as the purchasing power of the people would be raised by such development. It would appear from the figures given above, that the per capita consumption of cotton piecegoods in India is only *16* yards per annum, whereas the minimum standard consumption should be [illegible] yards. It will thus be seen that there is a great potential field for expansion of the industry in India. There is no doubt that [illegible]

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the economic progress of the country, there will be an increasing demand for textiles.

As I pointd out in the beginning, the cotton mill industry, in this country has had to face continuous competition. The nature of the political relationship between this country and the United Kingdom which has been the largest competitor, except in recent years, had prevented the indigenous industry from receiving adequate support from the Government of the country. In fact, it has been a standing grievance of the industry that its interests have always been subordinated to the interests of Lancashire. It was, however, the constant public support which the industry has been rightly receiving throughout which resulted in the abolition of the excise duty and in the grant of protection howsoever halting it has been. The support which the industry received from public opinion has not, of course, been in vain. The country has benefited in an all round manner by the progress of the industry, as pointed out above.

The progress of the industry has, however, been subjected in recent years to many attacks from outside. Apart from the constant competition from Lancashire, Japan has emerged in recent years as a serious competitor in the field of textiles. It is recent history how in order to withstand the serious invasion from this quarter, the protective duty on piece-goods had to be increased considerably and an agreement was entered into with Japan. Lancashire is also trying to take the opportunity of the revision of the Indo-British Trade relations in getting the protective duty reduced and having its market expanded. It was but right that the representatives of the commercial community refused to countenance the unreasonable demands put forward by Lancashire in the course of the recent Simla talks. The chief argument which Lancashire used in its favour was that of the Indian cotton-growers; but as pointed out above, the majority of cloth imported from Lancashire is produced out of foreign cotton and the price-parity being in favour of Indian cotton it is obvious that Lancashire will continue to take sufficient quantities of Indian cotton. Apart from this, however, it is always to the benefit of the country to have an increasing market for its raw material within its own borders rather than export the raw material to foreign countries and take manufactured goods in return. It is obvious that the expansion of the Indian market for the products of any foreign country would result in a set-back to both the cotton mill and the handloom industries within the country.

Another source of concern to the industry recently has been the increase in labour troubles. It is natural that on humanitarian grounds, the sympathy of the public should be with labour. Everybody admits the necessity of progressive improvement in labour conditions. Mr. Harold Butler, till recently Director of the International Labour Office, who visited India last year, has acknowledged in his recent review of industrial conditions in the East that in the matter of labour welfare work, India keeps pace with most of the advanced countries of the world and is certainly ahead of 'other Asiatic countries.' There are, however, several important points which must be borne in mind while considering the question of labour conditions. Firstly, there is the competition from foreign countries and particularly from the United Kingdom which has always been using political pressure to thwart the attempt of the indigenous industry towards progress. Secondly, and this is a very important point, the power of granting protection is in the hands of the Central Government and not with the Provincial Governments who deal with labour conditions. If Provincial Governments had the power of giving protection in any form, they could certainly proceed in labour welfare work more quickly without jeopardising the industry. Thirdly, it must be borne in mind that the majority of people in India are agriculturists. Most of the labour force of the cotton mill industry is drawn from agricultural classes and it would be obviously to the disadvantage of national economy to have the difference between industrial and agricultural labour very pronounced. Lastly, it is also to be remembered that if increasing burden is imposed upon the industry it would result in an increase in the prices of the manufactured article and would thus operate against the interests of the consumers. Taking all these facts into consideration it is a matter for serious consideration of the public as to at what pace the demands of the workers should be encouraged to grow. It is also for the public to consider whether it would not be desirable first to help the development of the industry to a stage where imports may be reduced to a minimum of only some special varieties that may be needed. It is also essential that steps should be taken simultaneously to increase the purchasing power of the people so that they may be able to buy at least what should be their minimum requirements and at higher

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prices consequent on increased cost of production. What is more essential therefore is to develop the purchasing power of the people by an all round economic development, before placing increasing burdens on the industry.

As has been pointed out above, the cotton textile industry has got a great scope for development in this country. Apart from large potential markets within the country itself, there is also scope for expansion in the neighbouring foreign markets. On account of the facility of raw material and certain ot factors, India is particularly in a position supply cheaper textiles. In fact the dem for our cloth from East Africa, for exam is increasing and there is no reason why i an ordered and progressive development Indian textile mills should not be in a posit to supply a major portion of the demands the African and other neighbouring Asia countries which are not as fortunately pla in the matter of raw material and ot essential factors of production.

EXPLORING THE ROCK-BOTTOM OF COMMUNALISM AND REWRITING INDIAN HISTORY

By Professor BHUBAN MOHAN SEN

I am honestly of the opinion that communalism would have been rampant in India today even if there were not a dozen Muslims in the country. The castes and sub-castes into which the immobile Leviathan called the Hindu society is divided and sub-divided, would have had its majorities and minorities as we have today. Even the racial colouring which is sought by interested people to be given to the communal problem of today by drawing an imaginary line between the Aryan and the Semitic, would have been present in the shape of Aryanism and non-Aryanism. So, the present problem is nothing very unnatural, and it should be possible to sit round a table to discuss it without any exasperation of mind.

We have seen many such round-tables for pacts and agreed solutions, but unfortunately, one by one, each one dies an unhonoured death. That was even the fate of the great 'Nehru Report' and the 'All-Parties Conference'. Yet other pacts are in the making, but let us hope they may not be as still-born as their forbears, notwithstanding the Congress High Command god-fathering them.

I have no objection to secure communal harmony by a policy of give and take, and for the present, there is no escape from some kind of agreed solution, whatever its defects may be. Whether we wish such a patch-work or not, it is inevitably coming; for there is the dominant party in Indian politics who are pursuing Swaraj at any cost.

But I humbly contend that the forem leaders of the different communities sho evolve some scheme of lasting harmony a good-will. Possibly they are frightened by t complexity of the problem. It shall be m endeavour to show that the problem is not complex as it appears.

Obviously, any scheme of a perman nature should be based on one great princip "Forget the past, and look to the future". I not propose the writing off the slate of the p history of the Hindu, the Muslim and the Sik but I do most emphatically believe that if w desire harmony for the future, the history the past should be materially re-written for t communities. Englishmen today participate the Washington memorial meetings and join t Wallace and Robert Bruce anniversaries w sincere enthusiasm.

What is the present situation? The you learners in India enter schools and are given book of Indian History in which the most im portant things which they are required to lea are the wars and annexations, outrages a ravages, battles and sieges, murders and dynas changes, etc., etc. As one passes from chap to chapter, there is an unending succession. N third party existed then, and the rivals a combatants on either side were the Muslims a the non-Muslims. So, young learners in scho today digest from day to day the wild fi the inordinate ambitions, the unscrupulous w of their ancestors. In these circumstances,

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aturally, the youthful and tender learners of ne community lustily seize upon the misdeeds f the heroes of the other, and their minds thus eceive what may be called an ineffaceable taint r all times. The historical stuff with which eir minds are filled may be all correct, but hat I contend is this, that, history being a cord of a people's many-sided achievements, e learning of these learners becomes confined ainly or only to one aspect in which there is ttle room for cultivating respect for the actors n the stage of history. Take for example, the owth of the mind of a Hindu lad. In the rsuit of an imperialistic policy, in divorcing ligions from politics, in devising economic easures for the relief of the impoverished asses, in dealing stern justice to wrong-doers high places, Sultan Alauddin Khilji stands unralled, and he would shine by the side of a odern Dictator or War-Lord. But when the indu lad leaves the school, he is for all his life essed with Alauddin and Padmini, and auddin and his assassinated uncle. Is this me of mind conducive to a sympathetic understanding of sister-communities? The same plies to Muhammad Tughlak, to Nawab rajuddowla and to many other rulers. Then, ke for example, the Muslim lad. He reads of e Hindu Mythology, the Pauranic Gods, the amayan in which Sree Ramchandra, the atar of the Almighty Maker, slays with his n hand, the Hindu Chandala Sambuka for ractising Yogic austerities,' the Mahabharata in ich Draupadi stalks the stage, from beginning end, with her five husbands. Where is the acher to tell his pupil how much of it is egorical, how much myth, how much interlation, and what kernel of truth these contain? here is the teacher to tell his pupil of that ity in diversity which the Vedanta proclaims the clearest accents? So the Hindu lad grows in life with a detestation of the characters of uslim history whom he regards all through life little better than brigands and assassins. ilarly, the Muslim lad grows up with the er idea that his lot is cast with so many olaters, whom it is irreligious to understand d cultivate. That is the atmosphere which have deliberately created, and, whoever is licitous of communal tranquillity must make his duty to revolutionize this atmosphere. How can that be done? I will indicate my es of thought in this vital matter of national portance.

Let all interested in this question appoint Select Board of Scholars to write a history India. This Board should be clearly given the mandate that they are not required to produce a scholarly book aiming at scientific precision and correctitude. It should be the duty of the Board to write a history in which the objectionable features of the characters should be eschewed as best as possible. It is a truism that whoever has made any mark in history must have had real greatness in him, and this Board of Scholars should emphasize those elements of greatness. Trietschke was once twitted by a friend that, though his lecture rooms were thronged by thousands of German students of history, he would never go down to posterity as a great historian—he would never attain the position of a Ranke or a Gibbon. To this Trietschke quickly retorted, 'I do not care for my reputation, I want to make my country great'. This he did by instilling into the minds of two generations of German youths the half-truth or untruth that Prussian genius was behind everything great achieved in the world. Our scholars need not go to this length, they need not distort. What I suggest is that they may keep back certain facts, and lay stress upon certain other facts. Trietschke was guilty of 'Suggestio falsi'; compared to that 'Suppressio Veri' in the nation's interest would be a virtue. Moreover, if the book were written in a philosophical vein bringing out the connected sequence and the onward march of events, stressing the narrative and chronological points would appear comparatively non-essential.

I will be more definite. Let us take the Hindu period. It is quite within the range of Indian historical scholarship to write paragraphs and chapters in simple intelligible language to bring home to the learners of all communities to what heights of philosophical thought, artistic, architectural and sculptural excellence, and intellectual pioneering, as in the fields of Medicine, Astronomy and Geometry, the Hindu mind attained in that dawn of history when the ancestors of the modern European nations were, in the humourous words of the late Sir Surendra Nath Banerjea, 'swinging from tree to tree in the jungles of Europe'. I was told by an esteemed friend of mine, one of India's representatives to the World Conference on Education held in America some years ago, that every American school teacher when he begins teaching Geometry to his pupils prefaces his lecture invariably with the statement, so flattering to Indians that Geometry was born in India. I will frankly confess that personally I was not aware of this fact before I had reached the Degree standard. There are references, no doubt, in existing works in this country, but they are

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in the creeks and corners of the books, and it is well-known that University paper-setters attach such undue importance to bare political history (this they do from the bias their own minds received in schools) that pupils have come to omit those portions of their books which have a bearing on the growth of Hindu thought and the Hindu mind. Teachers and pupils are both dominated by the examinational need only.

Then let us take the Muslim period of Indian history. After passing the Matriculation with History (so long optional) we grow in life with vivid impressions of incidents like demolition of temples, forcible carrying away of beautiful maidens, outrages, assassinations, breaches of laws, human and divine. But we do not understand the meaning of a poem Rabindranath wrote long long ago with reference to the Muslim advent and Muslim contribution to the richness of India's heritage. Readers will kindly excuse me the very indifferent rendering of a very beautiful stanza: "Those who came in victorious glee roaring out victory's song through deserts and mountains—they also live in me—none, none is distant. In me have mingled all the varied tunes in harmony."* Is it impossible for Indian scholars to write paragraphs and chapters on the services of Islam to India in the fields of politics, religious thought, social organisation, arts, architecture, etc., etc. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's small book embodying 'Sir William Myer Lectures' delivered by him before the Madras University contains a very brief but well-arranged account of Islam's services to India. Not to speak of pupils, how many teachers have heard of, or read this book, I really wonder.

Thus proper books on Indian history not being available, and Indian Universities being supremely indifferent to the latent dangers of the policy they are pursuing now by the sheer inertia of age-long traditions, the rock-bottom of the communal problem has never been explored, whereas our great leaders are busy over the upper structures. They have failed, and they must fail till they change their modus operandi log, stock and barrel. Let them evolve n shifts and patched-up pacts today, but let t not stop here. Let them also simultaneo work for the 'future by providing healthy for those who will be leaders a genera hence.'

Having said so much, I will now endea to indicate the lines on which a standard on Indian History should be written by afore-mentioned Board in English, and translated by government orders into all provincial vernaculars.

Firstly, the Hindu period should be with in the manner I have indicated be That was the broad outline. There shoul ample references to the incoming into Ind the Greeks, Bactrians, Sakas, Huns, Scyth etc., and to the remarkable ease and absen violence with which these people were as lated within the 'roomy fold of Hinduism'. power of self-adjustment, this capacity assimilation and growth of the Hindu so receive very scanty attention in the existing books on Indian History; whereas division castes and sub-castes is dwelt upon amply questions are frequently set which make t all-important to the examinees. Nal Taxila, Colonization, Buddhistic Missions spiritual and cultural expansion in Ce Burma, China, Greater India, Japan—all should be dealt with in an inspiring manne

Secondly, the history of the rise of I in Arabia with the wonderful conquest complete Islamization of countries from Hindukush to the Pyrenees, with full glo references to the great universities and mos should be dealt with in a full manner.

Thirdly, in regard to the advent of I in India, the pupil should be told that on Muhammadans securing a srong foot-hol India, two great religions and two great organisations stood face to face, each proud of its past achievements—Hinduism having assimilated the Sakas, Huns, Bactr Scythians; and Islam for having comp extinguished the civilizations of countries Afganistan to the Straits of Gibralter. two religions had their pride humbled fo first time. Notwithstanding conversions the Hindu fold, the mass mind remained conquered, and Hinduism's career of assi tion failed to absorb the Muslim as it had with his predecessors.

Fourthly, the history that I am out should then proceed to state that two religions, and two great social organisms, c live side by side for long without the

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* রণধারা বাহি জয়গান গাহি'
উন্মাদ কলরবে
ভেদি' মরুপথ গিরি পর্ব্বত
যারা এসেছিল সবে,
তারা মোর মাঝে সবাই বিরাজে—
কেহ নহে নহে দূর,
আমারি শোনিতে রয়েছে ধ্বনিতে
তার বিচিত্র সুর।

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fluencing the other in vital and manifold ays, although the question of blood-fusion is led out. There must be some kind of blend- g and fusion. Thus began in Indian History great Renascence by the blending of the two eat cultures and civilizations, including the rth of the great Vaisnavite revival all over dia, the evolution of the Urdu language, and the Indo-Persian schools of Painting, Music, t, Architecture etc., etc. In a thousand and e ways Islam and Hinduism were being ended into a harmonious unity.

If these elements of harmony and unity, is history of the remarkable Renascence which ained its culminating point in the Ibadat hana of Fatehpur Sikri, where comparative ligion was for the first time in the World's story discussed, and in that 'Poem and ream in marble'—the Taj of Agra, are dealt th with the attention they justly deserve, one n easily imagine the impress such an account ll make upon plastic minds.

I frankly confess, I am not competent to esent a subject like the above in all its bearings, but I shall consider my labours amply rewarded if this outline provokes thoughts in persons much more competent than myself, and some concrete results follow.

I conclude by quoting the weighty words from the speech which Principal P. Sheshadri made while addressing the World Federation of Educational Associations at Tokyo (*The Modern Review*, April, 1938):

> "It is, however, in the teaching of history that there is the greatest scope for the teaching of international understanding. In the Educational Experts' Committee at Geneva, to which I have already made reference, we formulated a number of recommendations which have a profound bearing on this subject. One of our proposals was that all the history textbooks of the world should be revised, so as to eliminate traces of racial bitterness. It is not that textbooks for children should be colourless and devoid of patriotic enthusiasm, but that children should be taught to appreciate the heroes of not only their own country but also of others and sentiments likely to engender ill-feeling should be carefully avoided."

What Principal Sheshadri says about international understanding applies with greater force to national and communal spheres.

April 13, 1938

THE POLICY OF DISCRIMINATION IN THE PHARMACEUTICAL INDUSTRY

By RAJ MITRA B. D. AMIN

he Pharmaceutical industry of India has ained some dimensions only in recent times. has had to struggle hard against the policies Government and no satisfactory solution of difficulties has yet been reached. The licies of Government were first devised and med in a manner that would discourage the digenous products and encourage the foreign ducts imported from overseas. These licies still continue to be in operation with me minor revisions and seriously impede the gress of the industry.

The Indian Pharmaceutical Industry is uggling for bare justice and no favour. On other hand we find an effective policy of crimination in actual operation as between digenous spirituous medicinal preparations and ilar preparations imported from overseas. ducts imported from overseas, once the ff duty is paid on them at the port of entry, oy the privilege of free transport and movement throughout India, while similar indigenous products are subjected to serious excise restrictions in the matter of transport and movement.

These excise restrictions have resulted in creating inter-provincial barriers to trade and industry in this country. No spirituous medicinal preparation of Indian manufacture can move from one province to another without import and export permits to secure which a long procedure is prescribed, and thereafter the consignments are subjected to inspection and verification. Such a restrictive and cumbersome procedure is vexatious and dilatory, and as quick despatch is the very soul of business, the inordinate delay caused by the excise restrictions in transport and movement is highly prejudicial to the indigenous industry. So long as similar imported spirituous products are not subjected to the same restrictions, the policy of effective discrimination operates

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against the Indian industry. Both the Indian and imported products should equally enjoy the same privilege of free transport and movement, if discrimination is to disappear.

I need not discuss here the measures that are necessary to remove this discrimination. I have been suggesting them to the various administrations in the country from time to time but without much effect. Finally I was able to convince the Indian Industrial Conference that our complaints were true, and this Conference in 1936 unanimously passed a resolution that Excise policy should be so framed as not to injure the indigenous industry and that to this end there should be uniform excise rules in the whole of India. To attain this object, the Conference recommended that the Government of India should convene an Excise Conference of the Provincial Excise Commissioners.

The Excise Conference was held after a year *i.e.*, in November 1937, and it did come to the conclusion that uniform rules must be established in India, but no effect has yet been given to the resolutions passed therein. On the other hand, we find some more restrictions placed in certain provinces as in the Bombay Presidency. In these circumstances, one gets greatly disappointed. Will discrimination disappear or not? Or, are the indigenous products to be under a perpetual disadvantage to the benefit of foreign products?

I shall next refer to another part of the policy of discrimination which affects the Indian industry prejudicially, namely, the policy followed in the purchase of medical stores. From the very beginning the policy of Government has been to give preference to imported products and to discourage the Indian products. The Indian industry has long established its capacity and reputation for manufacturing equally good if not superior products, and the Government ought to purchase these products in preference to imported products.

But under the present Government rules all supplies of medical stores to civil hospitals and dispensaries are purchased from Government Medical Stores (Army Dept.) which itself imports products from overseas and supplies them to the various administrations in the country. Is this a right policy? The Indian Drug Enquiry Committee which reported seven years ago, clearly stated that indigenous drugs of the proper quality were available in the market and strongly recommended that these should be purchased by Government for their requirements and thereby an encouragement should be given to the indigenous industry.

But this recommendation has been ab lutely disregarded by the Government and old policy still continues. Not only this, the Government Medical Stores also maintai manufacturing branch which competes w private enterprise. This is wrong in prin and the Indian Drug Enquiry Committee recommended that this manufacturing bran the Government Medical Stores should be continued and that the Stores should purc all supplies from the market. But the C mittee's recommendation remains unheeded.

Another important matter in which crimination against the Indian industry is tinctly shown, is the heavy duty on the im of raw drugs which are required as raw mat for the indigenous industry. In adva countries including the United Kingdom the port of raw materials utilised in the manufac of medicines is allowed free but in India, a duty of 30 per cent *ad valorem* is imposed. burden on the industry raises the cost of duction and puts the Indian medicines disadvantage in competition with impo products.

The Indian Drug Enquiry Committee after due consideration recommended that import duty on raw drugs should be abolis At the time the recommendation was m (1931) the duty stood at 20 per cent *ad valo* Instead of abolishing or lowering the duty, Government of India took a contrary move increased the duty to 30 per cent. What s we say to such action? Is this the way encourage the industry? It was perfectly c that this step serves to give an impetus foreign imports.

An equally objectionable discrimin arises from the fact that the tariff duty on ported spirituous preparations is charged alcoholic contents only, and not on the im value. This means that the drug contents, bottles which contain the medicines, the pack materials, corks, capsules, etc., of the for article are imported free of duty. If these th I mean the bottles, the drugs, the packing, are imported independently a heavy im duty is charged on them. The indige industry needs all these things and has to im them in order to put its products on the ma in a saleable position, but has to pay a h duty on them, and this burden still fu cripples the industry, as compared with foreign industry.

Take next the railway rates policy o Government of India. It was well-know many years that the railway rates on I

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edicines were high. In about the year 1928, e Alembic Chemical Works Co., Ltd. of which am the Managing Director, got the matter re-rred to the Railway Rates Advisory Committee hich after two years of judicial investigation bmitted its findings that the rates on digenous medicines were high, and the Com-ittee recommended a certain lower scale which its opinion was right and proper. But the overnment of India rejected the unanimous commendation and the rates are as high as ey were. We see how discrimination comes in re also.

Another direction in which the Railways ply discrimination is the framing of the rates raw drugs. The rates on imported raw drugs hich are required by the Indian industry are arged to R. R. 8 classification, while the raw ugs available in India and exported from India meet the requirement of foreign manufac-ers are charged to R. R. 4 classification. In her words, foreign manufacturers are given the vantage of lower freights by Indian railways hile the same advantage is denied to Indian dustry in its requirements of foreign raw ugs.

When I am writing of discrimination, two her interesting cases should not escape my tention. One is the fact that the Punjab overnment prohibits into its territory the port of Indian-made foreign liquors including ectified Spirit and Absolute Alcohol from any her province of India, except from the Solon d Rosa Distilleries. These distilleries, be it ted, are European concerns. This discrimina-n is of a double character against Indian oducts, because the prohibition does not apply imports from overseas, and does not also ply to the products of particular European stilleries in India. The latest phase in dis-mination is to be found in a new regulation of the Sind Government which does not allow duty-free spirituous medicinal preparations for the use of Government-aided charitable hospitals and dispensaries to be imported from other provinces. This is provincialism and localism with vengeance. It is not also clear whether this new regulation applies also to imports from oversea countries.

We want that an Indian industry as such should grow as one whole, and not as provincial and local units protected by the discriminating rules of provincial governments inspired by the vicious spirit of narrow localism. Apart from this, such rules of prohibition and discrimination are entirely against the spirit and the letter of Section 297 of the Government of India Act 1935, and it is astonishing how this aspect of the question escaped the attention of those administrations whose rules have discriminating effect.

There are a number of other matters which can be pointed out as items in this policy of discrimination. But I shall close this article by referring to only one more. It might be recalled here that the Government of India introduced Drug legislation in regard to imported drugs only and the implication of the measure was that a stamp of inferiority would have been put on indigenous products if these latter were left out of the legislation. Strong opinions were expressed and finally the Government of India yielded and the Drug Bill, it is hoped, will now be made comprehensive so as to include indigenous drugs. I refer to this to show how the habit of discrimination once formed fails to take the larger view.

I have been an optimist and despite many discouragements in the past, I hope that the discriminating policy of Government will begin to diminish in its operative force, but there is real need of an ever watchful public opinion.

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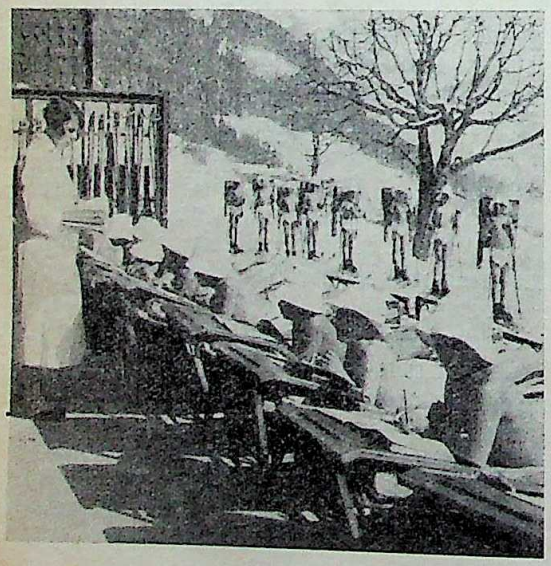
HOW TO PREVENT TUBERCULOSIS

By Dr. SUDHINDRANATH SINHA, M.B.

It is now an established fact that tuberculosis like all other preventible diseases is also preventible. Now we know that it is an ordinary contagious disease due to a known organism; that it is contracted only after birth and can be easily avoided and cured. These facts should be widely known. The more the people know the nature and the life-history of the disease, the better is the chance of cure and the less is the risk of the contagion spreading.

Tubercle bacilli are found in diseased tissues and in substances ejected directly from these tissues, *e. g.*, sputum, pus, excreta, etc. Indiscriminate spitting and other careless habits of patients are the principal factors responsible for the spread of the disease. Patients should be acquainted with this fact and advised to use the

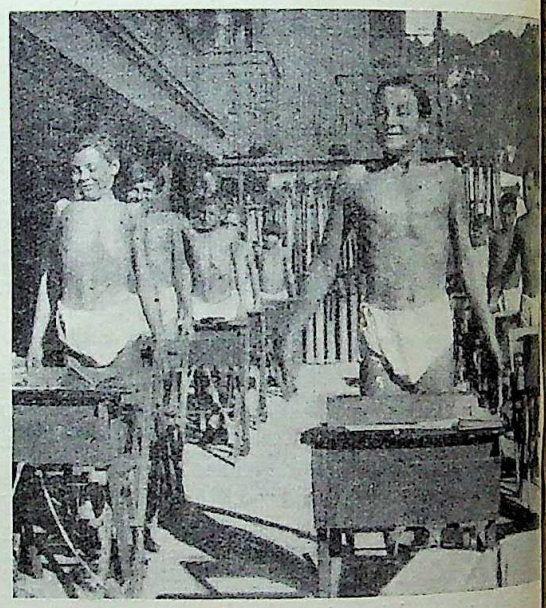


Ventral position lessons

sputum flask and adopt healthy habits. With the co-operation of the patients the spread of the disease can be effectively checked.

In India the incidence of tuberculosis is on the increase. The statistics published from time to time hardly give us the correct figure of cases of tuberculosis; because many cases—especially in moffusil—are not diagnosed, and even when diagnosed, are not brought to the notice of the authorities.

Almost all of us carry the germ of tuberculosis in our body having acquired it in infancy, and the rival forces of the two—host, the human body, and the unwelcome guest the germ—seems to be delicately balanced. So long as the host can afford to keep him in good conditions, the guest fails to make an impression. With circumstances unfavourable



Breathing exercise for the development of the chest

to the host the guest gains upper hand, and the man becomes a prey to the invading bacilli. The fight is as a rule a long-drawn one and the chances and risks are shared by both. General health of the man plays the decisive role in this fight. The body, therefore, should be strengthened and maintained at a high standard of efficiency. Factors contributing to the weakening and fatiguing of the body lead to development of tuberculosis and are to be avoided.

It has been established beyond all controversy that tubercular infection occurs after birth. It has been estimated (in England) that the number of children carrying the germ

During the	1st	year of life	is	5	per cent.
"	2nd	"	"	14	"
"	3rd	"	"	33	"
"	4th	"	"	38	"
"	5th	"	"	51	"

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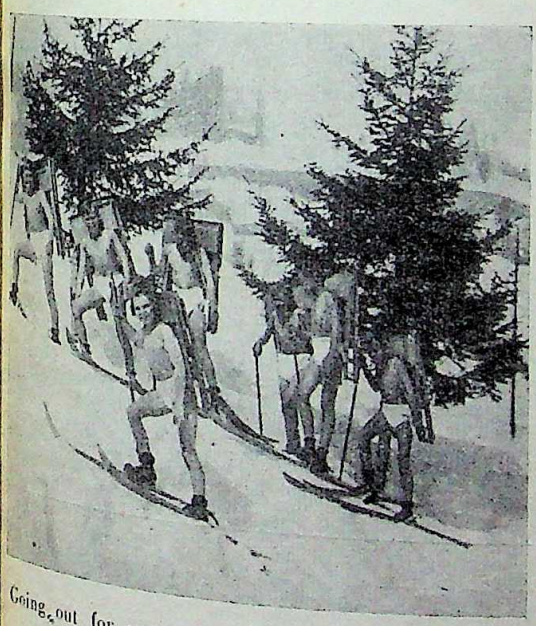
Then as age advances, the incidence of infection also rises and culminates in 98% of adults in town and 70% of adults in villages being infected with tuberculosis.

Inhalation and ingestion are the usual routes by which this germ enters the human body. Infection, though rare, is also possible by inoculation. After entering the body the bacilli penetrate the mucous membrane of the mouth, pharynx or the alimentary tract and arrive at the lymphatic glands where they remain dormant. Further progress of the bacilli and development of active trouble depend on the resistence put up by the infected person. The first phase of the fight between the lymphatic glands and the bacilli will have to be taken from general weakness, loss of weight, rise of temperature especially after exertion, loss of appetite, disturbed sleep, inflammation of the glands, etc. If the bacilli win now or later when the resistance of the individual is weakened, they enter the blood circulation and may establish themselves anywhere in the body. And then the fight repeats here also; and with



Going out for open class in the sun in winter

conditions favourable to the person the bacilli are rendered inactive and gradually they die out leaving only a scar. On the other hand, if the person is incapable of putting up strong resistance, he becomes a sure victim to the invading bacilli.

For the prevention of tuberculosis the measures must start with protection of the infant through proper development of its body and strengthening up of its natural resistance. Fresh air and sunlight are par excellence the agencies for this purpose and we must requisition for the

Nothing but these two natural forces can give the required protection. These twin necessities are essential in sustaining life. Extensive experience has shown that fresh air and sunlight stimulate all the physiological functions of the body through its action directly on the skin.

The inevitable consequence of keeping an

Work and sun-bath

infant in the impure and stuffy atmosphere of a closed room is to help it to become extremely delicate and susceptible to cold and bronchitis—ailments which hinder proper development of the pulmonary system. And under-developed pulmonary system invites phthisis. It is a common practice in many homes to confine young children, especially at night, in air-tight rooms. The parents feel safe that thereby they keep out cold, bronchitis and other diseases—as if these enter through open windows! It is only when parents realise that by making their children sleep and live in closed and ill-ventilated rooms they are condemning the children to a slow death, they will, let us hope, change their habit. It is a common practice with many parents not to allow their children to go out in the sun lest their complexion gets dark! Is it then any wonder that these children so easily develop tuberculosis? In some houses again the shutters are closed to keep the Sun's rays from decolourising furniture, carpets and blinds. These parents have got to learn to put greater value on human life than on furniture.

For proper development of the child sun and air bath must commence soon after its birth. To begin with, the exposure must not be for more than a few minutes and then gradually the time is increased according to the establised dosage and method. This reminds us of a very rational and wholesome practice in our country that has almost disappeared. Our mothers knew

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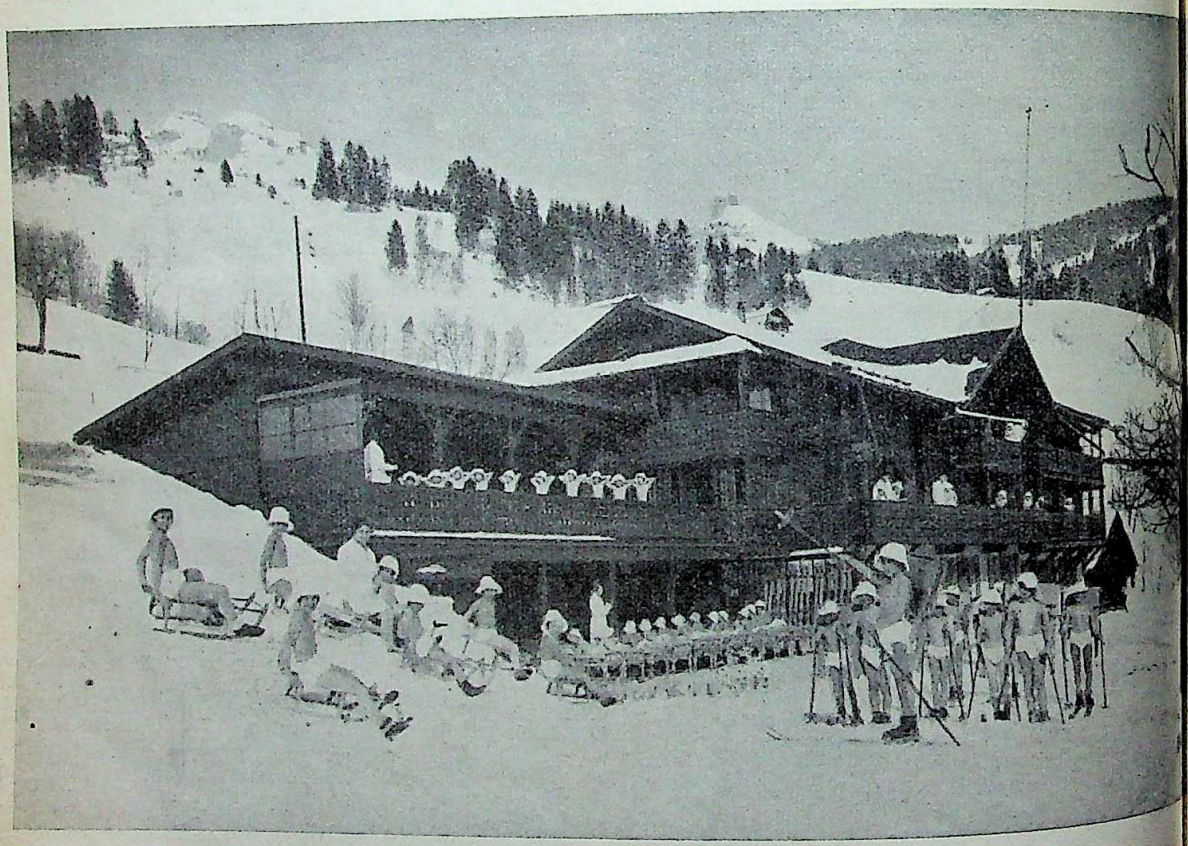
and perhaps some in remote villages still know the blessings of sun and air on the uncovered body of the new-born baby. From its birth it had its regular sun and air bath. Regular and systematical contact with sun and air make the tissues and organs grow vigorously and the baby has a splendid growth, and is thus well-equipped to keep away tuberculosis and other 'diseases of darkness'. The daily sunbath also frees--- though for a while—the child, the unwilling victim, of layers of clothing, not only irksome to the child but most unhygienic as well. This unscientific clothing shuts out air and light and



Rollier's Sun School (in winter)

creates a dark and humid atmosphere which envelops the greater portion of the child's body. In Switzerland I have seen children with their bare bodies exposed to the sun playing about on the snow, and yet they are free from cold and bronchitis; and how splendid and vigorous is their growth! It is difficult to follow why in a hot country like India the child, or for that matter any one, should require so many layers of clothing.

Child-feeding hardly receives in India the attention it deserves. The result of this indifference has been deplorable, and it will be impossible to trace a family that can boast single child free from digestive trouble. M mothers do not even care to suckle their chi they have brought to this world. Mother's is the ideal food for the growing child d dentition. When the mother is physi incapable of suckling the child herself, let child be fed on cow's milk (some prefer goat ass's milk) with necessary alterations in composition to suit the delicate digestive p of the child.

Milk supply plays a great part in preve of tuberculosis. In America it has been that the rate of milk consumption per provides on excellent index to tuberculo is known that during the last Great War milk-lacking countries of Germany and A the tuberculosis incidence rose rapidly when in later years there was a more supply of milk the rate of tuberculosis inc appreciably came down, though otherwis standard of living was very unsatisfactor is a remarkable fact and shows us the imp of milk in preventing tuberculosis. Ex and careful investigations carried o England, France, United States, New Z

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Variety Performance by the students of the Rollier's Sun School

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Position recommended by Dr. Rollier for students at his Sun School

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Open air class

Gardening and sun-bath

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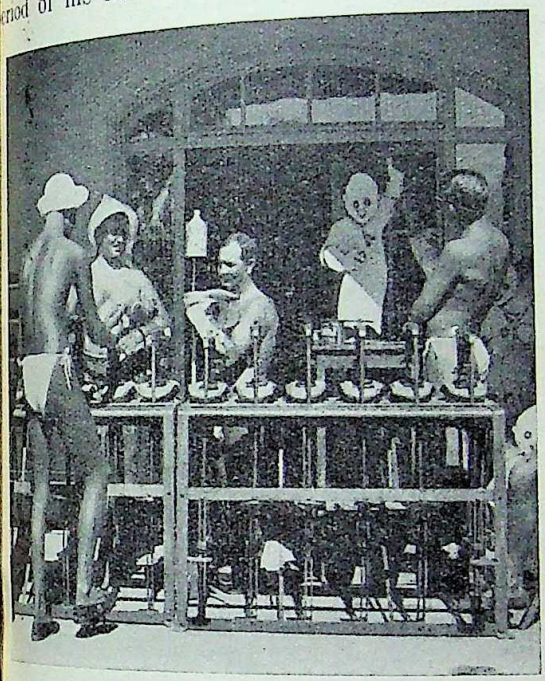
d Japan have shown that milk is an essential em in the diet of people of all ages—especially ildren in whom it would ensure better bone rmation and maximum growth as well as minish the incidence of tuberculosis and rickets.

Let us now follow the child to school where will pass nearly ten years—the formation riod of his life. Our schools may justly be



Convalescent patients working at the Factory Clinic (Leysin)

oked upon as centres of propagation of ubercular infection. Insufficient ventilation and ver-heating of the class rooms, prolonged and ontinuous inactivity in stuffy rooms, unsuitable nd at the same time uncomfortable posture the tudents have to maintain at school constitute one of the main factors why today among the chool-going children an alarmingly large roportion is found to be weak and of low esistance. And it is these children that provide favourable nidus for the growth of tuberculosis. Movement is vital for the proper growth of the oung children. Immobility and insufficient ovement are detrimental to the normal unctioning of the organs of the body and cause redisposition to tuberculosis. In girls the baneful effect of being shut up in schools is een in anaemia, menstrual trouble and constipa-ion-troubles which not only devitalise them ut very often follow them for the rest of their ives. The girls in high schools and colleges do a lot of harm to themselves when for fear of losing percentage they attend classes during their monthly periods. This is the period when a girl needs complete rest. The educational authorities should not overlook this fact; and in fixing percentage of attendance due allowance must be made for these periods.

The principle of holding classes in the open air whenever weather permits, should be recognized. For this purpose Sun Schools on the lines of Dr. Rollier's "Ecole an Soleil" in Switzerland, should be introduced all over India. This will be taking a definite step towards prevention of tuberculosis. Besides Sun Schools, there may be holiday camps away from towns. This will be a welcome diversion which will create interest in and love for nature and out-door life. In addition to these, to aid physical development of the children, mobile classes—whenever practicable—should replace classes held in rooms. In towns such classes may be arranged in public parks and gardens, in open spaces under shade of big trees in the proximity of a river or pond—specially reserved for such purposes. In villages such classes may be held in the outskirts of woods, in big clearings or meadows. These mobile classes not only break the monotony of lessons inside school room but by bringing the young mind in contact with nature help it to learn the mysteries of nature through simple lessons. Moreover free movement in the open stimulate growth of the body.

At school and at home particular attention must be paid to the proper development of the child's chest. A well-developed chest is the best preventive against phthisis. By regular breathing exercise, by walking straight with shoulders thrown back and by avoiding the stooping and crooked posture the child will expand his thorax, his lungs will work more energetically and the respiratory system will be strengthened and he will have obliterated risks of tuberculosis.

Feeding plays a considerable part in all periods of human life in resisting tuberculosis. First principle in feeding is to avoid excess and insufficiency in quality and quantity. Unfortunately, we do not always realise that we eat to live and not live to eat.

Growing bodies need cereals, green vegetables, fruits and milk. Meat is not essential in a hot country like ours. Fish is a good substitute. Diet has to be modified according to the season. In winter a more liberal supply of fat is permitted, while in summer, more vegetables and fruits are required.

It needs to be emphasised that narcotics in all forms are to be discarded. People indulging in these—especially alcoholics—can hardly resist tubercular infection. Human body needs

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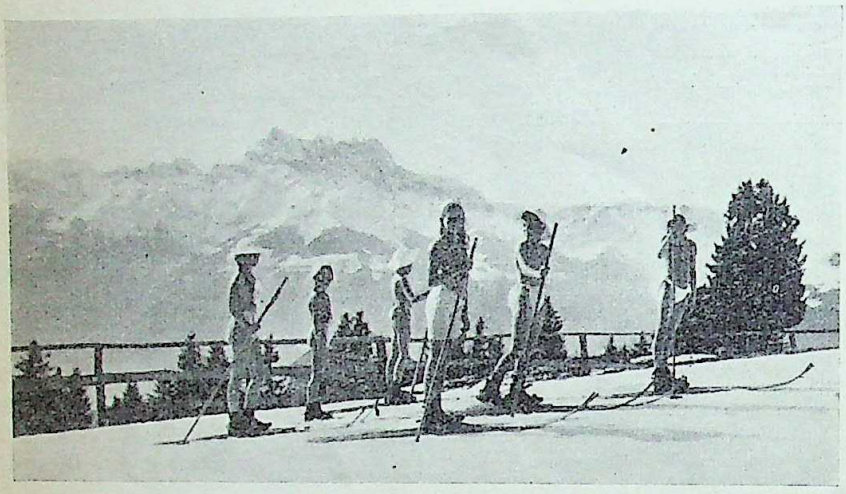
adequate rest to keep up strength and efficiency. The present-day school system in our country shows utter disregard for this necessity. At the end of the school hours the young students are



Sport and sun-bath in winter

like so many depleted electric batteries with no spark of energy left in them. Even homes of most of the children do not provide for due rest for them. Consequently, the depleted batteries have hardly any opportunity to be replenished, and there is the inevitable breakdown. To remedy this state of affair school hours should be so modified that students may enjoy at least 2 or 3 hours' rest every day, especially when the day is the hottest.

In every school—primary, secondary or otherwise—an anti-tuberculosis campaign should be organised by means of books, pictures, post-cards, special anti-tuberculosis postage stamps (as circulated in the Western countries), lantern lectures and motion pictures (wherever possible) and lectures with practical demonstrations.

What has been said regarding prevention of tuberculosis among children is applicable to adults as well. For them also the golden rule to prevent tuberculosis is:

(1) Enjoy fresh air and sun;
(2) Eat proper food—both in quality and quantity; learn correct eating habits;
(3) Take regular exercise;
(4) Have adequate rest.

In many of the existing hospitals hardly any due regard is paid to the necessity of air and light for the patients. Suitable cases in every hospital should have sun and air bath which will no doubt expedite their cure. Hospital patients are weakened by illness and are likely to be easy victims of tuberculosis. So they should be allowed to benefit from air sun.

One very important factor contributor the spread of tuberculosis in India is the arrangement is made (exce hospitals) for the segregati the patients with active les Undoubtedly abject pover mainly responsible for this of affair. Yet, it must admitted, our ignorance not an insignificant part i

In our country attenti usually paid to those act suffering from active tub losis. But cases of those disposed persons who form large proportion are si neglected. The unhygienic miserable life majority of t live aggravate their cond and they become actively tu culous. To protect these disposed people preventor should be started at suitable places. In t preventoriums they will lead a healthy life u

Mobile Class (on the snow) in winter

better conditions and will be subjected to per medical examinations to watch their progr The name tuberculosis must not be assoc

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th these institutions as that will scare away ple from taking advantage of these centres.

Many of the existing social conditions in lia are factors contributory to tubercular in- lence among people—especially women, *e.g.*, purdah system, want of physical exercise don't mean exercise making muscular giants!) d any out-door life.

It is impossible to do any justice to the sub- of 'prevention of tuberculosis' within the rt space allotted to a single article. It is n impossible to touch—however briefly—all aspects of the problem. I shall, consequent- give a very brief suggestion of the lines on ich the preventive campaign should be con- ted in India.

The campaign will be conducted by a tral organisation with a network of branches over the country. The work of the organi- ion will be:

1. Extensive, intense and unceasing propaganda to se public opinion against the menace of tuberculosis.

In this connection I may suggest the formation of *Travelling Health Caravan.* Its duty will be to travel the length and breadth of the country showing charts, diagrams, photos. paintings and distributing pamphlets in simple language. Lectures and demonstrations by medical men should be arranged by the Caravan. In villages these should be made sufficiently interesting to the simple folk. Special meetings for children and also for women are to be arranged. This will be the best way of establishing contact with people who will otherwise remain ignorant of the knowledge that is so essential in fighting tuberculosis. This caravan will teach people how to live simple hygienic life and all other things essential for prevention and cure of tuberculosis and disease in general.

2. Establishment of after-care colonies for the cured T. B. patients. The Papworth Settlement (Cambridge) may guide us in this respect.

3. Establishment of preventoriums for the pre-disposed.

4. Tracking down of all types of tubercular subjects and making arrangements for prevention, treatment and after-care as the cases may need. The Travelling Health Caravan will undertake this responsibility.

5. Slum clearance and removal of smoke nuisance in towns.

6. Fighting intemperance.

7. Necessary legislation for the control of the menace of tuberculosis.

Scenes from a village fair
By Sailes Deb Burman

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THE STRUCTURE OF CHINESE SOCIETY

By M. N. ROY

Even today, the fundamental unit of the Chinese society is not the individual, but the family. The revolution of 1911 and the Republican State established by it, did not alter essentially the patriarchal character of that social relation. Under the Republic, new laws were made. But social relations cannot be changed overnight through legislation, so long as the economic foundations of those relations are not subverted. Under the old regime, the father was the legal head of the family; by tradition, he enjoyed the right to dispose of the lives of his children.[1] The Republican laws have changed the position of the *pater familias* but partially. Individual rights have been created, but the patriarchal foundation of society has not been completely destroyed. The ownership of land—the main means of production in China—still belongs to the family, and even to clans. The defective form of private property in the main means of production hinders the individual to replace the patriarchal family as the elementary unit of society.

In the capitalist society, family is not abolished. It continues to be the foundation of society. But its character is changed. The monogamous family is essentially different from the patriarchal family; it does not push the individual to the background. It is a social institution which rises in course of the evolution of private property. Individualism is the fundamental principle of capitalism, the highest form of private property. Therefore, individualism and monogamous family are not mutually exclusive. They exist side by side, being two different branches of the social system founded upon private property.

While the monogamous family is the nucleus of bourgeois society, the individual is the corner-stone of the capitalist State. The right of individual is the fundamental principle of bourgeois political philosophy. The republican form of government was introduced in China only in name. The old political order broke down. But the old social relations which had created it, remained intact to a large extent, resisting the strivings for building up republican system of government. Because its weak social foundation, the Republic to to adjust itself to antiquated conditions. C sequently, the republican laws could not g the extent of even undermining the instit of the *pater familias*. They granted the dividual the right of self-defence, although to the extent of killing. But the right of defence is not valid in the case of an at by an elder relative.[2] In a work on the Chinese Penal Code, the famous jurist W Chiang-hui, former Chief Justice of the Pe High Court, observes :

> "The Anglo-American laws lay special emphas the individual and not on the family; while the tinental (European) Codes have inherited something the Roman family. The unit of the Chinese society the family, the Reform, naturally, tries to retain institution and modernise it as far as possible."[3]

After two thousand five hundred years spirit of the old sage Confucius still domin the thinkers of modern China. They long something new; the old has become untena yet they try to clothe the venerable skel with a few selected pieces of novelty. reformers undertake a hopeless task when try to readjust patriarchal social relations bourgeois political and legal institutions. hopelessness of the task became evident du the dreary years of the futile struggle for defence of the Republic. The cumbers highly bureaucratic Constitution of the Nan National Government has been the culmina of that task. The "modern State" of nationalists is essentially Confucian. initial period of its creation is not a rev tionary dictatorship. It is the benev despotism of a few persons who claim right to educate the people with the objec "developing their ability to exercise polit right, so that a constitutional regime may soon realized and political power delivered the hands of the people."[4] So, according to

1. G. von Mullendorf, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Chinese Branch), Number 2, 1892-93.

2. The Penal Code of the Chinese Republic.

3. Dr Wang Chiang-hui, *The New Penal Co China*. The quotation is re-translated from the Ge edition of the book.—*M.N.R.*

4. "Fundamental Law of the National Gover of the Chinese Republic" proclaimed by the Kuomint October 4, 1928.

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en admission of her rulers, China is not that ind of State in which theoretically the supreme olitical power belongs to the people composed individuals. In the "Republic" of the hinese nationalists, the relations are reverse; e political structure stands on its head, so to y. The political power and, consequently, e right of sovereignty, is monopolised by an lite, who benevolently promise to pass them to the people in some indefinite future, when ese will have qualified themselves for ouldering the responsibility. Since these self-pointed guardians reserve to themselves the ht of judging when the people will have tained political majority, it is not very likely t the promised transfer of power will ever ke place. The Chinese "republicanism" does t provide for a legislative body created by iversal suffrage, of the kind that formally stitutes the highest organ of the bourgeois mocratic State. Such a political ideology is termined by the patriarchal relations which minate the major sector of national economy.

Unable, as well as unwilling, to set up a volutionary dictatorship with the object of eeping away all antiquated social relations, ich hinder the creation of a modern demo-atic State, the nationalist bourgeoisie dress emselves in the musty, threadbare mantle of evolent despotism, and thereby demonstrate eir own impotence.

The cause of all these contradictions and eculiarities in the political life of modern ina must be sought in the structure of her cial system. In spite of the unreliability of e Chinese census report, it can be reasonably sumed that more than eighty-five per cent of e population live on the land. Sixty million milies are engaged in agriculture.[5] In the ht of this fact, the social structure of the llage is revealed to be the decisive factor in e life of the nation. The political life of country is determined by the nature of, and e property right in, the means of production. nd is the main means of production in ina. Therefore, the system of landownership stitutes the foundation of the social ucture, and all other branches of national nomy are largely influenced by the methods cultivating land, that is to say, by the mode production of the main industry of the untry.

The dominating system of landownership essentially patriarchal. Not only is the land essed jointly by families, but often by family groups—clans.[6] There are villages which are populated by the members of single clans. Such villages are named after the clans. The landed property of the clan, or of families, or of individuals is mostly derived directly from the State. It is a system in which, theoretically speaking, private property in land does not exist, or find itself on a very low level of development. But practically, the superstructure raised over this patriarchal foundation is, in a high degree, of feudal character. The charges on land are expressly feudal, not only in their essence, but often in form. However may the present system of Chinese rural economy be theoretically appraised, the feudal features in the history of the evolution of landed property in China are unmistakable. The struggle between patriarchalism and feudalism characterised the Chinese history ever since the days of Confucius. In the present form of landed property, elements of both the systems are to be found, and the overlapping of the two systems, which normally characterise different stages of social development, is the peculiar feature of the Chinese society. This hybrid produced by the two mutually exclusive social systems was later penetrated by the mode of capitalist production.

Thus, the economic life of the Chinese village is subjected to threefold exploitation: patriarchal, feudal and primitive capitalist. Although large-scale feudal states or capitalist farms are rare, except in Manchuria and some of the northern provinces (Shantung and Chili), more than half of the cultivated land bear landlords' rent. The peasant cultivating the land today is either a tenant or a sub-tenant, having no proprietary right in the soil. The rent is not fixed, and tenancy not permanent. Only in about thirty-four per cent[7] of the land is the proprietary right of the cultivating peasant legally recognized. A considerable part of the cultivated land is the property of ancestral shrines, temples and schools. In these cases, originally, the right was communal. But the traditional right has been abolished in practice. But the system of administering these traditionally communal properties even now supports the patriarchal relations in rural economy and politics. The village elders have usurped the proprietary right of these

5. Report of the Ministry of Agriculture, 1919.

6. The formal collective ownership, however, does not prevent, as will be shown later on, the subordination of the cultivator to the system of landlords' rent and capitalist profit.

7. Report of the Agrarian Commission of the Kuomintang, 1926.

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formerly communal lands. The peasants who cultivate these lands have been expropriated, practically if not legally. Consequently, the village elders have really become landlords. But the formal continuation of communal property in a considerable part of the land invests them even now with patriarchal rights and power.

At the same time, primitive capitalism has penetrated this feudal patriarchal structure of rural economy. The result is continuously growing impoverishment of the peasantry and extraordinary backwardness of the entire system of national economy. Although since long money has become the legal means for the payment of taxes to the Government, the rent is paid by the tenants still mostly in kind. This system of collecting rent in kind and paying taxes in money makes traders out of the feudal-patriarchal landlords. The surplus of agriculture passes in their possession. But their essential feudal-patriarchal character prevents that they become capitalists. The wealth accumulated in their hand does not become productive capital; it is invested in semi-feudal landed property, which keeps national economy in backwardness. On the other hand, subjected to pre-capitalistic methods of exploitation, the peasantry cannot improve their means of production, so as to grow out of their practical serfdom. Thus, in its precarious existence, the patriarchal family still continues to be the foundation of the social super-structure.

While hereditary property in land is not legally recognized, land theoretically belonging rather to the State, rent-bearing tenancy is the outstanding feature of the agrarian relation. Approximately sixty-six per cent of the cultivated land is subjected to the payment of rent to landlords.[8] So, for all practical purposes, even though not legally, private property has been created in land, because private property in land realizes itself in the form of rent.[9] But the essence of this property in land is analogous neither with the *allodium* of the European middle-ages, nor the *socage* in feudal Britain, nor the *free-hold* of modern England. The right of this private property does not belong to peasants whose ancestors had received the land from the Crown; it belongs to a c which received rent and, by virtue of i has become owner irrespective of any wri law. The growth of rent-receiving pri property in land transforms the peasant in tenant; consequently, he becomes dependen another lord in addition to the king.

The classical feudal property in land created through the expropriation of peasant proprietorship. But the process not uniform. Its essence was that between king and the people, there rose a new c which, on the one hand, encroached upon freedom and rights of the people and, on other hand, restricted the king's prerogati The rise and operation of the new class determined by the relation previously subsis between the king and the people. The pec features of Chinese feudalism were determ by the fact that a rent-receiving class ap priated the ownership of land, not by rob the right of the peasant, but thanks to transfer of the proprietary right by the to the court nobles, high officials and patriarchal heads of villages. With this of feudalism, the creation of private prop in land begins at the top of the society; the of a landowning class between the king and people is not the result of expropriation, represents the expansion of the basis of pri property. The supremacy of the king is disputed; the nobility continues to be ordinated to the monarch. Since the remains the private property of the king incorporates the highest power (by the G of God, in Europe; and thanks to the descent from Heaven, in China), theoreti he is entitled to divide it further from tim time. This prerogative guarantees for the undivided loyalty of the people and prov him with the possibility of checking high centration of land in private possession consequently, the development of a pow nobility. The most characteristic feature this type of feudalism, therefore, is not serf toiling on manorial estate, but the te cultivating the land, which practically be to a person standing between himself and king, under such conditions of productive deprive him of the entire surplus in the form rent and other charges.

In China, private property in land did grow in the foundation of the right of conq When the Germans conquered Gaul, the shared the right of conquest with all members of the conquering race; that necessary for fortifying his position in a fo

8. Report of the Agrarian Commission of the Kuomintang, 1926.

9. "Whatever may be the specific form of rent, there is one thing in common to all types of rent; the appropriation of rent is the economic form in which property in land is realized; land rent presupposes proprietary right in land—the ownership of certain individuals of certain parts of the globe." (Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Part II. —My own translation from the original German.—*M. N. R.*)

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nd still full of enemies. The division of land y the king was a mere formality. In reality, ach member of the conquering race simply ook possession of as much land as he could ultivate. In order to secure the loyalty of his ollowers, the conquering king simply endorsed heir action. Private property was created rom the bottom. The transfer of the original-rivate property in land, which in any case onstitutes the foundation of feudalism, could ot be an analogous process in the cases, for xample, of Gaul and China, because it started rom the opposite poles of society. Because of e difference in the position of the two factors oncerned, and in their mutual relation, the ature of the struggle must also be different.

In China also the distribution of land by e king to the people was a mere formality, hich simply sanctioned a system in force. ut the substance of the system, formally anctioned by the king in China, was fundaentally different from that in Gaul. In Gaul, rivate property in land was created by the onquering settlers; in China, land came to be ultivated by separate families, while the radition of regarding it as public property ontinued. The right of the Chinese king was ot the right of conquest. It was, so to say, n organic right which could more easily claim ivine origin. Since the land was not conquered ith the help of the entire people, not in the istorical period at any rate, there was no ecessity for dividing it. The monarchy rising ut of the dissolution of the tribal society ltimately developed into patriarchal despotism ased on that unrestricted right of the ownerip of land. Under those conditions, the easant could have the right of cultivating nd only by the grace of the Supreme Lord nd for his benefit, receiving only so much as necessary for subsistence and reproduction. hus, the development of private property in nd invested the patriarchal monarch with eudal attributes. He was no longer the head f a free community, possessing and cultivating e land collectively. He became the Lord and laster, and the people came to be composed f his subjects instead of free men.

But the king could not retain for ever the rimitive monopoly of feudal rights. In course f time, they inevitably went over to those tanding nearest to him in the social organiza-on. That transfer of right was not legally anctioned, but the existence of a feudal obility was a fact. In consequence of their ependence on the king, this type of feudal ristocracy constitutes the foundation of that special form of State which is characterised as Asiatic despotism.

In China, private property in land resulted from the decay of communal ownership and collective cultivation. The older system decayed; but the ruins were not swept away. Instead, they became the foundation of the new form of property which, consequently, could not grow normally to the full stature. The king distributed the land to the people. But he did not transfer the right of property, which remained in his hand. Since private property in land was created not by conquest, but in consequence of the dissolution of primitive communism, the king's share in the product of agriculture assumed the character of ground rent in its most primitive form.

In that period, rent represented the entire surplus labour; it absorbed directly the whole surplus product and as such, it corresponded completely with surplus value. Surplus value tends towards circulation. Therefore, even in those days of defective private property in land, its source broke the limits of patriachal monopoly, practically if not in terms of law. With the appearance of rent, the private property in land expanded. So long as land belongs to the State, rent and tax are identical. The administrators of State revenue gradually came to be tax farmers; and, under the given conditions, rent being inherent in tax, they became landlords for all practical purposes.

The peasants had no right of ownership in land; therefore, they could not be expropriated like their class in Europe. Consequently, serfdom did not take the classical form. The specific Chinese forms of serfdom were semi-slavery, forced labour and tenancy. The social position, characterised by those peculiar appearances, however, essentially was serfdom. For, the essence of serfdom is the obligation of the producers to cultivate land which, though in their possession, is not their property, and to deliver a part of the produce to the landlord. Whatever remained with them, after the obligations to the landlord were discharged, might provide them a little more than the necessities of bare existence and reproduction. That depended on the conditions under which their labour was performed.[10] In ancient and medieval China, natural conditions kept the surplus on a very low level. Often there was none. Consequently, serfdom approximated slavery, and the rise of capitalism within the limits of feudal relations was greatly restricted.

10. Karl Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 3, Part II.

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EDUCATIONAL SURVEYS

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Educational theories vary in form and contents according to the particular scholarly training of the writer or to his physical, social, economic, and political environment. In mixing various sciences such as psycho-analysis and education, sociology and education, politics and education, and the like, educationalists, during the last 50 years or so, thought to solve the irrepressible problems of our time. The "science" of education, therefore, became more and more complex and involved until those who really are responsible for education, namely, the teachers, are no longer able to distinguish between what is right and wrong in contemporary education nor indeed are they prepared to define the aims of education. The Teachers' Training Colleges do not provide them with relevant knowledge; textbooks on education are dry and abstract and divorced from experience and the living educational reality. The teacher or professor—after passing a certain number of irrelevant examinations and instilled with old and new educational theories alike—chooses his profession with the view to earn his living and to provide his students with the same kind of knowledge that has made him what he is now, namely, a "useful" member of society. His interest in teaching or in education generally amounts to next to nothing; he goes to his classes or lectures as the businessman goes to his office. A certain amount of work or preparation guarantees remuneration and a normal social and economic standing within the community in which he happens to live. Intelligence is not required of a teacher: textbooks, methods, and everything else, are handed over to him by some administrative body, which is responsible for the training of the young in a social group. On the other hand, the teacher is looked upon by the other members of the community as some kind of parasite, a social, economic, and political nonentity.

Only very few people seem to realize that the educational system of a country reflects best of all its cultural standards and values. Many are utterly ignorant of the responsibility that is laid upon the teacher to whom society entrusts its children. Although no originality or intelligence is required of him, although he is but a small wheel in the complex machinery of modern standardization and mechanization, he is as to be keen, alert, and "efficient". The re must inevitably be that teachers lose themse in hopeless resignation, that kind of destruc fatalism which is so representative of frustration-complex of modern intellectuals.

In this essay we want to neglect all edu tional theories of whatever "progressive" they may be. If really the educational sys of a country reflects its cultural standards values, it should be the aim of every respons educationalist to understand this system before throwing himself into the disconcer whirlwind of contradictory theories and p ciples. To understand this system implies fact, an awareness of the shortcomings defects of cultural evolution. This awaren no doubt, will help the educationalist in practical everyday methods as well as in way of dealing with educational theories. T is, we believe, only one way of attaining awareness: by means of an intelligent survey an average educational institution represen the educational aspirations of the social grou question.

Only if we realize the intimate connec between the actual environment and this edu tional institution, will this survey be success Our point of departure must, therefore, be social group out of which this institution g This approach is justified if we keep in m that there is no organized education with some kind of social order or social coercion

We must, however, begin with a hypothe namely, that there are two or three intelli teachers or professors in this institution realize the use and the meaning of such a sur and who are willing enough to begin this vestigation open-mindedly and unprejudic Their first concern should be to define environment, that is to say, its phys economic, social, political, religious, etc., cha teristics.2 Particular stress, no doubt, shoul

1. W. S. Smith: *An Introduction to Educa Sociology*, 1929. B. S. Counts: *The Social Found of Education*, 1934. L. F. Ross: *A Sociological P sophy of Education*, 1928.

2. L. L. Bernard: "A Classification of Environm *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXI.

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d upon the social environment, whether this ucational institution is situated in or near a y or in an agricultural area. This is, as we ll see later on, of greater importance than the itical characteristic of this social group. As iety always exercises some amount of in- ence upon the educational system of a country, various population groups have to be taken o consideration; and as the institution which s been selected, represents, so to speak, the st important population group (being an erage institution), it should be made clear t there is an intimate relationship between s particular group and the educational system this institution. In the survey itself it will seen how this system adjusts itself to given cial conditions.[3] We may give one instance, as to illustrate our argument. Frequently we d, in the East as well as in the West, that ools in the open country have to use the same xtbooks as those in cities; the kind of training it is given to a child in an agricultural area is equently irrelevant and useless; the child nnot and need not adjust itself to the standards d values of a city-culture; yet it is forced to so owing to the fact that one population oup, even if it is quantitatively smaller ercises an undue amount of influence upon ther. This can be observed not only in atters of textbooks but in all matters related the educational process. If, however, the ential characteristics of the population group made clear, these regrettable and far-reaching stakes could be avoided altogether, or, at least, rrected to a considerable extent.

As most of the concerns of a social group day centre around economic activities and as, rthermore, education at present depends almost tirely on the economic capacity of the group provide education, the investigators should ke a survey of the economic assets and bilities of the institution. As it is of an erage kind, the results of this investigation ll be most illuminating: for, apart from the tual assets, its expenditure for the various anches of learning will, no doubt, reflect the llingness of the social group at large to provide suitable education for its children. The per- ntage of the average expenditure for general ministration, salaries, health service, buildings, praries, laboratories, art-departments, voca- onal training, newspapers and other reading atter, will show the importance attached to one the other, and the proper conclusions can be awn therefrom. If, for instance, the expendi- ture of an average educational institution for administrative purposes is higher than for its libraries, we may assume that there is something wrong with an educational system where more money is spent for organising learning than for the "learning" itself, and that, consequently, the social group is more interested in the organization of education than in "education" itself. The investigators will observe similar mistakes in expenditure within the various branches of learning. They will be enabled to determine almost mathematically the importance attached to them and to correct possible mistakes, in the interest of the social group. On the other hand, a comparison between school-economics and state-economics (for instance, between the amount spent by the average population group for insurance and for education) will help to realize the role, education and therewith this particular institution plays amongst all the various activities of this community. Only if both the social and economic basis are given the survey proper can begin.

The following five points will have to be considered in details: the administration, the teachers or professors, the freedom of teaching, the curriculum, and the students. Statistics should be avoided as far as possible; a survey of this kind deals essentially with human beings and not with abstract principles: the investigators should, therefore, be on more or less intimate terms with everybody connected with this school or college.

Those who are responsible for the running of the institution and who most directly represent the interests of the social group will form the point of departure of this survey. It will be necessary, first of all, to investigate whether they are fit to represent the social group, whether—apart from their qualifications and training—they have not detached themselves from the common interests and activities of the community. As educational administration is a matter of social policy, this question should be answered first of all.[4] Next their training and educational qualifications should be considered. And lastly their social composition and social concepts. It is frequently to be found, for example, that those who are responsible for the administration of an educational service in a city were brought up in agricultural surroundings and that they, consequently, are not fit to represent the interests of a city population

3. R. A. McDonald: *Adjustment of School Organization to Various Population Groups*, 1915.

4. Jesse H. Newlon: *Educational Administration as Social Policy*, 1934. A. N. Elliot: *The Status of the Democratic Ideal in the field of School Administration*, 1931.

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group. Their social concepts and beliefs cannot adjust themselves to a new environment. The result is a maladaptation of the administrative machinery. This maladaptation can, of course, be studied best in the administrator's everyday interests and activities, in their reading matter, and in their way of passing their leisure time.[5]

A similar investigation can be carried out with regard to teachers. Teachers rather than the administrators are in daily contact with their students and therefore more liable to influence them; here the beginning age of teachers should be taken into consideration, the reasons why they selected this profession rather than any other, and their length of service. One of the commonest observations consists in the fact that teachers today are much too young and inexperienced to "explain" to the students the "meaning" of all the knowledge which they are supposed to carry over from one generation to the next. Frequently also they change their institutions far too often which again handicaps the educational process. A survey of their social composition will help to define the social stratum from which teachers are selected; it will, for instance, be found, that many teachers in cities come from agricultural areas which—as in the case of the administration—leads to maladjustments and maladaptations.[6] Their social beliefs and attitudes will have to be studied next; this will elucidate the teacher's peculiar position within society and throw light upon his mental activity.[7] His leisure time activities and interests will complete this picture. It will also be important to establish a relationship between his training and his actual salary; untrained and unqualified teachers being "cheaper" than those who are trained and qualified, it will be interesting to know the percentage of both and to draw the conclusions as to the "standard" of this average institution.

Last, but not least of all, it should be investigated how much interest is taken by the teachers themselves in the freedom of teaching; whether their teaching is only a means for the acquisition of wealth or for some higher intellectual purpose; whether they feel handicapped by outside pressures of a social, political and religious kind; whether they h any suggestions to make as to the preven of this outside pressure; whether they re the restrictions imposed upon them by the administration rather than those emana from the vested interests of the social gro Frequently the investigators will be astonis to find, how ignorant teachers themselves of the most obvious restraints upon the free of teaching and that—should they be awar them—they usually do not care. Here a much useful work can be done by this sur

As teaching today depends to a consider extent on the curriculum, it should be stu very carefully indeed. The average curric involves at present a great deal of standard tion and mechanization; the methods of teac should be considered first, whether m production or individual training is prefer and the number and attendance of lectu seminaries, discussions, respectively. The s applies to examinations. Here especi mistakes occur more frequently than anywh else: there are too many examinations and o quite irrelevant ones; preparation for t tests takes place in a most preposterous man the students using "annotations" which dry, abstract, unrelated to the young ad interests and frequently altogether unread It should be ascertained how many stud use these "annotations" and especially w use they make of them. A similar survey sh be made of the textbooks in use: their date the kind of social, political, religious bias advocate; their preoccupation with cult phenomena and civic attitudes, whether are published privately or by special author tion by the school administration. textbooks that are used in this aver institution will be an index of the curr social beliefs, civic attitudes and vested inter within the community.[9]

All the auxiliary teaching material sho be considered also: the libraries, the newpap reviews, etc., the cinema and the radio, if s This is, properly speaking, the influence of environment upon the curriculum, and ev educationalist knows only too well sometimes the leading article of a third- newspaper with strong political bias exer

5. C. E. Arnett: *The Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American School Board Members.* F. H. Bair: *The Superintendent of Schools as Social Agent.*

6. L. D. Coffman: *The Social Composition of the Teaching Population*, 1911. M. E. Barker: *Personality Adjustment of Teachers Related to Efficiency in Teaching*, 1933.

7. M. H. Harper: *Social Beliefs and Attitudes of American Educators*, 1927. Merle Curti: *The Social Ideas of American Educators*, 1935.

8. H. K. Beale: *Are American Teachers Free? Analysis of Restraints upon the Freedom of Teachi American Schools*, 1936. J. F. Walter: *Outside Dem and Pressures on the Public Schools*, 1932.

9. Bessie Pierce: *Civic Attitudes in American S Textbooks*, 1930. C. J. Tidwill: *State Control of books*, 1928.

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greater influence upon the young adult's mind ian, for example, his textbooks in Civics or olitics.[10] Only if the methods of teaching, the extbooks, and the outside influences are ombined, the investigators will be aware of the hortcomings of the curriculum proper; they ill, for example, realize that textbooks must e related to the child's reality and experience order to counteract the dangerous influences om outside.

As for the subjects taught, it should be teresting to know how much time is allotted them, and the percentage of students enrolled the various classes. Thus it might be found at purely commercial subjects at present tract students more than art or literature, ut that, on the other hand, useless subjects such as Latin in the West) have to be taught ot for the sake of knowledge but for all kinds other purposes. It might also be found that any subjects are taught only for the sake of me competitive examination and that the knowledge" thus acquired will be of no use in dult life. The investigators should, therefore, m at an intelligent classification of subject-atters, thereby indicating the particular trend cultural movements within the social group.[11]

The part of the survey that deals with the udents, is in itself much more complex. Here e investigation is no longer concerned with ature personalities representing some kind of cial order, but with human beings at a time transition and gradual evolution. However, a rvey of the students' population in this verage educational institution will illustrate the olution of the social group itself; it is, in fact, thing else but a survey of the next generation ho will be responsible in the near future for the terests and activities of the social group. Here ain a study of the economic background will useful; the first aim, therefore, will be to tablish a relationship between the income of e students' parents and the expenditure for e education of their children. The number of holarships, free textbooks, etc., will have to investigated next: this will surely be an dex as to how far the social group encourages ucation for poor but well-deserving students. his study on scholarship may also lead to most illuminating conclusions, those related to educational waste and allied problems.[12] Next the social and religious composition of the students will be subject to a careful investigation. As it is an institution of an average kind, comparisons may be drawn later on between the percentage of students from the various population groups and the percentage of eminence attained by them during or after the educational process. It will, for instance, be found that students who were brought up in a city environment attain eminence rather than those from an agricultural area. This does not necessarily imply a "higher" standard of learning in cities, but rather a wrong application of city standards in agricultural areas; furthermore, it means that there is something wrong with rural schools, that teachers are not properly trained and that not enough money is spent for education in rural districts. Consequently, a study of the students' social and political concepts and attitudes always with special reference to the population group they represent, will help the investigators to realize how far the social aspirations of the community at large are being instilled into the next generation. They will also frequently come across a strange discrepancy between the theoretical aspirations and the actual results. Questions should be put to the students with regard to the most common interests and activities of the group, such as those dealing with political, social, religious, moral, literary, artistic and economic issues; here the influence of outside propaganda rather than that of textbooks will be painfully obvious.[13] This study may be successfully supplemented by a survey of the students' leisure time interests and activities, their reading matter (what books do they like best, which page in a newspaper do they read regularly, etc.), and the interest taken in games. If the results of this investigation are again compared with the various population groups which the students represent, the survey will be almost complete. The health of the students can be tested easily; as for their "intelligence", it would, perhaps, be better to avoid all unnecessarily complicated and standardized "intelligence-tests". Commonsense will do as much. If, however, tests of this kind seem to be necessary, they should be handled carefully and not too many conclusions drawn from them.[14] If this average institution is on

10. F. L. Cumley: *The Propaganda Menace*, 1933. F. Scott: *The Menace of Nationalism in Education*, 26.

11. C. H. Mann: *How Schools Use their Time: me Allotment Practice in 444 Cities.* Columbia Univer-y, 1928.

12. K. Lindsay: *Social Progress and Educational aste: being a study on the "free-place" and scholar-ip system*, 1926.

13. Hyman Meltzer: *Childrens' Social Concepts: a study of their nature and development*, 1925.

14. S. S. Colvin: "The Use of Intelligence Tests." *Educational Review*, LXII, 134.

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a co-educational basis more problems of a different kind will have to be dealt with. The investigators being in the full confidence of the students, very appreciable results may be obtained here which may be easily correlated to the preceding points of the students' survey. An investigation in the working arrangements of the department for professional or vocational training will elucidate the interest taken by the social group and the students themselves in their professional life and the way students adjust themselves to existing social and economic conditions.

Here the survey proper ends. A few general remarks have, however, to be added indicating the particular trend of an educational system as represented by this average institution. These remarks will bear upon the relationship between social progress and this educational machinery.

All educational problems centre around the relationship between those who represent the social group, namely, the teachers, and the students. If there is no obvious relationship to be found, the educational system is bound to fail. If teachers do not participate in the communal life of a school or college, the educational process will be to a considerable extent divorced from the "realities" of the social group. The lack of proper guidance will lead as regards the students to social maladaptations of a very serious kind. No "social progress can be achieved without the mutual consent" of both teachers and students. It should be investigated whether this mutual consent exists. If it does not exist the fault lies usually with the teacher: students are always open to new suggestions of a "progressive" kind with regard to social life, art, or morals. Character-building is closely related to this problem. If children or young adults are taught to think about life in terms of intellectual entities and abstractions, character-building will be replaced by "instruction" and the resu invariably be educational failures. It be investigated how much "moral" or intell pressure is exercised upon the young indiv and how much freedom, on the other ha left to him to educate himself in a "nat way by means of personal experiences. Is possible, a similar investigation should be co out with regard to the sexual pro predominating the young adult's life in average institution. The amount of inhibi and repressions will be a sure index of general "moral" health of the students. S the educational process be successful, inhibitions and repressions will have to reduced to a minimum: this alone will guar a healthy and normal family life in the fut

If this average institution trains its stu for an intelligent social adjustment to exi conditions, the educational system whic represents will be invariably successful on the other hand, students are trained to re tradition and to look upon life in an unprej and open-minded way, no considerable am of educational failures will be possible; if, ins habits of mind tending towards social pro are instilled into the young adults, community at large will profit by it traditional cultural values and standards not be cut short by some pseudo-revoluti mentality, as it so frequently happens at pre but will go on evolving in a normal, hea and natural way.

To make this evolution clear and necessary, to prevent possible distortions maladaptations, should be the aim of suc educational survey.

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15. D. H. Lawrence: *Fantasia of the Unco* 1923.

16. G. Humphrey: "Education and Freudi *Journal of Abnormal Psychology and Social Psyc* XV.

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FOUNDATION OF A KEY INDUSTRY IN INDIA

Electrolytic Manufacture of Soda and Chlorine

By Sir P. C. RAY

One great difficulty in India of starting big industries is that she is called upon all of a sudden to face fierce competition from the long established, highly developed industrial organisations of Europe, America and Japan. Foreign products are dumped into the country at rates which defy competition and thereby indigenous industries are throttled out of existence. Needless to say, price are again enhanced after the local enterprise has been crushed out to make good for the temporary losses of the foreigner. The difficulty is now further increased when England herself, under the new constitution, in the name of Imperial preference or some other euphemistic epithet, is entering the field by jumping over the tariff wall. Just now this is our unfortunate position. Gigantic British industries incorporated in England, such as the Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd., are opening branches in India. But if unhappy India is to exist at all she must be prepared, dwarf as she is, to fight with the colossal giant.

Hitherto in India only a single attempt has been made by Indians to start a big key industry, the Tata Iron and Steel Works Ltd. It has outlived its infancy and has come to adolescence. At the outset it had the financial backing of the late J. N. Tata and latterly of the Bombay capitalists. When the great war broke out and the supply of foreign steel was cut off, our government realised the supreme importance of an indigenous industry and of making India self-contained as far as possible in her needs. But the Tatas at that time behaved like spoilt children. Once while presiding over an industrial conference Sir Dorab Tata boasted that his expert was drawing a pay higher than that commanded by the Viceroy of India. The criterion of efficiency had thus been judged by the concern by the salary of its expert. Things went on merrily for a time, but, a crisis arose when peace was concluded and the efficiency of the experts was tested in the fire of foreign competition. German and Belgian steel produced from a much lower grade iron ore began to pour into the market at a much-reduced rate. A cry was raised for the support of an infant industry and a national backing was secured for the concern for its protection and subsidy. It is needless to proceed further. Suffice it to say that Tata Iron and Steel Works got something like a crore a year from the Imperial coffers and latterly under the Imperial preference somewhere near about eighty lakhs a year. In other words the poor peasantry of India were taxed for their commodities, such as corrugated sheets and implements of husbandry, and the country had to pay seven or eight crores of rupees to cover the losses of inefficient running of this concern. Still the cost is not too high if the concern thereby becomes efficient and completely Indianised.

These preliminary remarks may seem irrelevant to many but they have an important bearing on the subject proper which I now introduce.

India is yet in her infancy in industrial progress and capital is naturally very shy and she lacks in organising power. Hence undertakings of colossal scale as obtain in highly developed industrial countries do not appeal to her and are at present beyond her means. Therefore the example set by an Asiatic country naturally appeals to her.

Japan has developed to a remarkable extent during the last decade in her industrial activities in diverse fields, following the example of European countries. In the metallurgical industries, such as, copper mining and copper refining, she started from a very small beginning; now she occupies practically the second place in world production. Last year in an article published in *The Electrical World*, Dugald Jackson, Emeritus Professor of Electrical Engineering of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, gave a survey of Japanese electrical plants. He states that practically all the power stations both hydro-electric and thermal are now run by Japanese generators. The sizes of these generators and their efficiency are quite on a par with those of other nations. Electric locomotives that run in Japan have all been manufactured in Japanese factories. A number of Japanese lamp factories have been started and the productive capacity of one of them could be compared favourably with some of the biggest factories in the world, having a daily output of three lakhs of lamps.

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In Electro-Chemical industries her development has been remarkable. By the electrolysis of common salt she not only supplies her need for alkalies and bleaching powder and liquid chlorine but manages to export large quantities abroad at a price much lower than that produced by other nations. She produces the artificial fertilisers needed for her agriculture by the atmospheric fixation of nitrogen and even exports considerable quantities abroad. Though she lacks in aluminous ore which is imported mainly from our country, she has within the last six years developed a big Aluminium industry. Her textile industry, silk industry, rayon industry, rubber industry have developed within the last decade to such an extent that they excite the envy of people who had been pioneers in those and have considerable experience.

The secret of these undertakings in their inception and growth may be attributed to many causes, but it may be pointed out that she is now almost independent of foreign manufacturers regarding the equipment of her industrial concerns. Japan now is in a position to equip almost all her factories with machinery and equipments developed in Japan and a considerable number of them are of higher efficiencies than those developed abroad. This is the finding of an eminent foreign engineer, a teacher of a renowned engineering institution and no mean observer in the world progress in the engineering line.

Japan has to import pig iron and scrap iron from India; she readily converts them into steel and now her grand mercantile marine and her powerful naval equipment including battleships, cruisers and submarines, aeroplanes for commercial navigation and warlike operations and all the ingredients for war purposes are secured from the steel of her own making. The textile machinery is entirely of her own production. The development of the rubber trade and of the rubber products both in variety and in price has been remarkable. One really looks for the basic factors which have led to this astounding progress and one finds that a spirit of self-determination and self-confidence to produce the elements of her industrial equipments independent of foreign countries form the foundations of her industries.

Things are different here in India. One can cite the case of sugar industry. Thanks to the prohibitive duty on Java sugar we have had a rapid growing up of an indigenous sugar industry. Already there is over-production and rate cutting and loud complaint against the excise duty on home-grown sugar.

Here is an example of the effects of considered excessive protective duty. But important fact must not be overlooked. A one who examines the custom duties on impor machineries will be surprised at the enorm quantity of machinery worth several cro introduced into our country from abroad, fr England, the continent of Europe and States.

This comparison would surely indicate secret of Japan in a nutshell. As soon as period of probationership was over, she w commendable foresight turned a new leaf in chapter of industry. She realised that she m manufacture on the spot her own requireme and has managed the same on an economic ba She is no longer dependent on foreign countri She charges wages for labour from a coolie an expert in a scale which would puzzle us. S is a rice-eating nation like ourselves and cost of living is not of the standard of Europe countries. An expert technician or a colle professor serves on a pay which appear to ridiculously small. But unlike us she tak advantage of her asset of brain and brawn her own benefit. There is no tendency for j hunting and service securing in Japanese you While we are frittering our energies in secur paper qualifications without any definite end view, thus running to waste our potential bra wealth, Japan had been utilising to the fulle extent her intellectual elements for the develo ment of her industries, her commerce and oth avocations of modern national life. Though the beginning she like other oriental countri had been stunned by the force of impact science on society, she rallied quickly and set an organisation to equip herself to meet th altered conditions. And further her governme gave well-planned and highly efficient financi and technical backing to her enterprises durin their infancy.

In explaining the industrial growth Japan we have diverged from our main them regarding the difficulties of initiating ne industries in our country. It is well know that there are a number of industries which a essential for the development and growth other industries. Of these key industries finds alkali manufacture has an unique positio Soap has been stated by Liebig to be an inde of modern civilised society and though Ind situated in the tropics abounds in vegetable and has within the last twenty five years grow an indigenous soap industry it may be point out that she is entirely dependent on impor alkalies for the same. The quality and price

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soap are naturally found to be affected by the fluctuations in the price of this imported alkali. Within the last forty years India has been growing a textile industry mainly for her home consumption and it is not realised how far the industry is dependent on the imported alkali. The growth of an Indian paper industry, apart from other causes, is handicapped not to an considerable extent due to cheap alkali. In a modern paper mill established in the neighbourhood of Calcutta we have the information that the annual consumption of alkali runs up to about 3,000 tons a year. These are only a few examples to illustrate the nature of this key industry. Alkali manufacture can be traced back to very olden times, but the modern methods can be said to originate from the processes well known to students of chemistry—the Leblanc and Solvay processes,—about the beginning of the last century. With the development of electrical energy the electro-chemical decomposition of sodium chloride to produce caustic soda, chlorine and hydrogen has been evolved and within a short period of twenty years the long established older processes have received a check. In America specially, the electro-chemical process soon supplanted to considerable extent the older industries. More particularly, since then its bye-product chlorine, transformed either into bleaching powder or into liquid chlorine, is finding considerable use for disinfection and other sanitary purposes.

As we discussed about the industrial development of Japan we found that her secret of success lay in devising means to build up her own equipments without external aid. For some time there has been an attempt to design a suitable electro-chemical plant for the production of alkalies and bleaching powder locally and it may now be said that there is every chance of installing a successful plant for the purpose. For more than a couple of years the untiring effort of a band of workers, who for reasons best known to them do not like to give their names away to the public, had been engaged in the problem and they feel that the successful establishment of this important key industry may not be very far off. The experimental plant is a very modest one with a small output but it shows signs that it is capable of large expansions. It has as its competitor one of the biggest world organisations, namely, the Imperial Chemical Industries, subsidised by the British Parliament, opening its new branch here, but there is reason to believe that India has a scope not only for such big organisations, but also for small ones. If the spirit of self-confidence, self-sacrifice and efficiency in organisation can be combined such small concerns may not lose heart to face the competition. In these days of motor lorries and quick transport, even in the streets of big metropolis hand carts have not ceased to ply their trade. But apart from plain and honest competition, there are other methods of killing an infant industry practised here, chiefly by foreign concerns, or "Indian" concerns that are "Indian" only in the location of their industrial machinery. Zonal price cutting, threats to purchasers or wholesalers of non-supply by the European concerns, if they purchase from Indian concerns, and similar octopus methods of strangling infant Indian industries are practised here with impunity. Such practices must be regarded as criminal and penalised. The foreigners have stipulated and obtained their safeguards. It is up to us to agitate for and secure anti-trust laws and other safeguards against the destroyers of Indian enterprise.

The dawn of a new era in the industrial development of India would certainly begin when this and other important key industries take their footing in the indigenous soil and be entirely developed by us unaided by extraneous help.

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THE IRON AND STEEL INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By A. R. DALAL

In spite of the abundance of raw materials in India and of India's relatively high importance a thousand years ago in the world's supply of wrought iron and steel, India did not effectively take up the manufacture of iron by modern methods until fifty years ago, when the Barakar Iron Works were established at Kulti in Bengal, about 140 miles north-west of Calcutta. Since that time these works have, almost without interruption, continued the production of pig iron and iron castings, under the ownership of the Bengal Iron Company, which has now been acquired by the Indian Iron and Steel Company. Over thirty years ago the Bengal Company attempted the manufacture of steel at Kulti, but did not succeed in overcoming the many difficulties which had to be faced; the plant was closed down after about two years and was ultimately completely dismantled.

Although the Barakar Iron Works were the pioneers in their line small foundries for the production of iron castings from pig iron existed in several places in India before the establishment of the former. Those foundries have developed steadily but inconspicuously apart from two offshoots of an unusual nature. Over forty years ago the iron foundry of what is now the Metal and Steel Works of the Army Department at Ichapore, a short distance north of Calcutta, undertook the manufacture of steel in a small open hearth furnace. This plant, which has since had a moderate growth, is the pioneer of modern steel-making in India. It was followed after a few years by a similar development at the Jamalpur Works of the East Indian Raiway. It is doubtful whether either of these plants ever produced 30,000 tons of ingots in any one year. Neither of them made steel for the commercial market. About nine years ago the Jamalpur plant was closed down, as the Railway found it more economical to purchase the small quantity of billets it required for its rolling mill, which is still retained.

The most important development of the Industry, however, was due to Mr. Jamshedji Tata who prepared the schemes which led to the formation in 1907 of the Tata Iron and Steel Company. Two blast furnaces and a steel plant with rolling mills were erected at Jamshedpur with a capacity of 1,20,000 to pig iron (of which the greater part was absorb in the steel plant) and about 80,000 tons rolled steel annually. Production of iron be in 1911 and of steel in 1912. The output developed practically without check, and ex sions of the Works have been almost contin for the last 20 years. For some years it been the largest steelworks in the Empire a single site. The extensions now in hand bring its capacity by 1940 to about 1,200 tons of pig iron, almost the same quantity ingots and nearly 8,50,000 tons of rolled s for despatch to customers.

In 1918, another enterprise, the Ind Iron and Steel Company, was formed and blast furnaces, the necessary coke-ovens, were erected at Hirapur, a few miles from K This Company acquired the Bengal Iron Co pany, and its works now have a combi capacity of about 8,50,000 tons of pig i annually, together with foundries capable producing 100,000 tons of cast iron pi sleepers and general iron castings. The amo of pig iron required by the general Ind market being very small, the Indi Iron Company has hitherto depended ma on the export of pig iron for its market. new Company, The Steel Corporation of Ben Ltd., was registered in 1937. This Comp will take all its requirements of pig iron fr The Indian Iron and Steel Company, Ltd. T production aimed at is 2,00,000 to 2,50,000 of finished steel per annum.

The next enterprise in this line was inv by the Mysore Government who erected a s iron works at Bhadravati over 16 years to produce charcoal pig iron on the scale 20,000 tons per year. They are making iron pipes which absorb about 7,000 tons pig annually. The scheme has never b financially profitable and a small steel p with an estimated capacity of about 15,000 of bars and small sections and 5,000 tons hoops has recently been added, in order afford a means of utilising the iron produce

Recent important factors in the growth the industry are the Tinplate Company India and Indian Steel Wire Products, L both of which have their works adjacent

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se of the Tata Company and depend upon latter for the supply of tin-bar and billets pectively. The former Company has in re- t years produced over 50,000 tons of tinplate ually and the latter is producing over 40,000 s of steel rods, small bars, wire (black and vanised) and wire nails. Besides these, an resting recent development is the under- ding between the Tata Company and ssrs. Stewards and Lloyds, the largest tish producers of tubes, for the formation of jointly-owned Company which will make es in India to the maximum extent practi- le in the conditions of the market.

Apart from the above several concerns are rating re-rolling mills, mainly for bars and all sections, in Calcutta, Bombay, Lahore, npore, Negapatam and elsewhere. Some of Mills work on such scrap as is locally ilable, while others operate on billets. India possesses three small foundries for the nufacture of steel castings for the general rket, two in the Calcutta area and one in coalfield area.

Both the Tata Company and the Indian n Company possess enormous reserves of h grade iron ore within economic distance their works. These deposits lie in the ghum District, which is one of the richest n ore areas of the world. India, however, es not possess correspondingly large reserves the equally necessary coking coal. Both mpanies possess reserves of this coal, those the Tata Company, however, being much ger than those of the Indian Iron Company. So much for the supply side of the question. for the demand side, India's consumption of el is mainly in the form of sheets, bars, rails, uctural sections, plates, sleepers, tinplate, ps, tubes, wire and rods. There appears to no other form of steel which is consumed to extent reaching 20,000 tons per year in rmal times. Since 1923 the aggregate Indian sumption of all the products specified above s averaged about 1,000,000 tons annually. these products are, or will, within the next o years, be, made by the Tata Steel Company d its immediate associates to an extent gregating about fourth-fifths of the whole. e position of this Company in the industry us appears to be one of unusually great ength.

Further development of the industry in dia depends mainly on the growth of demand. need not be doubted that the effective demand ill grow. The growth may, however, not be o rapid as is expected in some quarters. The world consumed over 50 per cent more steel in 1928 and 1929 than in the best pre-war year 1913. India, however, reached its peak in 1927 with a consumption 40 per cent greater than in 1913, which was also India's best pre-war year. The consumption rapidly declined from 1927 and although the last four years have shown some improvement, the consumption in 1936 was barely 60 per cent of its previous record, whereas in 1936 the world as a whole passed its previous record of 1929. Thus, although there is good reason to regard the Indian steel market as sound, it must be recognized that it has limitations in its present demand and that expectations of its future rate of growth should not be pitched too high.

India has not yet appeared in the steel export market to any important extent. It is, however, and has for many years been, one of the major exporters of pig iron on the world market. For the manufacture of basic steel and for certain kinds of foundry work Indian pig iron has established a high reputation for quality in many countries. The principal buyer is normally Japan but the United States and the United Kingdom have for years been fairly steady buyers of Indian pig iron while smaller quantities are despatched each year to a large number of other countries.

As in other countries, the Indian steel industry has experienced large fluctuations in its fortunes and in 1924 it became necessary for Government of India to grant the industry fiscal protection, partly by import duties and partly by subsidies. The subsidies were removed after less than three years and have not been re-instituted. The protective duties were revised in a downward direction in 1927 and again in 1934. At the present time the duties on British steel are only 10 per cent ad valorem and those on non-British steel vary between about Rs. 25 and Rs. 43 per ton. An unusual feature of the situation is that since the end of 1934 Government has levied an excise duty of Rs. 4 per ton on all steel ingots produced in India and an excise countervailing duty of Rs. $5\frac{1}{3}$ per ton is added to the import duties on finished steel of the protected kinds. Billets, however, are free from import duty and the excise countervailing duty is only Rs. 4.

At its last inquiry the Indian Tariff Board estimated that by 1940 the Tata Company would be able to produce rails at a "works cost" of about Rs. 47, billets about Rs. 38, bars at Rs. 52, galvanised sheets below Rs. 99 and other products at correspondingly low costs. The Company has naturally not pub-

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lished its recent costs, but all the indications are that it has made substantial progress and will make further progress in the next two or three years. It is expected in competent circles that a further prolongation of protection will not be required and that by 1941 the protective duties will be removed. In the main the re-rolling industry has depended on the unusual combination of a high duty on bars and the free importation of billets. The cessation of protection would tend to put the production of bars, etc., where it economically belongs, *i. e.*, in the primary steelworks, which in India can produce billets more cheaply than they can be imported and can convert them into bars on high-capacity mills more cheaply than the small re-roller.

Turning to the question of financial strength, the Tata Steel Company has a share capital of Rs. 10.52 crores. As it expects to be able to finance out of its own resources the extensions referred to earlier in this article, its capitalisation may be regarded as distinctly moderate in relation to the large capacity indicated, the more so as the Company has not written down its capital at any stage, a process which has occurred only too frequently in the industry. The capitalisation also covers the cost of a large town and the very rich ore mines and collieries already mentioned. Practically the whole of the plant now in operation is less than 15 years old, the original equipment having been almost entirely superseded. This has been made possible by the conservative policy of the Company in the matter of depreciation. For example, Rs. 501 lakhs have been set aside out of profits on this account in the five years ending March 1937.

The capital of the Indian Iron and Steel Company, as re-constituted at the end of 1936, is £2,000,000 in debentures and Rs. 181.16 lakhs in shares, the share capital representing a substantial writing down of the original amounts raised by the two Companies which have been amalgamated into the present Company. The Company possesses four blast furnaces of modern type (two large and two of medium size), the necessary coke ovens and auxiliary plant, large foundries, two small townships, collieries and the extensive iron ore mines referred to above. It is understood that the Company has sufficient reserves to enable it to modernise those parts of its plant which are not reasonably up-to-date. Further capital of Rs. 40 lakhs was issued for the purpose of participating in the new steelworks. capital of the Steel Corporation of Bengal is £1,000,000 in debentures and Rs. 370 in shares.

The Tinplate Company of India was ed with a capital of Rs. 75 lakhs of two-thirds was furnished by the Burmah Company and one-third by the Tata Iron Steel Company, with which the Tinplate C pany has a long-term contract for the s of tin-bar. The reports of the Company not publicly available but the latest acc of the Burmah Oil and the Tata Comp show that the Tinplate Company is p satisfactory dividends.

The works of Indian Steel Wire Prod Limited were originally in private owner The public Company was registered in and has an issued capital of Rs. 10 lakh debentures and Rs. 50,00,000 in shares. Company owns a modern mill with a cap of about 45,000 tons of small bars, rods, etc which it obtains the billets from the Company under a long-term contract. It has fairly extensive wire-drawing and making plant. The Company is believed t operating with satisfactory financial result

Apart from the above, there are re-ro mills operated by the Eagle Rolling Mills C pany, Guest Keen Williams, Ltd., the Nati Iron and Steel Company and the Indian S Rolling Mills, Ltd. In addition to these t are a few smaller mills in various parts of I mainly under private ownership. Little in mation is available about the operating resu

It can be gathered from this short su that India appears to be within a very s distance of reaching practical self-sufficiency the more generally used forms of steel, if be judged on the basis of past consumption has achieved this position on a sound finan and economic basis and there is little reason doubt that the industry in India will be able maintain its position. If there should be rapid increase in the consumption, there m well be a time-lag before the Indian indus expanded to meet it and imported steel m for a period be required on a larger scale, the dependence of India on the United King and the Continent for large supplies of s has passed and is not likely to return. Bey this, the stage may prove to be not very distant when, during times of low local dem the Indian Steel Industry will be able to m an effective entry into the export market.

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CIVIL AVIATION INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By SURESH DESAI, M.A., LL. B.

remarkable development of air transport ost-war years has assumed added importance the present day. It is indisputable that Civil ation is no mere commercial proposition. mercial air-fleets, it is well known, are an liary to military air-craft, and are calculated lay a vital part in the chain of imperial unications. The role of Civil Aviation as y-industry in the defence and economy of country has been recognised by modern es through heavy subsidies and other forms assistance extended to their national air ces.

India, having a peculiar geographical tion on the map of the world and with its distances came early to be considered as mportant playground by foreign air services. only does India hold a strategic position e aerial links of the Empire between London Brisbane but it also commands an equally rtant position in the aerial connections een the East and the West and incidentally, the round-the-world service *via* Hongkong the Pan-American Airways Trans-Pacific e. The Government of India established Civil Aviation Department in 1927. ate enterprise was allowed to operate air ices in the country, but active State stance was not forthcoming. Whereas a ber of foreign countries were quick to reciate the importance of air transport from military as also from the economic view- t and heavily subsidized this industry, h by its very nature required such aid, no were taken in India to attract or encourage tial to be invested in this industry. It is resting to note here that the Advisory mittee on Civil Aviation in Britain in its ort on 'Imperial Air Routes' while mmending the establishment of certain n-trunk lines, pointed out that "the per place for initial action was the route to ta", and that the development of these erial routes "should be by private enterprise ted by State assistance". Next year, the mittee recommended that 'direct financial stance should be paid to companies operating approved routes[1]'. The Controller-General of Civil Aviation also emphasised in his first report that if 'civil aviation in England is to be regarded as one of those industries which is unable to stand on its own feet and is yet so essential to the national welfare that it must be kept alive at all costs', some form of 'direct State assistance was necessary'.[2] In India, on the other hand, neither were training facilities in aeronautics made available to Indian youths, nor what was more important, was any effort made to develop air-mindedness in the Indian public.

It was not long, however, before the question arose of India's participation in international airservices. The Standing Finance Committee of the Central Assembly who dealt with the question in 1929, arrived definitely at the conclusion that in any new concern to be started to operate air service, India should have 75% of the voting rights, that three-fourths of the Directors should be Indians, whose appointment should be subject to the approval of the Government and that an express stipulation should be made to ensure full control over the affairs of the company, including the power to remove the Managing Agents, in the hands of the Board of Directors and the shareholders. It may be noted that Sir George Schuster, the then Finance Member, stated before the Standing Finance Committee that "he had come to the conclusion that not less than 75% of the voting rights would give the Government the desired control over the affairs of the company". Sir George also explained the method by which 75% of the voting rights be secured while the Government need only find 50 of the capital. What the public in India was insistent upon was that in the vital industry of Civil Aviation, Indian controlling interests should be assured and maintained. In 1931, the General Purposes Sub-Committee of the Indian Retrenchment Advisory Committee also recommended that "no non-Indian conducted air service should be allowed

1. "Report on Government Assistance to the Development of Civil Aviation," 1920. This Report also contains a 'Brief summary of the more important steps taken by the Air Ministry for the assistance of Civil Aviation.'

2. "Synopsis of progress of work in the Department of Civil Aviation."

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to start the Indian link in the East and the West through air run" but that the Government of India should themselves unhesitatingly inaugurate the Indian State Air Service, if such a course be considered necessary, to avoid the establishment of non-Indian controlled service. The Sub-Committee even went further and suggested retaliatory measures. They stated:

"But against pressure and threats from any powerful non-Indian commercial interest, the Sub-Committee consider that the Government of India, at the limit of withdrawing all their ground organization and meteorological facilities (the latter up to the borders of Persia) are not without effective weapons."

British commercial interests meanwhile were somewhat perturbed over the slow progress of Civil Aviation in India and they requested the Government "to take immediate steps towards the inauguration of an air mail service between Karachi and Rangoon" even by relaxing the conditions laid down by the Government regarding the development of Civil Aviation in India. Indian commercial bodies, on the other hand, took exception to any such relaxation, for the conditions laid down by the Government were not only according to the general policy of discriminating protection laid down by the Government of India as an outcome of the Fiscal Commission but were also sanctioned by the recommendation of the External Capital Committee about the imposition of such specific conditions and stipulations whenever bounties, subsidies and similar pecuniary assistance were granted by the State. In 1932, the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry passed the following Resolution at their Fifth Annual Session:

"That this Federation is of opinion that in any scheme for the development of civil aviation in this country, the Government will strictly adhere to the conditions laid down by them about reserving a substantial majority—75 per cent—of share capital and directorate for Indians in all branches of its works and will not relax these conditions on any account."

It was contrary to the understanding arrived at in the Standing Finance Committee in 1929, and against the considered views of the Retrenchment Sub-Committee and despite the definite Indian commercial and public opinion on the question, that the Government of India entered into an agreement with the Imperial Airways in 1933 in respect of the Indian Trans-Continental Airways Ltd. wherein they assigned the major portion of the capital to the Imperial Airways, thereby establishing the control of non-Indian interests in a vital key-industry of the country. The Government of India kept 24% of the capital, 25% were given to the Indian National Airways, while the Imperial A—a foreign concern—were assigned 51% share capital. This anti-national acti the Government in passing over 51% of the capital of the new concern to the Imperial ways was adversely criticised both insid Legislature and outside. Sir Frank during a debate on the question in the As on the 20th September, 1933, tried to e that

"the holding of 51 per cent by Imperial Airw a fundamental condition of the whole arrang especially of the grant of the subsidy and if it been accepted, it would not have been possible the service."

It cannot, however, be gain-said th the Government of India adopted a attitude on the question and declined to to the unreasonable demand of the Im Airways, an agreement could have been co wherein the controlling interests would been Indian. Moreover, there was no to be in such a haste to establish the contact between the East and the West at the cost of sacrificing the interests country. As a last resort, as suggested Retrenchment Sub-Committee, a State could have been inaugurated by the Gover even if private Indian capital was not coming. However, there is no doubt that opportunity had been given, Indian could have been found for investing i Aviation industry as evinced by the suc enterprise of the Tatas, who have built highly efficient internal airservice withou subsidy from the Government. But Sir Noyce assured the Assembly that

"these arrangements are subject to the provisi in 1939 the Government of the day will be at liberty to reconsider the whole position."

Public opinion in India had, therefo option but to wait for further five years.

Adieu Paniers, vendanges sont fa says the old French saying. The Empir Mail programme loomed in the air. arrangements which were due to expire i were replaced by the arrangements for the tion of the Empire Air Mail S The Indian Trans-Continental Airway to operate between Karachi and Sing and their operations have been tran to the England-Calcutta Section, on they would operate half in conj with the Imperial Airways. The capital Company will also be increased from lakhs to Rs. 32 lakhs. *But the proporti remain the same*, that is the 51% domi

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nterest of the Imperial Airways, a non-Indian oncern, over the vital industry of Aviation has een perpetuated and will continue uninterrupdly for the next term of 15 years. It hardly eeds to be explained that the entire Aviation olicy of the Government would as a onsequence continue to be dictated by the mperial Airways and would not, therefore, be ecessarily determined in accordance with public pinion in this country. After the strong xpression of protest at the time of the last greement, the least that the Government of ndia were expected to do was to see that the ew agreement eliminated the 51% foreign omination clause and provided for the major art of the capital in Indian hands, both private nd Government. Non-Indian vested interests ave been consolidated in a vital sphere, which s of defensive, no less than of economic value.

And how is it explained? The Government f India have sophistically stated that the rrangements were placed before the Standing inance Committee and were accepted by it at s meeting on the 27th February, 1937, and were ubsequently formally approved by the Legislaure which accepted the necessary demand. It hould be made clear, however, that three embers of the Standing Finance Committee, Messrs. Asaf Ali, Sait and Gadgil, dissented rom the proposal and as for approval by the egislature it was simply a formal voting of the rant. That the Government of India ought to ave consulted the Indian Legislature and the ublic at the time when the proposals about the mpire Air Mail scheme were submitted by is Majesty's Government cannot too much be mphasised.

At the time of the negotiations about the rans-Atlantic Air Service between U.S.A. and e Imperial Airways, it was stated that understandings had been reached with America *ased on the principle of full reciprocity* which was hoped would bring about as soon as ossible the establishment of the service" *talics are mine*). In December last year, Sir eorge Beharrel, Chairman of the Imperial irways Ltd., speaking at the annual general eeting, said:

"In Europe this is not the case. If a British ompany secures a contract from the British Post Office r the carriage of mails, outwards from Great Britain, hardly ever follows that the same company secures contract for carrying the inward mails from the reign countries to Great Britain. The contract for e inward mails is usually and not unnaturally, awarded the country concerned to its own national company."

Perhaps Sir George has forgotten the unnatural' agreement imposed upon India by the Imperial Airways. And about the absence of reciprocity, is it not true when he says, 'In Europe, this is not the case'?

Another feature of the new agreement is that India will take no direct part in the operation of the Sea-plane services, though she would co-operate in the provision of the ground services, as according to the Government "India's interest in the development of sea-planes is comparatively small". In fact, there is hardly any justification for circumscribing the activities of the Indian Trans-Continental Airways to the operation of land-planes and excluding thereby trained Indians from employment in the sea-plane services. India has got a long coastline and large navigable rivers and the training received by Indians in the operation of sea-plane services could have been utilised with much benefit in the development of this important branch of Civil Aviation. It is surprising that the Government of India have attached so little importance to sea-plane aviation while every other maritime country considers it of special defensive value.

Under the new agreement, Imperial Airways will be paid by His Majesty's Government an agreed sum for the carriage of mails and an additional payment by way of subsidy. India's share in the total payment will be £102,500 or Rs. 13.7 lacs. It may be of interest to note that the Australian contribution, on the basis of not more than 40,000 lbs. of mail letters a year, will be £40,000 sterling subsidy and £32,000 sterling for mails. The *intelligentsia* in India wonder as to why the controlling interests in the Trans-Continental Airways have been taken away from Indian hands even though such a heavy burden of Rs. 13.7 lacs a year has been imposed upon the Indian tax-payer.

In the Memorandum submitted to the Standing Finance Sub-Committee on the 27th February, 1938, the Government of India have been at pains to explain "the expansion of opportunities for employment of Indians in Aviation" as a result of the new arrangements. It is stated:

"The Government of India have made arrangements for the employment and training of the largest number of Indians reasonably practicable, on the services operated by the Trans-Continental Airways. Further, Indians will not be debarred from employment in any capacity in the services operated by Imperial Airways, provided they possess the qualifications, experience and other qualities which are considered essential."

The public in India has, however, ceased to be enraptured over these vague assurances and platitudes. They have only recently seen how

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the process of "de-Indianization" is working in the higher services under the Government of India. Moreover, is it not the primary duty of the Government of the country to see that its nationals are equipped with full training to repel aerial attacks? What India wants, however, are not a few jobs but the control of a key-industry.

Meanwhile, the Indian National Airways, the Tata Air Service, Irrawadi Flotilla and Airways Limited and the Air Services of India ply on their internal operations. The first comp holds 25% of the share capital of the Ind Trans-Continental Airways. But is it stric an Indian concern?

It is said that the new arrangements w the Imperial Airways whereby the control interests in the Indian Trans-Contine Airways are handed over to the foreign conc will expire after 15 years and the agreement w stand to be revised. But who knows? Histo may repeat itself.

BANKIM CHANDRA CENTENARY CELEBRATIONS

Karnataka Sahitya Parishat, Bangalore

(Contributed by the Secretary, Karnataka Sahitya Parishat)

A PUBLIC meeting was held under the auspices of the Parishat on Thursday. 30th June, at 5-30 p.m., to celebrate the Centenary of the birth of Sri Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the celebrated novelist of Bengal, and to commemorate along with it, the services rendered to Kannada by the late Mr. B. Venkatachar, who popularised Bankim Chandra's novels in the Kannada Country, through his delightful translations. Prof. B. M. Srikantia, M.A. B.L., Vice-President of the Parishat, presided. There was a good and representative gathering present. Portraits of Bankim Chandra and Venkatachar were exhibited on the occasion.

The function began with the singing of "Bande Mataram" of Bankim Chandra by Mr. K. C. Sampathkumarachar, B.A., B.T., well-known Gamaki. Mr. B. M. Srikantia, with a few opening remarks in the course of which he referred to the appropriateness of the celebrations and the unique significance of "Bande Mataram," called upon the persons who were to speak on the occasion.

Mr. D. K. Bharadwaj Vidyabhushana, well-known Kannada writer, presented a brief study of "The "Personality of Bankim." He said that Bankim was a true patriot who was able to preach the gospel of love towards one's own country and language, through his novels and writings. Mr. Masti Venkatesa Iyengar, M.A., Excise Commissioner to Government of Mysore, renowned short-story writer and poet, author of "Rabindranath Tagore" in Kannada, spoke next on "The Place of Bankim Chandra in Indian Literature." He said that Bankim no doubt wrote in Bengali for the Bengali people, but the national spirit which he enshrined in his works escaped the borders of Bengal and caught fire in distant lands, and today he is regarded as the Father of Modern Indian Literature. "Bande Mataram," a little song. has now become the great symbol of the worship of our Motherland. Then Mr. L. Gundappa,M.A., Literary Assistant in the English-Kannada Dictionary Office of the Mysore University, read a few passages from the Kannada translations of Bankim's novels w a view to illustrate the style and manner of Bankim writings, the vividness and naturalness of his portray of characters and the greatness of his sentime Mr. A. R. Krishna Sastry, M.A., Assistant Professor Kannada, Central College, Bangalore, contributed refreshing speech on "The Modernity of Bankim." T speaker referred to Bankim as the fore-runner of mod literature in India, particularly prose literature. "Krishna Charitra," a rare work, fully reveals modernity of a mind trying to understand the histori and greatness of a "mythical" personage.

Sri S. Shallaman then read out a paper, being sketch of the "Life and Work of Mr. B. Venkatach

Mr. B. M. Srikantia, in his closing remarks, sta that what Bankim was to Bengal Mr. Venkatachar w to the Kannada Country. Bengal was the first foremost to catch the spirit of the Indian Renaissa and led the other provinces in India. She produ many worthy sons, geniuses in religion, literature, and science, the most endeared of them all to Kannada Country being Bankim Chandra. It was exaggeration to say that Venkatachar created am the public the love of reading Kannada litera Both of them stood for the uplift of the people throu the vernacular.

After thanking the lecturers. Mr. Srika availed himself of the opportunity to acknowle publicly the token of sympathy and goodwill sh by the Shrimant Rajasaheb of Jamkhandi to Parishat in the shape of a donation of Rs. 101 to Parishat, in response to its request. Mr. Srikantia referred to the recent announcement made by Jamkhandi Durbar recognising the principle of mak Kannada the official language of the State in due cou The gathering expressed warm appreciation of generosity and the sympathetic outlook of the Shrim Raja Saheb of Jamkhandi.

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THE PERFUME INDUSTRY OF FRANCE

An Example for India to Emulate

By Prof. V. SUBRAHMANYAN, D.Sc., F.I.C., F.N.I.
Department of Biochemistry, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

A considerable part of the world's perfume industry centres round Grasse in the south of France. The town is situated on a hill slope and can be easily reached by road from either Cannes or Nice. The surrounding country is famous for its delightful climate and wonderful scenic beauty. There is also abundant production of flowers, which are utilised to maximum advantage.

Grasse, The Perfume Centre of France

The town has a population of about 12,000, most of whom are engaged in the perfume industry. There are about fifty factories in and around the town and some of them are world-famous for their high class perfumes.

Two classes of perfumes are produced—pure and blended. The pure ones are just essences from perfume-bearing plants. These are prepared with the greatest care so as to ensure the maximum retention of the original flavour. The blends are generally mixtures of pure oils and are done according to recipes, which are closely guarded trade secrets.

Methods of Manufacture

The pure oils are extracted according to well-known methods. The most delicate perfumes (which cannot stand strong heating) are first absorbed into fat (beef or pork fat being used for the purpose). In some cases, warm fat is used, while, in others, only cold fat is employed. The perfume which is present in the fat is next taken out with alcohol in which only the perfume dissolves. This process, though apparently simple, still involves a number of technical difficulties, which have to be skilfully overcome.

Some of the perfume is always left unextracted in the fat. This is turned to advantage by using them for the manufacture of toilet soaps. Some of the brands of soaps thus produced are famous for their rich perfumes.

Perfumes which can stand stronger heating are taken out by either direct distillation with water or by the well-known method of steam distillation.

The pure oils from some of the flowers like the gardenia, the rose and the jasmine are nearly as popular as the blends. High prices are also paid for them because they are pure and are always of the same quality.

The Art and Science of Blending

Blending is partly art and partly science. It is not merely an intelligent combination of various perfumes to obtain the most pleasing effects, but it also involves a special technique for obtaining and preserving the desired quality. In some cases, the blended-materials have to be allowed to age, while, in others, they have to be shaken intermittently for several months. The chemist and the blending expert work together and are continuously striving to produce newer and more pleasing effects.

There is probably no place in India (except, perhaps, in some parts of Kashmir) which can compare with Grasse for the profusion and variety of flowers, but there is no doubt that there are several small areas, which are famous for their abundance of individual flowers. It should be possible, with proper organization and expert assistance, to develop small industries in such areas and to supply the pure essences to the consumers. If they can be produced cheaply, they can even be exported in spite of the heavy duties levied by various countries. Blending can be developed at a later stage. With some intelligence, practically all the well-known blends can be closely initiated.

Indian Perfumes Are Generally of Poor Quality

When making the above suggestion, it is realised that there is already a small perfume industry in the country and a fairly extensive perfume trade. Unfortunately, most of these aim at cheapness, with the result that quality has suffered considerably. It is in this direction that there is need for better organization and more effective control, so that Inidan products may gain a reputation for *genuineness* and *good quality*.

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The principles of the methods used for the extraction of perfumes are well known, but there is still considerable need for expert scientific assistance. The conditions will have to be specially standardized for each perfume-bearing material so that (*a*) the original perfume may not, in any way, be altered during extraction, and (*b*) the maximum possible yield of perfume may be obtained. There is also need for periodical checking of the composition of the products so as to maintain uniform quality.

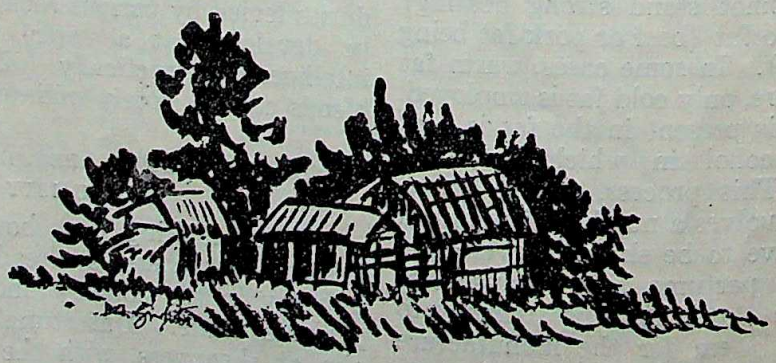
The Industry Should Be Reorganised With Expert Assistance

A few experienced investigators like Mr. B. Sanjiva Rao of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore (who has had over 20 years of experience in the line) are already available. If the industry is to expand adequately, many more such experts will be needed. There is also need for proper organization, so that all the available resources of the country will be efficiently collected and skilfully utilised. Some surveys have already been made by Government departments, but more systematic investigation of the raw materials is still needed. The best kind of extracting equipment should be obtained and the most up-to-date methods followed.

Enormous sums of money are spent, every year, by the Indian consumers on foreign perfumes which are imported either in the pure or blended form. Perfumed chemicals (synthetic or otherwise) suitable for blending are also being imported under various trade names. A large part of this importation can be avoided and the major part of the money retained in the country if an indigenous perfume industry—with rep tion for quality—can be built up. A suggestions for the organization of the indus have been made and it is hoped that before lo both the Government and the leaders of indus will take some interest in the subject and ini the necessary organization.

The Industry Will Need Protection in Early Stages

The young industry will, of course, req some protection in the early stages, for, otherw it will be swamped out by foreign competiti In this connection, one is reminded of extremely stringent regulations adopted by French Government, even today, to discour the importation of foreign flowers and ot perfume-bearing materials into their count The following case will be of some interest. N very long ago, a French gentleman and his had gone on a visit to San Remo on the Ital side of the Reviera. There they are present with a small bunch of flowers which they w naturally anxious to take home with them as memento of the visit. As soon as they reach the French frontier, however, they were search and charged 20 francs, which was about fi times what the flowers were worth! This show how even a country like France which alrea commands a considerable part of the wor perfume market takes drastic steps to protect industries! Even the raw materials—let al the perfumes—are not allowed into the count A similar and perhaps, even stronger protecti will be needed by the Indian industry, when is properly initiated.



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TECHNOLOGICAL TRAINING IN INDIA

Chemical Engineering in Indstry: Its Need for Industrialisation

By GOPALDAS G. GULRAJANEY, B.Sc. Tech., Ch. E., B.Sc. Chem.

HERE is pretty well complete unanimity in all arters on the necessity of industrialization of is country. The authors of the *Report on nstitutional Reforms* as far back as 1918, d:

all grounds a forward policy in industrial development urgently called for not merely to give India economic bility, but in order to satisfy the aspirations of her ple who desire to see her stand before the world as a l-poised up-to-date country; in order to provide an outlet the energies of her young men who are otherwise drawn lusively to Government service or a few over-stocked fessions; in order that the money now lying unproductive be applied to the whole benefit of the community; in order too that the speculative and literary tendencies Indian thought may be bent to more practical ends. se are political considerations peculiar to India itself. both on economic and military grounds imperial ests also demand that the natural resources of India ld henceforth be better utilised".

Although there are undoubtedly great entialities in this direction, so far nothing rthy of the name of an 'Industrial Revolu- n' appears to be taking place. The follow- table will reveal how backward is India in gard to industrial development in comparison th other countries, despite the fact, as ob- ved by the Industrial Commission, that she duces nearly all the raw materials necessary the requirements of a modern community!

	No. of Establishments	Capital investment (Rs. in Crores)	Gross value of industrial products (Rs. in crores).	Population proportion, p.c. of India	Cf. with India
..	9,422 (incld. States)	700 (bulk British)	800.0	—	—
K. S. A. ..	1,07,500	7,607	4,269.0	13%	23 times
ada ..	1,74,136	23,000	19,444.0	35%	75 „
an ..	24,020	1,445	952.5	3%	5 „
..	13,711	1,009	1,905.0	19%	3 „

Technological Training in India

There are innumerable points to be con- ered in connection with the slow and tardy ustrial development in this country. But in article of this nature, one can only deplore fact that India still suffers from grave ficiencies with regard to the technological ucation. Obviously, no great progress in ustrial development is possible until we have within call an adequate supply of trained personnel. The growing problem of unemployment in this country has, however, focussed public attention on this point; and now more than ever, a great need has been felt for provision of facilities in technological education which, besides industrial advancement of the country, could find effective employment for the youth of India. Under provincial autonomy, each province has to aim at becoming self-supporting in regard to those industries which give food and work to a large portion of the population. Under the circumstances, each province should encourage vocational and technological education by establishing technical schools and polytechnics. I am told that this line of action is to be soon followed by the 'Congress Provinces' in this country; and a beginning has already been made by the U. P. Government by establishing certain 'flying' tuitional courses. It is, however, gratifying to note that the Karachi Corporation has been the first among the City Councils to have displayed special interest in industrial and technical training by its recent decision to open a polytechnic school at Karachi. It is also gratifying to note that the Bombay University has recently opened "a national department for the benefit of the whole country". This Institute, which goes under the name of the University Department of Chemical Technology, has been established, to quote the authorities themselves, "to build the super-structure of industrial development in this country" by training 10 well-grounded graduates in Science from all over India in Chemical Engineering. The starting of the Technological Department will always be a landmark in the history of the Bombay University; it has given a status and reputation to this University, being regarded in all its essentials to be equal to the best equipped technological adjunct of any University in the world. It satisfies at long last a long-felt want by training young men in Chemical Engineering.

Chemical Engineering

The people of this country have, however, not yet understood the full significance of this

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profession. Often I have been asked: "What is Chemical Engineering?" I am not at all surprised at the query; for this field of engineering, which had its origin only two decades back in the Continent, is still in its infancy in this country, having birth under pressure of events, which have necessitated each and every country to cry for self-sufficiency. This particular bug has bitten not only the countries largely deficient in raw materials, but even those plentifully supplied in many ways.

Chemist-Engineer

The continuously disturbed state of the world demands careful exploitation of all natural resources in raw materials. It is not surprising, therefore, that the need should be felt for men capable of translating "grams into tons, beakers into tanks, and flasks into autoclaves". Such then is the justification of the Chemical Engineer, who has been defined by the Institute of Chemical Engineers, London, as

"a professional man experienced in the design, construction and operation of plant and works in which matter undergoes a change of state and composition."

He has also been described in terms of approbation by both the Chemist on the one hand and the Engineer on the other. It is sometimes stated that the Chemical Engineer when in the company of Chemists is an Engineer, and when in the company of Engineers is a Chemist. Accordingly, Chemical Engineering need no longer be regarded as has been done till recently even in advanced countries like Germany as *Maschinekunde fur Chemiker*.

Weighty Considerations

In the actual practice of Chemical Engineering as a profession, the economic and business considerations are usually controlling. Of course, the proposed process must in itself first be developed; but given one that has been developed to the stage when production is to be begun, the remainder of the problem depends upon recognition of economic and business principles as they apply to that particular project. In short, Chemical Engineering relates to the development of a project to the point of sustained commercial success. Naturally, therefore, the Chemical Engineer has to answer the following typical questions before launching on any scheme:

(1) Are the raw materials and intermediate products involved the cheapest which may be used?

(2) Which process requires the smallest amount of equipment as well as the least expensive type?

(3) Is the equipment required highly specialised and is it, therefore, likely to prove expensive to constru replace?

(4) Which process will consume the least po the form of heating or cooling facilities, mech agitation, communication, etc., etc.?

(5) Which process will best fit with ex methods of manufacture from the standpoint of b and equipment which may be available?

(6) Which process will be the most econo its labour requirements?

Necessary Training

The above account touches only very b and in a general manner some of the m problems, which the Chemical Engineer h solve, and to do so not only efficiently economically but within the law as well be a success, he has to keep himself in with a great number of fundamental sci unlike the case of other engineering profes The training of such a man, therefore, shou made on a broad basis, involving a s knowledge of such subjects as, Tech Chemistry, Engineering,—Mechanical, trical and those branches of Civil Engin dealing with the strength of materials factory design and construction,—together principles of economic production, incl factory organisation and management, w thorough grasp of the "Laws of Negligence man so equipped should be capable of full the requirements of a Chemical Engineer.

It must have been apparent by now the course for Chemical Engineer has been general nature, based on a sound general tra It is deliberately made so, since it is felt special training for a particular industry one's outlook and does not give him the b of vision, which will enable him to adapt equipment of one industry to the nee another. Moreover, if special trainin adopted, one cannot be sure that at the such a course vacancies will occur in th dustries for which the training is designe one is handicapped thereby in obtain suitable post.

India's Need

It is an admitted fact that almost a raw materials with but few exceptions u chemical change as well as change in p form and appearance. Naturally, the Chemical Engineering plays a vital part in industries. It is much broader than chemistry or engineering alone, and utilis through the medium of the so-called operations, which in proper sequence a ordination constitute an industrial proces need was felt for it and was found useful

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ntinent, how much more so should it be in ia, which is craving to be self-supporting! It must be admitted that until the supply of ned men has been greatly augmented, the cost technical staff to the modern scientific ustries must necessarily remain exceptionally . Extension of vocational and technological ation should, therefore, precede a policy of ustrialisation. It may be objected that in West, especially in England, technological education has succeeded, not preceded the establishment of industries. But in the West, the whole movement towards industrialisation was spontaneous, whereas in India the attempt is being made deliberately to graft Western methods and organisation into Eastern society, so that it will be necessary to take special measures to ensure adequate supply of "managers and foremen, experienced in the practical management of shops and factories".

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Compulsory Hindi

On pages 708-9 under the heading of 'Linguistic ngerstrike' in *The Modern Review* for June 1938, there note, which condemns a cartoon representing the er of Madras as stabbing his mother (tongue), which proves the fast observed by Stalin Jagadisan for about days till this day breaking the record fast of 21 days . Gandhi made much of then in all the newspapers India and abroad, and which doubts whether the gus ministry are resisting Hindi upon an unwilling and longs for information about the majority of -speaking persons being for or against the intro- of Hindi. There needs be no doubt as to the ion being wide-spread and spreading daily and unto death, and as to the Premier not moving along of least resistance in forcing Hindi on urchias in 1 to III. Arrests of more than 50 persons till today been made and they are remanded and are under trial been made and they are remanded and are under trial posing the compulsory study in Mr. Gandhi's way sting and Satyagraha, with a view to ward off an ding misfortune and danger to their mother-tongue. below is a summary of the reasons advanced by the ry during the successive stages of the agitation for mpulsory study of Hindi in schools.

1) Hindi is a most widely spoken language in India—a statement seriously contradicted with facts gures in brochures in English and Tamil.

2) Hindi study will promote trade and commerce North India and relieve the congestion of unemploy- in South India—as if North India is very prosperous ady to feed hungry mortals in South India, whereas troduction of compulsory Hindi in schools of the as province will facilitate the immigration of hundreds ndi teachers from the North seeking employment.

3) Hindi study will promote unity and nationalism dia. That Hindi is Protean, that one form of it n by one people, is not recognised by another and ranger to it, and that it has not united North India whole as a *lingua franca*—are stubborn facts. The gh is often asked, 'Why not North India learn Tamil e alleged purpose of unity and nationalism?' Is a compulsory study in North India?

4) Hindi study is a plank in the Congress pro- me of the past half century. It is flatly contradicted by t Jawaharlal Nehru himself, though it may be a y with Mr. Gandhi, our Premier's *Sambandhi*.

(5) The sturdy Mohamedans *may* study Hindi in Urdu characters while the mild and meek Hindus *must* study it in Nagari script. Why this invidious distinction? Will the different scripts mutually unintelligible contribute towards the much coveted Swadeshi Government? It is thought that the Nagari Script will encourage Sanskrit study.

(6) Politically, Hindi study will enable Southerners to participate in the effective administration of India in the Central Legislature. How many Southerners can have this wonderful privilege? Why crucify thousands of school-going urchins for the sake of a handful of fortune's favourites, when the National Government is *fait accompli*. Still 97 p. c. of the masses do not know their own vernaculars, *i. e.*, read and write them, under the British Government which has fostered mass-education. They are not compelled to study their vernaculars yet.

(7) The children of Denmark learn five languages in their school-going age. It may be true. Why resort to Denmark for defence? Climatic conditions differ as well as political and economical. Indian energies—particularly the South Indian energies—are being sapped and scorched by the burning tropical sun, and premature old age and death are almost the order of the day. Why then overload them?

(8) Hindi study will not affect promotions from class to class but attendance in Hindi classes is compulsory. How can the urchins acquire basic knowledge of Hindi when they have no mind to learn it? As the proverb has it, you cannot force an unwilling or unthirsty horse to drink. How will it serve to realise political ambition, unity and the national movement?

(9) Hindi literature will enrich Tamil literature! A language comparatively recent with no grammar till two or three years ago and no literature worthy of mention except Tulasidas's Ramayanam is going to enrich an ancient and highly developed and abundant literature of its own, supplemented in many directions by the world-encompassing English literature during the past one century and a half. The Kural in Tamil is a gem unparalleled in any progressive literature in the world, and it is worth noting that Bengali has quite recently absorbed it in translation.

(10) In all ministerial utterances 'Hindustani' has taken the place of 'Hindi,' though Hindustani is not the topic in dispute. Why this disguise? Why this diversion

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of public attention ? The vexed question is about compulsory Hindi. Is it to appease the wrathful Mohamedans ? Why this change of venue ? 'Hindustani' was the name of Sanskrit in the past as spoken in Aryavarta.

(11) Our Premier had given his word to a friend in the North to introduce compulsory Hindi in schools if he should become a Minister and he wants to keep his word at any cost having become Premier. The promise is 'too early reckoning without the host.' When it comes to catching the Tartar, why persist in the attempt to displease the Tamil population as a whole against incurring the displeasure (mockery or taunt) of one particular friend ? The Premier and his colleagues often boast that they are the *ministers of the people* and yet flout them as ignoramuses and scout their wishes and entreaties. They profess to advance Tamil while they smother it and their playing Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde at once is unworthy of the great trust placed in them by the majority. In extenuation of their murderous scheme, they ascribe the mighty opposition to unnecessarily compulsory Hindi to their political opponents. If their opponents find their mother-tongue strangled, is it not their duty to ward off the crime and save their mother ? Is this an argument ? Will the Tamil nation gird up its loins at the instance or instigation of a few political opponents ?

(12) If the experiment of compulsory Hindi is not successful, it will be withdrawn. Schools and Colleges in South India—most of them are unendowed—will play the Cinderella for the Knife Grinder's six pence in the way of grant-in-aid, irrespective of the uselessness or otherwise of the foreign tongue forced upon them. When once introduced and encouraged by the Government, it will strike root, and to uproot it afterwards will be no easy task. The policy of 'I am Sir Oracle' is tyrannical and will and must come to an end, all at once or al[illegible] 'The voice of the people is the voice of God.'

(13) Thousands of Tamilians have gathered a[illegible] the banner of the great Hindi opposition. Mass me[illegible] are held in all Tamil districts, and black flags gre[illegible] Ministry in their tours. Jails are no menace to [illegible] and they are ready to die for their mother-tongue. [illegible] policy and diplomacy will be of no avail unless wh[illegible] Tamil nation demands is granted. In this matter of [illegible] assertion on their part, the Madras Ministers are [illegible] better judges than any outsider.

(14) This compulsory Hindi is not a questio[illegible] parties. The Tamilians include Congresswallahs, In[illegible] dents, Justicites and what not of every communit[illegible] the devotees of Tamil are found in every one of [illegible] sections, it is idle to ignore their demands or leave [illegible] grievances unredressed. Schools and Colleges are [illegible] manned by one section of the Indian population re[illegible] as 'intelligentsia,' but the schoolmasters will be no[illegible] in number when the whole Tamilian population is [illegible] into account. To conclude with a couplet or two [illegible] the Kural, apt and apposite to the point :

'Who not agrees with those around, no moderation k[illegible]
In self-applause indulging, swift to ruin goes.'—474

'The foes who fought to triumph, find their th[illegible]
were vain,
If *hosts advance*, seize vantage ground, and menace
fight maintain.'—494.

M. S. PURNALINGAM PILLAI, B.A., L.T.
Emeritus Professor in Eng[illegible]
Bishop Heber College, Trichi[illegible]

June 18, 1938.

PATRIOTIC WOMEN'S ARMY ORGANIZED BY NEW DELHI SECRETARY

Lord Reading's Talented Wife as Chief

BY MRS. CHAMAN LAL

A WOMAN WHO INVENTED BILLIONS LOTTERY SCHEME. RURAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE.

A former Secretary in the Viceroy's Home in New Delhi is organizing the Patriotic Women's Army for the coming war. With more than usual secrecy the Government has surrounded its plan to organise a national emergency corps of women for service in war time, but this week the news leaked out. With it came hints that the woman in charge was to be former Private Secretary, efficient, much-travelled Dowager Lady Reading.

Compulsory military service has never been stomached by Britons. But it will operate in the next war, if any, and accordingly the Chamberlain administration has concocted a scheme for filling war time jobs at home whe[illegible] possible by women. Pseudo-pacifists will [illegible] not be able to insinuate themselves into [illegible] positions miles from the firing line. The pr[illegible] provides for enrolment of "Women Territori[illegible] throughout Great Britain. On emergency [illegible] existing Women's organisations would be m[illegible] into a central body.

Last week, the Marchioness of Re[illegible] made a start on her job by sounding offici[illegible] the Natoinal Council of Girls' Clubs and [illegible] Young Women's Christian Association [illegible] whether they could help, provide recruit[illegible] Air Raid Precautions.

The Marchioness has been Chairman [illegible] Personal Service League, since her hus[illegible] death.

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"Silly Colonels"

On a somewhat narrower women's topic is week ex-*Daily Herald Editor*, Hamilton yfe dilated in *Reynolds News*:

"This silly business of women colonels should be ded.....the general attitude towards war makes people ddler to think of women pretending to be part of the itary machine."

Photographs of Queen Mary as the Colonel" of a British regiment and of the uchess of Gloucester "inspecting a military ard of honour" inspired vitriolic Mr. Fyfe's ndid comment.

Ladies, You May Not Smoke

The will of Miss Annie Faulder, of Buxton, o disinherited any person of the female sex o contracted the habit of cigarette-smoking, s pronounced valid by Mr. Justice Farwell, in Chancery Division last week. Of the bene-iaries six had said that they had never smoked, one said she had smoked on occasions only.

Rural Women's Conference

Women leaders of Rural England are meet-g in London this week-end. From the stone ulets, from mining villages, from valleys, m the red-brick country towns and from the ite fishing ports, more than 7,000 women are gathering in the Albert Hall for the annual general meeting of the Women's Institutes.

They come from the big house and the village shop, from the farm and the labourer's cottage; women whose families have done service to the State for generations, women whose grandmothers never moved beyond their own market town—all have made the journey to London to represent their own Women's Institute at their great meeting. In 5,000 villages during the last few months, country women have been making up their minds for themselves about the questions which are to be discussed here. Some of these are matters of internal Government. The Women's Institute Movement is a true democracy, and there can be no changes made in its rules without the assent of the whole body of members.

The subject which is of most personal interest to many of these women of the countryside is the new method of relieving pain in child-birth. There are now in existence various patterns of gas and air machines which give a woman in labour relief from pain without making her unconscious. An apparatus of this sort has been approved by the British College of Obstetricians and the Central Midwives' Board, and is now in use in Queen Charlotte's Hospital.

London,
June 4, 1938

WIVES FORM A TRADE UNION

Demand Weekly Wage from Husbands—"Killing a Child by Tenderness"—Children's Paradise—A New School Experiment—How England Protects Children

By Mrs. CHAMAN LAL

HILE the Hindu civilization nominally regards e wife as the ruler of the home, and in prac-e she has very little rights, the women in ngland generally run the home and they are ctically masters in the domestic atmosphere. ill they are not satisfied with the present nditions and a new marriage slogan has become opular.

In return for promising to love, honour and ey, young brides may soon be asking their ooms to sign agreements and guarantee them fixed weekly wage. This is part of a campaign be organised by the newly-formed wives' ade union, which has the support of many ominent women workers.

The union, known as the Married Women's Association, has been started to protect the interests of Britain's wives. Miss J. Frances, champion of women who have husbands to contend with, stopped enrolling new members yesterday to explain the objects of the enterprise.

"By law, housewives are entitled only to food, shelter and clothing," she said:

"Many of them work their fingers to the bone for husband and children, yet they have no rate of wages, no national health insurance, no set holidays, with or without pay, no days off and no limit to the number of hours they work. Just think of some of the jobs working housewives have to do—and do well.

"They have to be experts on dietetics, housework, cooking, dressmaking, laundering, mending, nursing, infant rearing, and a host of other subjects. And yet, although many wives work under conditions that would

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set most men's unions howling in protest, not a single women's organization has raised its voice against this state of affairs. We hope to get an act passed giving wives the right to claim a proportion of the family income. In other words, we aim at making marriage a partnership instead of the ownership of the wife by her husband."

The idea of partnership is no doubt the ancient Hindu ideal, but the weekly wages for wives is not so good an idea, since I believe that all income must go into the hands of the wife who should run the home.

"Killing Child By Kindness"

How many thousands of mothers, especially rich mothers in India, kill children by kindness? Some actually die, while others become invalids or spoilt during their whole life. These mothers should be punished by law. In England such a mother is hated by society and prosecuted by a law. Only yesterday a mother was prosecuted for "killing a child by too much kindness".

Mrs. Rebecca Burman, forty-six year old widow, is to lose the custody of her only child —a boy of eleven whom, it was alleged, she was almost "killing by kindness". A jury at Lindsey Quarter Sessions yesterday found her guilty of neglecting the boy so that his health was injured. She was bound over for three years, and order was made putting her son in the care of the local municipality.

Paradise for Children
"Do As You Please" School

England has started a new experiment in order to make children bright and active. A new school where mischief and all the forbidden pranks of childhood are encouraged was opened in London last week.

The lucky pupils are allowed to slide down the bannisters instead of using the stairs, daub the walls with paint and comic drawings, squirt water at each other in special leak-proof rooms, and generally have the time of their young lives. No one ever says "Don't" or "You musn't". In fact, the naughtier they are the more they are encouraged.

Psychologists believe that this new method of education gets rid of complexes and repressions that hamper the progress of nervous and backward children. The new school, built by the Institute of Child Psychology in Bayswater, represents the last word in training centres.

There is one room that must seem like paradise to the child who likes to play with paint. There they can have as many pots of sticky paint as they like and daub its specially prepared walls to their hearts' content. They are never told not to make a mess. The more paint they splash over the floor and walls better. And the staff never clean up children are in the room in case it should them feel guilty.

In another room, dressed in macintosh alls, they can squirt hoses at one another, with taps and leave the floor running with without being scolded. Modelling rooms with trays of damp sand, boxes of toy sol and building materials keep them happy hours. The things they build there and the pictures they scrawl on the walls of the "p pot paradise" help psychologists to analys kiddies' difficulties and decide why they sulky, violent or backward.

Dr. Margaret Lowenfeld, in charge of new centre, believes that lack of opportunity "let off steam" is behind a good deal of juve delinquency.

How England Protects Children

Here is a tip for our Congress Minis and Women legislators who care to pro children working in large or small facto England has just granted a Charter to Yo People.

To-morrow 2,50,000 factories in Brit will begin their first full week's working u the Young People's Charter, which came operation on Friday as part of the new Fac Act. There will be a 48-hour week for all wo and young people in factories, and not than nine hours can be worked in any one For children under sixteen, overtime will absolutely prohibited. Those over sixteen work certain overtime, under strict regula but this must not exceed 100 hours in a y From July next year, the 48-hour week children under 16 will be reduced to a 44-h week.

Overtime Rule

Women, young people and children are protected from having to work early in morning or late at night. No child under six is to work ater 6 p.m. This is planned not for health reasons, but in order that chil shall be able to attend evening schools. Gen restrictions on overtime for all classes of wo are introduced, and no factory may systematic overtime for more than 25 weeks any year.

Many laws for the protection of women boy workers exist in India but they are sc obeyed by greedy factory owners who factory inspectors.

London,
July 4, 1938

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

TWISTING THE LION'S TAIL: *By B. Attem. Frederick Muller Ltd., 29, Great James Street, London W. C. 1. Price 5s. net.*

The publishers say that Mr. Attem's book may irritate English readers, it will almost certainly amuse them, but it will nudoubtedly stimulate them. A non-English reader has not, of course, found it irritating. And it is undoubtedly interesting and in some passages amusing.

The publishers say the book is a glorious and all-embracing indictment of the national characteristics of Englishmen, their sports, their women and even their chosen forms of government. This is partly true. But there is sufficient praise of England in the book to please Englishmen who are not inordinately conceited. For example, take the following sentences.

"England can say with justifiable pride that she has influenced the world."

"The English have given many sports and sporting words to the world."

"The East has created the spiritual man, but England has created, in a certain sense, the political and the social man." "He [the Englishman] is the father of the Parliamentary system of government in the world."

"The Englishman is reliable. If an Enlishman promises you that he will do something for you, you may depend upon it that he will keep his word."

"Although the English are very young in their ideas of social life, of art and literature, sports, and several other subjects, they are absolute adults in the art of government."

As regards indictment, take the following sentences:

"The English have for centuries cherished the fond illusion that in sexual matters they are more virtuous than the Continental Nations."

"The English are almost always bragging about their country."

"The English have a positive genius for turning a blind eye to their own defects and for pointing out the defects of other nations."

"The English are not an intellectual people. Nor are they an industrious people."

"The English judges are incorruptible, but they are by no means impartial, for they are swayed much by class, sex, and race prejudice."

"Doctor Arnold of Rugby knew the character of his people when he said, 'My great fear is that the English are indifferent to justice when it is not on their side.'"

Indians and other orientals will find the last three chapters of the book—"England and the East," "England's Influence and Place in History," and "Future," particularly interesting.

In the concluding chapter the author writes that England's financial and naval supremacy have gone and she is not as prosperous as she was before 1914. There are some 3,000,000 unemployed men in her midst.

"Indians do not like the British Government. The new constitution which England has given to them divides the Hindus from the Mohammedans and gives them only the shadow of real self-government. They will, therefore, not be satisfied until they have a new constitution which will bring the two great communities together, enable them to Indianize the army rapidly, and control the foreign policy of their country. And if England does not satisfy their wishes, they might seek the help of Japan—and perhaps of Russia, since there is a fairly large number of open or secret Communists in the country—for regaining their independence. Those two countries are likely to help her. General Araki and some other Japanese leaders have openly declared that it is the duty of Japan to help India to be free, and it has been the policy of the Soviet Government since the days of Lenin to help Eastern nations in their fight to be free against their Western masters."

Indians have no confidence in Japan, and Stalin's policy is no longer that of Lenin.

NATIONAL CONTROL OF THE MANUFACTURE OF AND TRADE IN ARMS: *League of Nations Information Section. Price 7s.*

This volume of 241 pages, which has just been published by the Secretariat of the League of Nations, is the result of a request to the Secretariat by the Bureau of the Disarmament Conference in May, 1937, to collect any useful information available on methods of national control of the manufacture of and trade in arms in the principal countries.

A separate monograph is devoted in the volume to each of fourteen countries: Belgium, United Kingdom, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland, U. S. A. and U. S. S. R. A summary of the whole situation is given for each of these countries and is followed by extracts from its relevant legislation. The information for each country is arranged under the headings: A. Arms and Ammunition—with sections on manufacture, external and internal trade—and B. Explosives.

The volume shows the degree to which authorization, licences or permits for the manufacture of arms and armaments, as well as systems of centralized supervision, control and inspection, or partial or complete nationalization, exists in the countries mentioned. Similar information is given in respect of the external and internal trade.

The sections on explosives show that special legislation on this matter is in force in all these countries and usually antedates by many years the legislation dealing

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with arms and ammunition. The State as a rule exercises stringent control over the manufacture of and trade in explosives.

D.

INDIA—A SHORT CULTURAL HISTORY: *By H. G. Rawlinson, C.I.E. The Cresset Press, London, 1937. Price 30s.*

In this nicely got-up volume of 418 pages, with thirteen maps, twenty-three plates, and forty-five illustrations, the author has made an attempt 'to present in a popular form an outline of the cultural history of India, —her literature and philosophy, her great religious movements, her art and architecture, from the time of the Indus Valley Civilization up to the establishment of of British rule.' It must be admitted at the very outset that it is a formidable task, and can only be successfully achieved by one who has made a special study of the history and antiquities of both ancient and mediæval India, and is fairly conversant with its language and literature. Dr. Rawlinson has earned reputation as a scholar by his monographs on some particular aspects of Indian history, and we naturally expect a scholarly treatment of any subject which he takes up as a special study. The book before us, however, does not satisfy the high hopes which the name of the author raises in our minds. It is a readable book and interesting in many ways, but it lacks in accuracy and perspective. The author has no first-hand information on many of the topics he treats, and does not possess any intimate knowledge of the essential features of Indian culture. He has brought together much interesting information in his book and thrown valuable side-lights on various aspects of Indian culture; but he has failed to grasp its inner meaning and to present it in its proper perspective and historical development. This may be illustrated by his treatment of the Bhagavad Gita. In course of discussion of the religion of the Gupta period he remarks:

"The most popular of the Avatars under which Vishnu is worshipped in modern India is Krishna. Krishna first appears in the Mahabharata as the charioteer of Arjuna and in his mouth is put that remarkable poem, the *Bhagavad Gita*. Arjuna is aghast at the prospect of a conflict . . . . Krishna consoles him by propounding the theory of Karmā (*sic*) Yoga . . . .

"The *Bhagavad Gita* has been to generations of pious Hindus what The Imitations of Christ has been to Christians, and some authorities have detected Christian influences in its teaching" (p. 126).

Here the author's ignorance about the contents of the Bhagavad Gita is equalled only by his ignorance about the history of Krishna-cult and the place of both in the development of Hindu religion. It may be noted in passing that the word 'Karmā' is not a printing mistake but used throughout the book in this form.

Want of space does not permit us to enter into a discussion of other points, but the following few sentences, taken from the same Chapter illustrate the author's view-points about Indian religion:

1. Krishna, the "dark" God, is probably non-Aryan, ... (p. 126).

2. The salagrama, a fossil ammonite found in the Gandak river, is supposed, on account of its resemblance to the discus to be sacred to Vishnu (p. 125).

3. Jainism and Buddhism were never the religion of the masses (p. 123).

4. The Mahabharata was originally a secular poem describing the fate of the Kurus at the hands of the treacherous Pandavas (p. 130).

The quotation No. 1 is specially objectionable, as in course of his discussion of Indian ethnology, the author has accepted the views of Eickstedt that "there are Aryans and Dravidians, though there are Aryan Dravidian languages and cultural usages" (p. 9). regards 4, it hardly fits in with the author's descrip of the Mahabharata given on pp. 32-3. These pass specially Nos. 3 and 4 show how ill-equipped the is for writing on Indian religion and Indian cul which is based on religion.

The author's knowledge of the political histor India is very poor and he has wisely restricted hi to an extremely brief outline of important events, b even this short sketch is full of errors. Not only ha no first-hand knowledge of the subject but he has even cared to study the up-to-date historical writ We shall quote a few instances only, by way of illus tion.

1. '125,000 people, Asoka tells us, were car away captive' (from Kalinga) (p. 76). In Asoka's scription, the number is given as 150,000.

2. "The Secret Service of Chandragupta was mobilised into a body of 'Overseers of the Law [by Asoka] 'whose duty it was to report upon relig progress in all quarters of the Empire' (p. 76). T is a travesty of facts and it is a pity that the author not even care to read the English translation of Asok inscriptions.

3. 'A reaction, doubtless fomented by the Brahm set in' (p. 80) [against the Mauryas]. The author evidently unacquainted with the views of a large num of scholars who have opposed the theory.

4. Kanishka 'erected a lofty wooden tower, six hundred feet in height' (p. 99). While the opin of Chinese travellers vary regarding the height of building, Hiuen Tsang and others have definitely descri it as a stone stupa.

5. Chandragupta II 'transferred his capital fr Pataliputra to Ayodhya' (p. 107). Of this there is evidence.

6. The chronology of the later Guptas (p. 110) out of date, and has been given up even in the la edition of V. A. Smith's History on which the aut usually relies. His statement that the Imperial Gup were tributaries of the Hunas (p. 111) has no found of truth. The reference to 'the iron pillar at D erected by Kumaragupta I in A.D. 415 in honour to father' (p. 141) betrays ignorance of the vast literat on the subject.

7. The author makes very curious mistakes ab Harshavardhana. He says that after the campaign of first six years Harsha 'was able to reign in peace thirty years, without striking a blow' (p. 112). But know from Hiuen Tsang that he carried a campaign Kongoda about 642 A.D., more than thirty years af his accession. On p. 121, the author quotes a pass from Rajatarangini describing the end of Harsha's re But this king Harsha is not Harshavardhana, as author supposes, but a king of Kashmir who flourish about five hundred years later!

8. 'From A.D. 732 to 1250 Middle Java came un the rule of the Sailendra dynasty' (p. 150). This quite wrong and the author contradicts himself when says on the very next page that 'in the middle of tenth century the power of the Sailendra rulers in J seems to have come to an end.'

9. 'The Chalukyas were almost certainly of forei origin' (p. 160). There is no evidence to justify assertion.

10. The author's view that the numerous clans came into power after the death of Harsha 'called the selves Rajputs' (pp. 199, 202) is utterly wrong. term does not come into use until a much later period.

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'In the middle of the eleventh century the Palas succeeded by the Senas' (p. 206). This is absolutely and antedates events by more than half a century.

'Raja Jaichand Gahrwar (c. 1040) restored to its ancient position as the premier city of India' (p. 209). Jaychandra ascended the in 1170 A.D., *i.e.*, 130 years later than the date and the credit, attributed to him, really belongs Govindachandra. We do not know of any Gahrwar in 1040 A.D., the dynasty having been founded the end of the eleventh century A.D.

Muhammad Tughlak's 'expedition for the conof China' (p. 233) is an exploded myth.

The author's attempt to summarise the events of sometimes leads him to commit serious errors, following passage will show:

"In January, 1316, Ala-ud-din died or was murdered, was succeeded, after the usual interval of disorder murder which followed the death of a strong ruler, Muhammad Ibn Tughlak (1325-1347). This eccentric was as fanatical and unscrupulous as his predeor" (p. 229).

By the word 'predecessor' the author certainly Ala-ud-din Khilji, but between him and Muhammad ruled two of his sons, then Khusru, and lastly -ud-din Tughlak who founded the Tughlak dynasty. be pointed out that Muhammad Tughlak ruled 1325 to 1351, not 1347.

I owe an apology to the readers for this long list errors, but it is necessary in order to substantiate the what unfavourable opinion I have expressed about quality of the work of an author who enjoys a great for his scholarship.

The author's imperfect knowledge of Indian history culture is rendered worse by the superiority complex, so common in European writers. Take for the following passage:

"But Alexander was no mere casual raider, like or Nadir Shah, intent on nothing but plunder. of Aristotle he conceived it to be his mission to the East" (p. 62).

There is nothing on record to show that Alexander any attempt to westernise the East. Rather we that he fell a victim to the charms of the east. reference to Aristotle is not quite easily intelligible, is in any case unnecessary; for have not the modern like Mussolini taken up the noble task of the east even without having the advantage liberal education? Two thousand years hence a successor of Dr. Rawlinson, writing the history Abyssynia, would no doubt advance the same claim Mussolini, but he would be in difficulty to cite any of liberal ideas like Aristotle. As a matter of it is time that this cant about Alexander's civilising in the east is definitely put an end to. In this we draw the attention of the readers to the frank discussion in Cambridge Ancient History VI, pp. 357-8) as to 'the primary reason why invaded Persia.' The following passage from work gives a clue to the real motive of Alexander's

"Greeks certainly objected to barbarians attacking selves, but the best thought of the time saw no reason they should not attack barbarians whenever they . . . Aristotle called it essentially just and told pupil to treat barbarians as slaves."

The writer of this passage does not associate Alexander's invasion with any pious reforming zeal and the candour to admit that "to the best modern ought, the invasion is quite unjustifiable."

In conclusion we may draw attention to numerous printing mistakes in the book such as 'Dandaranyaka' (p. 6) for 'Dandakāranya;' 'Saka Era of 78 B.C.,' (p. 93) for '78 A.D.;' Bāla (p. 102) for 'Bala;' 'Maghavarman' (p. 106) for 'Meghavarna;' 'Vidhusaka' (p. 135) for 'Vidusaka;' 'Kādaram' (p. 182) for 'Kadāram;' 'Lokatya' (p. 118) for 'Lokāyata' etc.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY ABROAD: *By Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris). University of Calcutta. Pp. ix & 125, pls. i—xix & Frontispiece.*

Dr. Kalidas Nag, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), of the Calcutta University, was invited by the International Educational Institute (under the Carnegie Foundation, New York) to deliver a course of lectures on Indian art and archaeology as Visiting Professor to the Institute for the year 1930-31. He was simultaneously invited by several other institutions from Geneva. He not only did ample justice to the various important engagements in the course of his several months' stay abroad, but a great deal more was done by him. To say in his own words, 'he studied the special arrangements and provisions for the collection and co-ordination of the data of arts and archaeology as well as the methods of teaching of those subjects in some of the important centres' of Europe and America. The outcome of these studies undertaken by him is this useful report, which should be of immense help to the students as well as the teachers of this branch of Indology.

It sometimes happens that the Indian students and researchers in this field primarily devote their attention to the study of these subjects in its relation to India alone, their association with the same of various other countries of the world being a secondary one only to that extent which helps them in understanding correctly and evaluating properly the arts and archaeology of their own country. Rarely, however, they take the trouble of acquainting themselves with the progress in the study of the various branches of these subjects in the different countries of Europe, America and the Near and Far Eastern countries. Again, there are many earnest Indian students who are hardly aware of the numerous facilities which the various countries outside India offer for thorough and systematic studies in this respect. They are on no account to be blamed, however, for this, because no good handy book was there which could help them in the acquisition of this knowledge. Dr. Nag's work has thus removed a long-felt want in this respect.

The book is divided into several sections which deal respectively with the art and archaeology in France, the activities of other nations with regard to these subjects in the Near East, in the Mediterranean world and Greece, art and archaeology in Italy, United States of America and Latin America. By far the largest single section in this work deals with the position of the study of these subjects in the United States of America. It, by the way, throws an interesting sidelight on the respective numbers of the Museums in the various countries of the world. We are told that the world altogether possesses as many as 8,000, of which about 6,500 are in Continental Europe, the British Isles and the U. S. A., of which again Germany and the U. S. A. are far in the lead in numbers with more than 1,500 museums each. 'But India with historical and archaeological sites far exceeding in number and importance shows a really poor record of 90 only after five centuries of European contact and over three centuries of relations with Britain.' No further comment on this is necessary. It is a matter of satisfaction that Calcutta University has taken the lead in founding a museum of art and archaeology—the one fittingly commemorating the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee,

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one of her most illustrious sons, who did so much for the study of Indology here.

It will be impossible to take stock of all the important features of this book in the short space of this review. However one can not but remark that Dr. Nag's lucid account touches an intimate personal note in many places which is very refreshing. The accompanying illustrations are worthily reproduced and the Calcutta University is to be congratulated on the excellent get-up of this neat little volume.

JITENDRA NATH BANERJEA

THE POETRY OF THE INVISIBLE: *By Syed Mehdi Imam. Published by George Allen & Unwin. Price 6s. 6d.*

Modern criticism reveals two forms of approach. Discriminating minds in many countries are attempting to compare genuine artistic experience and to arrive at some universal standards of literary evaluation. There are others, again, for whom the application of some provisional scientific theory, or of some formula of faith appears to be the main incentive. This book belongs to the latter school; it is an attempt at occult criticism of poetry. Presumably those who share the author's faith would find justification in discovering concrete symbols and significance in poetry that the merely literary person would not only leave undiscovered but consider it irrelevant to discuss. "Secret Cycles," "The Radiant Body," "The Out Soul," etc. are mentioned, and such diverse poets as Keats, Browning, and Abercrombie,—to name only a few and their productions are diagnosed by the author in the light of such terms. To call this approach Indian or Eastern would not be correct, it would be found in groups, of the same persuasion, in Western countries. The author feels deeply and has saturated himself in poetic lore but his concern is not literary, it is identified with a particular faith. Without in any way reflecting on his convictions, readers of his book can legitimately demand that confusion of categories should be prevented, that poetry be judged by canons of poetic principle and technique. Peculiarly dangerous is the author's handling of science: there again the basis of his arguments lie in special revelations; knowledge of physics or astro-physics rests on occult sanctions, and is free from mathematics and scientific training. The author's enthusiasm is unmistakable, but in this book he has given no chance to most of his readers to share it.

AMIYA CHAKRAVARTY

THE EASTERN CALUKYAS: *By D. C. Ganguly, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Benares, 1937. Price Rs. 4.*

The Calukyas played an important role in ancient India. They were divided into a number of branches. One of them, which settled in the Andhra country, is known to the modern scholars as "The Eastern Calukya Dynasty." Eastern Calukyas ruled the Andhra country from A.D. 615 to A.D. 1172. Subsequently they held sway over the Cola country till A.D. 1272. Dr. Ganguly gives the history of this branch of the Calukyas in his book. He has collected all informations from the epigraphic and literary sources. The usefulness of the book has been more enhanced by the addition of a chapter on the Cultural history. A list of inscriptions of the Eastern Calukyas has been given at the end of the book. The subject has been treated scientifically, and the conclusions are well-balanced. It may be, in a sense, called a pioneer work as nobody before Dr. Ganguly has published a complete monograph on the subject.

RADHAGOVINDA BASAK

THE CRUCIAL PROBLEM OF IMPE[illegible] DEVELOPMENT: *Published by the Royal E[illegible] Society, with a Foreword by the Right Hon. M[illegible] Macdonald, M.P., Secretary of State for the Domi[illegible] Longmans, Green and Co., London, 1938. Pp. xiii-[illegible] Price not mentioned.*

In November, 1937, the Chairman and Council of [illegible] Royal Empire Society invited many persons [illegible] acknowledged position to meet in Conference to review [illegible] problems of Imperial development. Among those in[illegible] to participate in the deliberations were Mr. F. [illegible] McDougall, Chairman of the Imperial Economic C[illegible] mittee, The Marquess of Dufferin and Ava, Parliamen[illegible] Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir G[illegible] Schuster, formerly Finance Member of the Exe[illegible] Council of the Governor-General of India, Sir F[illegible] Noyce, formerly member of the Executive Council of [illegible] Governor-General of India, Sir John Wardlaw M[illegible] M.P., Sir Henry Page-Croft, M.P., Prof. N. F. Ha[illegible] the London University, Prof. N. Bentwich of [illegible] Jerusalem University, Prof. F. W. Fetter of Have[illegible] College, U. S. A., Mr. H. V. Hodson, Editor of [illegible] *Round Table,* and Sir Firoz Khan Noon, High Com[illegible] sion of India. The proceedings of the Conference [illegible] now published in book-form under the title, *The Cr[illegible] Problem of Imperial Development.*

It appears from a perusal of the proceedings [illegible] no resolutions were submitted and none were pu[illegible] although the speeches and discussions were planned [illegible] a comprehensive scale embracing different parts of [illegible] Empire, including India. The main theme developed [illegible] all the speakers was that Empire development as wel[illegible] world economic betterment could be sought not in [illegible] ficial restriction of production to meet a depressed [illegible] of consumption, but in the expansion of consumpti[illegible] meet the enlarged productive capacities which hav[illegible] the moment, run ahead of their markets. Although [illegible] what divergent views were expressed on the orga[illegible] restriction of supply, the emphasis on the need for [illegible] consumption was almost unanimous.

To an Indian reader the papers reprinted in [illegible] volume will perhaps give the impression that the Em[illegible] is a business concern to be developed for the bene[illegible] its Imperial shareholders, and that the welfare of [illegible] millions of people in backward countries like Ind[illegible] important only in so far as it can be of advantag[illegible] the British vested interests. The Under-Secretary of S[illegible] for the Colonies stated in the course of his ad[illegible] "We have no desire whatever to make either the indiv[illegible] Dependencies or the Empire as a whole self-suffic[illegible] Will this not mean the perpetuation of Imperial exp[illegible] tion in some form or other? The pursuit of [illegible] sufficiency may be a selfish, and at times, danger[illegible] policy, but this does not imply that the Dependencies [illegible] the Empire should be denied full opportunities for [illegible] trialization.

The hard-headed Imperialists should realize that [illegible] the relief of poverty through greater industrialization [illegible] the backward Empire countries, rather than in pr[illegible] ential treatment or selfish exploitation, lies the best [illegible] for the future growth of British trade with them in [illegible] long run. In other words, Britain must, in her [illegible] interests, make considerable sacrifices for the eco[illegible] progress of the subject peoples, because true Imp[illegible] solidarity can be secured only by raising the stan[illegible] of living amongst the half-starved millions who co[illegible] the British Empire today.

NANDALAL CHATTER[illegible]

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SELF-ABNEGATION IN POLITICS : *By Late R. B. Lal Chand. Published by the Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Second Edition, 1938. Prices annas eight only.*

The book was first published in 1909 by way of protest against certain tendencies in the Congress movement which its writer could not approve—specially the attitude of granting concession and making unsolicited friendly advances towards the Muhammadans which Lal Chand pronounces to have been ineffectual and vicious. Hindus he found in a disorganized condition and that for their liberality or "self-abnegation in politics," and the need of the hour was, for him, organization of the Hindus. Hindu press, Hindu Defence Fund, Hindu Sabha—for these he puts in a vigorous plea, and in this way it is a remarkable pamphlet anticipating much of the present Hindu Sabha Movement and emphasizing its faith in the possibility of a real unity only when all the parties desire to make a united stand.

R. B. Lal Chand knew very well how to express his views clearly and with vigour, and the pamphlet is a model of lucid exposition from its own viewpoint at the same time that it is the earliest writing on the subject it deals with; though, it must be said in this connection, that we may combine strength with sympathy and understanding, and the Congress, be it said to its credit (and even the latest, the Jinnah-Nehru, correspondence shows it), is trying to win the co-operation of the Muslim League without weakening. Nationalism is the need of the hour, and real nationalism tries to see things in their proper perspective and to gain recruits in apparently impossible quarters.

FURTHER UPWARD IN RURAL INDIA : *By D. Spencer Hatch, B.Sc., M.Sc. in Agr., Ph.D. Oxford University Press. 1938. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Dr. Spencer Hatch's book, "Up from Poverty in Rural India" has been already reviewed in this journal and noted with approbation, which it deserves. He follows the subject further, and his practice has kept pace with the ideals which prompted him to the duty of rural reconstruction, a hackneyed phrase by now. The author's experience of bold leadership in Young India grows; the principles and methods he has advocated are in favour with large-sized Indian states and even across the seas. There is the seed of life in his Rural work centres, for they are multiplying, and we may assure ourselves that the nine hundred leaders trained by him will soon change the face of India. The secret of his success lies in the soundness of his ideas which are open to examination. Among other things he believes in a comprehensive programme, and in the spiritual basis of life, and in many of the items of his creed his viewpoint resembles Mahatma Gandhi's. One may confidently quote from him : "No Rural Reconstruction Centre can afford to accept a government grant if the grant has strings on it which restrict the freedom of the workers." Again : "For Rural Reconstruction in India we want workers who are rich in the things they can do without." Another delightful observation : "Toleration of the second rate is one of the most common and serious sins in India, while this persists, people must remain poor. We find little realization of what high quality means." The experiences are suggestive, the author's way of approach is stimulating, and the reader feels inclined to repeat with a certain visitor : "Well, this is indeed great !"

P. R. SEN

THE GANDHIAN WAY : *By Acharya J. B. Kripalani, General-Secretary, Indian National Congress. Published by Vora & Co. Publishers Ltd. 8, Round Building, Bombay 2. Pages 183. Price Rs. 2.*

This is a remarkable book in many ways—remarkable for its grasp of the Indian problems, for the perspicuity and boldness of its exposition and the ardent faith of the author in what he calls "the Gandhian Way," *i. e.*, the national programme as chalked out by Mahatma Gandhi.

So far as Gandhi's political philosophy is concerned, the exposition given here is both able as well as authoritative. The author points out how the Gandhian way in politics came to capture the imagination of the people and seeks to establish its superiority in comparison with other opposing tendencies, such as socialism or the Congress left wing. The topics discussed are often controversial. It is not for the reviewer to take sides in a controversy, or, to enter into the merits of the views on either side. We can, however, unhesitatingly say that Acharya Kripalani presents his viewpoint in an unambiguous and attractive manner and he is not unfair to his opponents.

So far as Gandhi's hold on the masses is concerned, no one can deny that it is not entirely due to the merits of the way pointed out by him but is largely due also to the unquestionably great, inspiring and magnetic personality of the man. It is difficult to think of Indian politics remaining exactly what they are, with Gandhi off the canvas. Yet one should not be blind to the intrinsic value of the way pointed out by him. Acharya Kripalani tries to establish this point, we would not say, without success. Even the programme of *Khadi*, which according to many, is only a fad of Gandhi, is shown by Acharya Kripalani to be a sound economic proposition, provided of course its meaning is properly understood (pp. 11, *et seq.*).

His remarks about Brahmoism (p. 2), may possibly be resented in some quarters : and the reason assigned by him for the greater popularity of the Ramakrishna movement may not be accepted by all as sufficient. But some of the propositions laid down by him seem to us to be exceedingly sound. The first problem in India, according to him, "is not a revolutionary programme of reconstruction as is implied by industrialization and socialism, but a radical programme for the capture of power" (p. 81). The division of the Congress into Left Wing and Right Wing, is therefore, premature. Such division bring in their trail a weakening of the national forces, of which a third party is sure to reap the advantage.

People who desire to understand the philosophy underlying the Congress movement will find this book of very great help.

SELF-REALISATION : *By B. V. Narasimha Swami. Published by Niranjanananda Swami, Tiruvannamalai (Madras).*

This is the story of the life of a Saint of Southern India. Viewed from outside, such lives have few incidents to narrate. There is the usual renunciation of the world with attendant pains in the mind of the relatives, and a wandering in search of a preceptor or *guru* who is at last found, and then the gradual collection of an increasing group of disciples, and, at last, the eventual establishment of an *asrama* or hermitage which wears a wealthy look enough to attract even robbers. The life before us also contains the same series of incidents.

The internal history of the man, bent on self-realisation, for whom no austerity is too severe, is not open to public gaze, and, unless depicted by the man himself, can seldom be known. Though the secret influence of such men on the lives of many others cannot

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be denied, it were perhaps greater wisdom not to regard the meagre incidents of their mere physical life as of much historical importance. Such men might well be spared the glare of lime-light. They do not want it and their disciples and admirers ought not to force it on them. To leave them to their quiet solitude would be showing better honour to them.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

BRADLEY AND BERGSON—A COMPARATIVE STUDY: *By Ram Murti Loomba, M.A. With a Foreword by Prof. N. N. Sen-gupta, M.A., Ph.D. The Upper India Publishing House Ltd., Lucknow. 1937. Pp. xi+187. Price Rs. 2-8.*

Metaphysical quests often have a tendency to follow beaten tracks. It is refreshing, therefore, to note that the young author of the work under review has freed himself from philosophical orthodoxy and found a problem worthy of pursuit in a sphere where many would have seen none. Writing in a pleasant and easy style Mr. Loomba has attempted to show that the idealism of Bradley and the mysticism of Bergson are not radically different but that both have a common 'visionic' element. The standpoints of these two eminent philosophers are but two stages in the total idealistic trend of thought, and each standpoint when persistently worked out is found to involve the other. The logic of Bradley, facing the Absolute, turns into anti-intellectualistic idealism, while the intuitionistic view of Bergson, in order to receive a philosophical formulation, stands midway between mysticism and idealism. By judicious selection of relevant passages from texts and by clever interpretation, the author has been able to uphold his thesis. In the *Foreword* Prof. Sen-gupta clearly states the position of the author in a few words and lends his support to the central idea.

S. K. BOSE

MODERN SWEDEN: *Chief Editor Dr. Erik Nylander. Published by the General Export Association of Sweden, Vasagatan 2, Stockholm. Pp. 470. 1937. Printed on art paper and profusely illustrated.*

This interesting compilation is a review of the great changes, both social and economic, which Sweden has undergone during the past fifty years. Within this period Sweden has developed from an agricultural country, dependent for its public undertakings and manufactured goods on the capital of richer and more highly industrialised foreign countries, to a country teeming with diversified industries of indigenous development. The establishment of saw mill industry has contributed to the industrial upliftment of the country, while mining and metal, the chief industries of Sweden, have helped her to maintain its balance in foreign trade. Detailed figures are given to show the remarkable progress achieved by Sweden in import and export trade during the period dealt with. Besides a general survey of the people, institutions and natural resources of the country, the book also gives detailed information about all the present-day export industries of the country. Credit is due to the chief editor and the publishers for the compilation and publication of this useful and informative book.

SOUREN DEY

INDIAN COMPANY LAW: *By Mr. M. J. Sethna, Barrister-at-Law. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Price not mentioned.*

In this book although the learned author has given a full text of the Indian Companies Act 1913, as amended upto Act II of 1938, he has failed to incorporate therein the provisions under the Government of India (Adaptation of Indian Laws) Order, 1937, as a result whereof several sections have been omitted from the book. We give below a few of such instances, *viz.* 'trading corporation' has not been defined; Sections 2A, 42A and 289A have been omitted from the book. In reference to Section 109, the following important proviso has been omitted *viz.* "In this Section 'British India' does not include Burma or Aden, whatever the date of the mortgage or charge in question."

The book however is on the whole a good exposition of the main principles of company law. The students will find this book as a help book for their examination. Businessmen as well as lawyers will find this book useful to them. The book contains an instructive Introduction dealing with the merits of the Act and showing how it benefits shareholders, members of registered companies, creditors, debenture-holders and all other interested persons. Within the short space of 258 pages, the learned author has very clearly and fully dealt with all the various topics of company law with the help of useful cases. The book also contains the rules framed by the Governor-General in Council under Section 151(4), together with the Forms and Tables.

JITENDRA NATH BOSE

1. MY TRAVELS IN THE EAST 2. ACROSS THE NEAR EAST: *By Khsitish Chandra Banerjee. Published by the author from 186, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Rupees Two and Rupees One and annas Eight respectively.*

The young author of these fascinating travel notes starts on his adventurous career as a "globe-trotter" about two years ago when he chanced upon some books of travel and adventure and was inspired to "do something which would testify to the fact that the adventurous and enterprising spirit was not dead in India and that there were young men in India who could brave any difficulty;" and he has amply justified his claim. He started on his first tour (recorded in *My Travels in the East*) in December 1933, with the princely sum of eleven rupees in his pocket and travelled widely in Burma, China, Manchuria, Japan, Phillippine Islands, Bali and Java, and returned to India in March, 1936. After a brief period of rest he set out on another journey which took him to Iraq, Syria and Lebanon; impressions of this second journey are detailed in *Across the Near East.*

P. B. S.

SANSKRIT-ENGLISH

RAJA-DHARMA-KAUSTUBHA *of Anantadeva edited by Mm. Kamala Krisna Smrtitirtha, Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. lxxii. Oriental Institute, Baroda. Price Rs. 10.*

The work is an extensive compendium, in the Didhitis or parts as they are named, of kingly duties; it includes in its scope a great deal of miscellaneous, though relevant, matters, and devotes practically a whole section to Vyavahara or judicial procedure. It shares with Nilakantha's Mayukha the reputation of being a standard work of Hindu religious law and customs in Western and Central India, to which part of the country the author, himself a Maharastra Brahmin, belonged. In the second half of the 17th century. He was the son of the well-known Apadeva, author of the Mimamsa-nyaya-prakasa, while his great-great-grandfather was no less a person than Ekanatha, the famous Maratha saint. Though a comparatively recent work, it is yet an interesting and important digest of the subject from various points of view, compiled and systematised with

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ning and acuteness. The first Didhiti, called Pratistha, with the building of temples and consecration of as well as of construction of forts and royal es. The second Didhiti, called Prayoga, proceeds lings. The rites and ceremonies incidental to the building the consecration already described. The third Didhiti, d Rajyabhiseka, contains a detailed account of the nation ceremony as it obtained in later times, and cusses incidentally such connected topics as succes- to the throne, qualifications of the king, queen, sters and priests, and so forth. The fourth Didhiti, d Praja-palana, deals with Raja-dharma proper, with al reference to Vyavahara or administration of ice in its various details. The work has been edited care and scholarship; but a melancholy interest es to it from the sudden death in 1934 of its r, the veteran Pandit, who could see only a part of ough the Press. There is a synopsis of the contents the work in English by the editor's learned son who ertook the completion of the work, and an index of ions; but a somewhat more detailed description of character and value of the manuscript-material utilized d have been welcome.

S. K. De

PORTUGUESE-ENGLISH

PORTUGUESE VOCABLES IN ASIATIC UAGES *from the Portuguese Original of Monsignor ntino Dalgado, translated with notes and additions A. X. Soares. Gaekwad's Oriental Series No. lxxiv. ntal Institute, Baroda, 1936.*

This work is also written by an Indian scholar and nist (d. 1922), whose mothertongue was Konkani and ancestral cognomen Desai is hidden under the ning and alien Dalgado. Of his numerous learned ngs, mostly written in Portuguese, his Konkani- guese Dictionary is perhaps better known; but this , published at Coimbra in 1916, is of much larger est and is rightly characterized by Sir George rson as "a monument of erudition." It is the result a quarter of a century's intensive study, research and l undertaken in the midst of constant physical nges, oftentimes of an excruciating nature, but with nging zeal and devotion to scholarship and with an ring love for India and Portugal. Although the ject has been partially touched upon in such works Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, it is the first ematic and scientific examination of Portuguese words ted in a great number of Asiatic languages spoken peoples with whom the Portuguese came in more or direct contact, from the 15th century to the present in respect of places extending from Ceylon to Japan. dentally the work throws a great deal of light on civilizing influence of the Portuguese, and the author taken great pains to bring together in the course of linguistic discussion of the condition and character de bon3wing of the various words a large amount of tical, sociological,, ethnical and cultural matters which of great interest. Even the average educated Bengali perhaps not aware that such commonly used words as কফিরা, আনারস, আলমারি, আলপিন, কেদারা, লগা, কিতা, পিরিচ, গামলা, বালতি, চাবি, প্রেক, originate from Portuguese. Although learning of a ed kind is displayed on every page, there is no dantry, and each article on the various words of this liant work of 400 pages is fascinating reading. Of fifty-two languages taken into account, Konkani urally occupies a larger space, but other Indian guages are not neglected. Although the author stayed for some years (1887-90) in Bengal, some of the Bengali words listed are hardly Bengali, while one would notice omission of some well-known words. It is really a task which it is difficult for one man to accomplish, but the painstaking scholar has not ignored any relevant source.

The author undoubtedly occupies an honoured place in the rank of Indian Orientalists, but his learned works, being written mostly in Portuguese, are hardly known outside a limited circle. It is a happy idea to translate the work into English and include it in the well-known Series; and the translator, who has supplemented the work with notes and comments of his own, deserves the thanks of all interested students for the conscientious and excellent way in which he has discharged his arduous task.

The above two exceedingly interesting and important publications maintain the high reputation of the Oriental Series to which they belong, and reflect great credit on the editor and the translator respectively.

S. K. De

HINDI

IS JAGAT KI PAHELI : *Translated by Mr. Madan Gopal Garodia. Published by the Sri-Aurobindo Granthmala, 4, Hare Street, Calcutta. Pp. 124. Price annas ten.*

Some papers of Sri Aurobindo on spiritual truths written in English are collected and translated here under the caption of "The Riddle of the Universe". The original is characteristic of Sri Aurobindo. The translation is commendable. The publication of the works of Sri Aurobindo in Hindi, which is the aim of the publisher, is specially interesting. The get-up and the paper unmistakably show that the author has both taste and respect for the topic dealt in the book.

JNAN KI UDYAN MEN : *By Swami Satyadevji Paribrajak. Published by the Satya Jnan-Niketan, Jwalapur (U. P.). Pp. 454. Price Rs. 2/-.*

The author, who is a well-known traveller, has put together his thoughts on various subjects, education, politics, art, etc. and his experiences and impression in the course of his travels. These latter relieve the monotony of the serious thoughts.

SRI RAMAN CHARITAMRITA: *Translated by Pundit Vakatesvar Sarma, Sastri of Kasi Vidyapith. Published by Swami Niranjanandaji, Sri Ramanasram, Tiruvannamalai. Pp. vi+444. Price not mentioned.*

The life, teachings and the Asram of Sri Raman Maharshi are described in this book from the viewpoint of a devotee. The sage of the Arunachalam is closely studied and literature is quoted. There are several illustrations in the book.

Rames Basu

GITA KA VYAVAHARA-DARSANA (Practical Philosophy of the Gita) : *By Seth Ramgopal Mohta. Published by Sri Satyanarayan Printing Press, Freer Road, Karachi. Sent free of cost against ten annas stamps to cover postage.*

The charge often laid on Indians in general of being so engrossed with intellectual subtleties as to lose sight of mundane realities, is not totally without foundation. It *is* characteristic of our genius that even the *Gita*, the world's most remarkable code of practical ethics, has at the hands of our scholars become a forum for the exhibition of metaphysical acrobatics. The countless interpretations and expositions have only served to increase our metaphysical pre-occupations and thus defeated the very purpose of the Gita, which was to give us a new ethic of action.

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Seth Ramgopal Mohta is not the first to seek to cut through the gigantic mass of the dead structure of pedantry to the living core of thought. He has illustrious predecessors. Lokamanya B. G. Tilak's scholarly treatise is well-known and much respected, though unfortunately not very widely read. Syt. Mohta has written his book for everyman, who rarely has the patience or the capacity to work through a tome of such proportions as Tilak's work. Perhaps it is because of this that there is much irrelevant matter and many unnecessary and even pointless illustrations of the argument: but on the whole the book is very readable and instructive. It will go a long way to restore the Gita to its rightful place as a guide for human endeavour. Syt. Mohta deserves our thanks.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

BANGALA BHASHAR ABHIDHAN, *or A Dictionary of the Bengali Language. Second Edition: By Jnanendra mohon Das. Indian Publishing House, 22-1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Two Volumes. Price Rs. 10.*

In this edition this lexicon has been thoroughly revised and greatly enlarged. In the first edition the number of words explained was 75,000; in the present edition it is more than 1,15,000. An exhaustive dictionary of the Bengali language would include perhaps more than double this number. The number has been kept down to make the volumes handy and suitable for ready reference.

Of all Bengali dictionaries completely published up to date, this is the largest. The introductions to the two editions, the appendixes and the supplement are valuable.

Of the new features of this lexicon perhaps the most notable is the pronunciation of words given in it. The author was the first to introduce this feature in a Bengali dictionary in his first edition. In the second the words explained have been printed in self-pronouncing forms by the use of diacritically marked types specially cast for this work. A key to the pronunciation of the letters so marked is printed at the bottom of the page at every opening. As the pronunciation of many Bengali words differs in different districts, this feature is really necessary and useful. It will be particularly useful to non-Bengali readers of Bengali.

Some of the other features of this work may be mentioned here. It is not a dictionary, for the most part, of Sanskrit words alone used in Bengali; it includes other current Bengali words also, though a very few have escaped his notice. Sentences have been quoted from books and periodicals to illustrate the different meanings of words. In a very few cases, some meanings of words have escaped the author's notice. The system of transliteration adopted has been explained in the introduction and an appendix. Derivations of words have been given wherever necessary and possible. The number of foreign words adopted in Bengali, 'provincial' words, legal and other technical words, proverbs, idioms, synonyms, antonyms, mythological allusions, etc., are large. The transliteration of foreign names is a useful feature.

As the work, practically of one man, the author, it is a very remarkable and splendid achievement. But had the lexicon been the result of team-work, the achievement would have been no less remarkable even in that case.

RABINDRA-SAHITYE PALLICHITRA, *or, Village Pictures in Rabindra Literature. By Bijaya Lal Chattopadhyaya. Naba-jiban Publishing House, 195-2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*

Curiously enough there are still some Bengali readers to be found who erroneously think that Rabindranath Tagore, being a city-born and town-bred artist, has written and sung only of fashionable city folk, but no knowledge of village life and village folk. The author has shown by extracts from the Poet's works in prose and verse how extremely wrong such a notion is. The Poet has loved the scenery and life of rural Bengal and derived exquisite pleasure from them. His sympathy, born of first-hand knowledge, for villagers, has not been merely academic and book-page-deep. It has taken practical shape.

His short stories and many of his poems are veritable portrait galleries of villige folk and landscape galleries too, of village scenery.

All this the author has shown in his attractive and flowing style. He is quite right in observing that "in a democratic age the time has come to study from a new angle the literature created by him who has encircled the brow of Bengali Literature with the garland of victory, democracy."

GUJARATI

SOUNDARYA NI DRISHTIYE: *By Gijubhai. Published by the Dakshina Murti Prakashan Mandir. Illustrated paper cover. Pp. 100. Price annas five.*

Gijubhai, known in Gujarat and Kathiawad, as the children's friend par excellence, describes in this book, the most common and every day occurrences of life in his inimitable interesting way, such as will surely please children. A trip in a stream launch, universal verdure in countryside after the cessation of the rains, a feri and other such matters are attractively described.

LAGN PRAPANCH: *By Narsinhbhai Ishwarbhai Patel. Published by the Prasthan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound. Pp. 644. Price Rs. 3-8 (1937).*

The writer is well-known in Gujarat as one who derived inspiration at Shanti Niketan where he resided with his family. A man of liberal views Mrs. Patel was given perfect independence in family matters by Mr. Patel. Once while husband and wife were talking, Narsinhbhai, who was wholly content with life as enjoyed till then, said that he was so satisfied with everything that he would not wish for a rebirth. His wife said, "On the contrary I desire to be reborn as your husband, so that you, my wife may realize what the life of a woman really means." The genesis of the present substantial volume of research in the Institution of Marriage is to be found in this incident. The writer has tried to establish, citing chapter and verse for every statement, that the caveman instinct of the male sex has from the beginning tried to keep the female sex under its heel, and under the influence of that feeling of inferiority and submissiveness, she has learnt nothing wrong in being treated as a chattel. The author has all along acted as the woman's advocate and wishes women more than men to read his analysis of the situation and stand up for her rights. Mr. Mashruwala has contributed one whole section and in his mother language and also from a thinker's point of view supported many of the conclusions of the author. In short it is a well-preached crusade against the tyranny of men over women.

K. M. J.

TELUGU

BHARATA NAUKA PARISHRAMA: *By Sita Ramayya. Pages 147. Price Re. 1. Can be had of the author, Vizagapatam.*

The book records the history of the shipping industry, the coastal and the overseas trade in India from

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times to date. The exhaustive and able treatment subject deserves praise.

MOYILU RAYABHARAM : *By Cerla Ganapati Pages 38. Price annas eight. Can be had of the Nidavole, W. Godavari Dt.*

A Telugu rendering of Kalidas's immortal classic "Meghadutam."

BRAHMANIKAM : *By Gudipati Venkatachallam. Karyalayam Series No. 7. Pages 132. Can be had Karyalayam, Patapet, Tenali. Price annas four.*

The work depicts the life of an orthodox widow, culting in marriage, poverty, sufferance, and fall from heights of piety and innocence to the deplorable of corruption. An ordinary story from an extraary angle of thought.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

BOOKS RECEIVED

LETTERS TO MY SON : *By C. S. Angre. Published by D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay. Pp. ii+82. Price Rs. 3.*

MAKERS OF NEW INDIA : *By D. M. Chitre. With a Foreword by Principal P. K. Atre, B.A., B.T., (London). Published by Vasant Vasudeo Bhise at 370, Jethabhai Building, Parel; Fort, Bombay. Pages 50. Price annas twelve.*

GREAT EXPECTATIONS : *An exposition of the Problems of Hyderabad from the People's Point of View. Published by B. A. Rao, Bangalore city. Pp. ii+112. Price annas eight.*

RURAL WELFARE : *By Narendra Kumar Mukerjee, A.M.A.E., M.R.San.I., F.F.Sc. Published by N. K. Mukerjee, Yarpur House Patna. Pp. iv+76. Price annas eight.*

BENGALI

PARICHAY : *By Late Dinabandhu Roychoudhury and Satish Chandra Roychoudhury. Published by Amulya Chandra Dey, 210|3|2, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. iv+202. Price paper cover Re. 1. cloth bound Rs. 1-4.*

HINDI

DESHIRAJYA KI SAMASYA (PROBLEM OF THE NATIVE STATES) : *By Raghunath Prasad Parsai. Published by Deshirajya Sahitya Mandal, Sohagpur, C. P. Pages 32.*

HINDU-DHARMA KI BISESATAE (THE BEAUTIES OF HINDU RELIGION) : *By Swami Satyadev Paribrajak. Copies available from The Manager, Satyagyan-niketan. Jwalapur, U. P. Pp. 84+4. Price annas five.*

WORLD AFFAIRS

Europe has for the last few weeks known a kind of comparative ease, and that means no that the world too has been allowed a from the perpetual high tension in which European politics made it live for months. Of course it does not indicate an end of any of crises, major or minor. In two parts of the world, July witnessed the anniversary of two —on the 7th that of China, on the 18th of Spain,—which start on another fateful of bloodshed and barbarism. The problems remain unsolved, the world stands where it and, to quote the German phrase on the aspects of the agreement for withdrawal of volunteers from Spain, any settlement arrived at be torpedoed within twenty-four hours.'

FIRST YEAR OF THE CHINESE WAR

On the 7th of July last both China and Japan celebrated the first anniversary of the 'Chinese Incident.' China took the resolve to fight to the finish, Japan published the list of gains in China, in guns, aeroplanes, and victories, and declared that Chiang Kai-shek hope for no consideration from Japan nor Japan would relent until the whole of China has been brought to the heel though that might mean a war for ten years. An anniversary celebration is the occasion for such dramatic pronouncements which the people expect of its Government. But to vow ten years of war is to indulge in heroics. We have on the last occasion noted what a long war would mean to China and to Japan both. Mr. Vernon Bartlett, fresh from the Far East, in the *News Chronicle*, gives a very careful but similar estimate of the forces. China will probably hold out—"but she may lose too," concludes the writer :

> But it is quite obvious that guerilla warfare involves the return to power of those local war lords whom the Generalissimo succeeded in displacing after much prolonged effort. A period of intense military centralisation there must give way to one of decentralisation, with all its dangers. Some of the war lords will fight the Japanese, but some of them will undoubtedly go back to banditry. "Unless the European powers and the United States show a little vigour in respecting international law and seeing that others respect it, then the war in the Far East may drag on until Japan breaks into revolution, China reverts to chaos and all those young Chinese who have returned to their country with

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western ideas of democracy may sink into oblivion, and all Western financial interests disappear."

I would therefore repeat my conviction that Japan cannot win in this war, but would also add the warning that China too may lose it.

Japan should know as well that she has other enemies, mightier and more dangerous, who would not fail to come down on her when they find Japan weakened by this Chinese war. Are we already hearing the distant rumbles in the Mongolian and Korean border? Soviet Russia has not forgotten the sinking of her gunboat or the Amur islands that Japan forcibly occupied when they were busy with purge of the generals. Is Russia slowly moving now to pay back the old scores?

The atmosphere on the Soviet-Manchukuo border is described in Tokyo as very ominous. It is feared that the alleged violation of the Manchukuo border by Soviet troops occupying a hill in the south of Hunchun may develop into another Liukouchiao incident which led to the Sino-Japanese war.

The Manchukuo and Korean frontier authorities have demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Soviet troops, threatening determined action in the event of non-compliance.

Meanwhile the Manchukuo-Soviet negotiations for a settlement of the incident on the spot are stated to have broken down.

On the Chinese war front Hankow is being bombed. The army pushes along Yangtse. Japan may wreak her savage fury on the Chinese; but the war must be finished quick if she is to escape the danger from Russia. The preparations of the Soviet in Siberia are known to be amazingly thorough. As noted some time ago by Mr. Mills of the Associated Press of America:

Soviet Russia has an army of 400,000 of its best troops, 2,000 tanks and 900 aeroplanes along the 2,000-mile frontier between Soviet Russia and Mongolia and Manchukuo.

It has also elaborate poison gas equipment at important strategic points for use in emergencies. The entire civil population in tonws along the Manchukuo border not only have arms, but are equipped with gas masks.

In anticipation of a possible attack by Japan the Bolshevist defence authorities have constructed hundreds of concrete pillboxes and other fortifications along the border, which the Moscow authorities believe make Far Eastern Russia virtually impregnable.

The Russians have completed the double-tracking of the great Trans-Siberian railroad all the way to Vladivostok, and a steady stream of war supplies is moving over the line day and night.

And Russia is not the only enemy Japan should count;—there is Britain who, if freed from the European complications, might take a strong line too.

European Respite—Czecho-Slovakia

No settlement in any sense is, however, in sight of any of the two urgent problems of Europe—the Spanish War and the Czecho-Slovakian question. Hopes are no doubt entertained of the solution of both. Dr. Hodza's Nationality Bill along with other measures of similar nature is shortly to be published, and so the German grumble on its delay is to be silenced or awaits only the signal to burst forth into a more vigorous denunciation. The *Times* diplomatic correspondent speaks of the measure as 'being a compromise which will give each side 75 per cent of what it is seeking.' But it is difficult to reconcile the Henlein point of view, as every body knows, with Czecho-Slovak independence. The former certainly demands the Czecho-Slovak State to enter the great German orbit. The latter certainly would not agree to forgo 'connection with Russia' and thereby decree its own annihilation. Even as the talks proceeded Dr. Hess in the presence of the Fuehrer spoke of the country as a danger, of the 'Bolshevising tendency' evident in Czecho-Slovakia, and Germany as the great bulwark of Western culture and Aryan heritage, must disapprove of this. Dr. Hodza has to negotiate not with Herr Henlein but in fact with Herr Hitler, the Fuehrer of the German people wherever they be. Berlin is to be satisfied, otherwise Britain and France would press for more concessions. They are said to be now doing so. The recent demand from London wants the Prague National Statute to widen itself more so as to satisfy Henlein and Hitler. We are already hearing of mobilization in the frontier alleged by the German press against Czecho-Slovakia. It has been stoutly denied by the Czechs. But all this can be hardly a prelude to conciliation or compromise.

There is of course, it is recognised at the same time, less chance of the Nazi army marching into Bohemia as they prepared themselves to do two months ago under the full glow of their success in Austria. Czecho-Slovak politicians saved their State by a cool courage, determination and statesmanship that have then raised their stock in the world. But the *démarche* also had for once its weight with the Fuehrer; it was wiser, he decided, to leave the situation to ripen of itself through the political gains of the Sudetendeutsch. Moreover, Britain was likely to consider her conscience sufficiently cleared by this step to allow her to welcome even Hitler to march into Bohemia as

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that by her standard she would judge, the Czech failure to satisfy the German minority demands. Czecho-Slovakia would any way be disintegrated from within, and Hitler will win his way without risking hostilities with any one. Czecho-Slovakia, Russia and France would otherwise be drawn closer still and British friendship for France be further strengthened. Chamberlain and Halifax serve their Nazi-Fascist friends too well to merit such rebuff. Since then Nazi rashness too is said to have received a little necessary check from the military advisers of the Fuehrer whom he was reported to be consulting during the critical days of May. Of course the Fuehrer works, as he declared after his Austrian coup, with 'divine inspiration' as his sole guide—almost a Gandhian spirit in the 'real politics' with! The gods however have not yet spoken in the Czecho-Slovakian question, and the mortal light of his military advisers was therefore availed of for the hour. Hence, a period of comparative calm in *Mittel Europa*. "But," to quote a French writer, M. Ludovic Naudeau in *L'Illustration* (June 4, 1938), "One should bear in mind that, though delayed, the intention of Germany is not changed; all the acquisitions of the moment that she might give now are of doubtful value, and we are exposed to surprises: the failure of the Agadir coup in 1911 could not prevent the world conflagration that blazed up in 1914."

Reichswehr And Autarchy

The Reichswehr may decide if there is to be a blaze so soon. It is gaining power.

One of the effects of the last war, according to some military writers like Captain Liddell Hart, has been the smashing of the claim of military men to all wisdom in matters connected with war. Civilians have learnt to question it ever since. Herr Hitler and his lieutenants who suddenly donned on the glorious uniforms of generals and marshals overnight made the soldiers look still more foolish. The unceremonious dismissal of Von Fritsch and Bloemberg in February last completed the disgrace of that all-powerful body, the German Reichswehr. Perhaps it is being recognised now slowly that these soldiers also possess some gifts worthy of the Nazis to examine. It is believed that the Reichswehr is gaining by little the lost ground, Nazi impetuousity and rashness of Goering could not blow away the counsels of caution and care of General Von Keitel. The Nazi *Drang nach Osten* must rule out all premature and precipated action in the direction of Ukraine or Roumania, etc., before the *Reichsautobahn* system of roads across Austria is extended, the General Staff reminded. Divine inspiration must bide time unless it is to end in some Himalayan miscalculation. It is also pointed out that a prize essay of the German Military Academy by Colonel Conrad, Chief of Staff to the 18th Army Corps, concludes that an attack on Czecho-Slovakia to succeed must be so quick and stunning as to complete the capture of Prague in fourteen days in order to release troops to deal with the French offensive on the Rhine at the time. A prize essay in Nazi Germany could not have the honour if its views were not approved by the authorities. And all foreign military experts hold that the German army would require at least six weeks to knock out the Czecho-Slovak army as it stands now.

The recent warning of Major-General Thomas, head of the "Military Economics" section of the German High Command, against the German economic policy of barter and self-sufficiency and open criticism, however mild, of Goering's Four-Year Plan, seem to indicate that the Reichswehr is an influence again in German politics. The speech reported in the *Daily Telegraph*, is a public confession of the weakness of autarchy, which earlier had made Dr. Schacht grow doubtful of its soundness and resign. Maj.-General Thomas said:

> The country, must recover her position in normal world trade. Major-Gen. Thomas admitted that, in spite of the Four-Year Plan, Germany was still unable to cover 20 per cent of her food requirements by home production. A large proportion of Germany's profits from exports was therefore required to guard against a food shortage.
>
> This was equally the case with raw materials. Although the Four-Year Plan had led to an expansion of German production of iron and other raw materials, the materials which she lacked could, in case of emergency, only be obtained, if at all, by payment in foreign exchange.
>
> "The world war," he said, "has shown us that the countries playing the most active part in world trade, Germany and England, had a greater power of resistance than countries which depended more on self-sufficiency."
>
> "The effort to obtain the greatest possible degree of independence from foreign countries must not lead to a withdrawal from world trade; otherwise, the products which are unobtainable at home cannot be imported."
>
> Major-General Thomas said that the economic war waged by Britain against Germany in the world war, and the subsequent policy of the victorious Powers, had done much to destroy confidence in world trade and to encourage the belief in self-sufficiency. But the fact remained that, apart from the Soviet Union and the United States, all countries were short of certain essential products.
>
> "A policy of creating reserve," he continued, "is absolutely necessary where foodstuffs are concerned, and also in the armaments industry, so as to bridge the period before the factories have reached their highest war-time capacity."
>
> "How far individual States are going in the storage of food reserves is shown by England, where large

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amounts of grain, whale-oil, meat, sugar and other provisions have been and are being set aside."

"The same is true of raw materials. France, England and many other States are storing large quantities of fuel and important metals."

None of these measures, however, would, he added, make it possible to dispense with international trade.

The warning may serve to intensify the Nazi demand for return of the Colonies as Germany requires sources of raw materials.

Spain Completes Second Year Of War

On the 18th of July Spanish Rebellion entered its third year of struggle. An agreement just preceding it on the withdrawal of foreign volunteers from Spain, it is supposed, has opened the way for a relief of the European tension on the question. But the Spanish Tragedy has dragged on too long even to continue a strain on the emotions of the people of Europe. Emotion in this case gave room to cynicism; faith in cherished ideals faded, the grim reality of this conflict lost its tragic depth. The terribly big issues involved in this ideological clash received no solemn examination they demanded. Cold misanthropy blankly saw the portends of a struggle in which powers and politicians stand out in all their nakedness to prove that ethics and agreements, patriotism and humanity are of no consequence to the ruling classes when their very power, their profits and interests as the ruling classes, are anywhere, even outside their national borders, questioned by the 'under-dogs' of the present social system. Man's mind has been clouded and confused by the shameless play at the make-believe of non-intervention and the heartless connivance of all violation of the codes of international morality and obligations by the strong. More even than the dictators Britain and France have proved that terrible doctrine of social revolution, that democracy is merely a facade of capitalistic society, a device to hoodwink the masses that the ruling class will throw off the moment it fails to achieve its purpose. If the part that Britain has played in the Spanish tragedy is rightly assessed it would be seen that it has not so much ruined the prestige of the British powers as denuded the British ruling class and the British people of their favourite window-dressings—faith in liberal thought, in democracy and in democratic institutions. Spain these two years has thus really proved a tragedy to the liberals and believers in democracy and in popular rights. Their faith has been gassed out in Abyssinia, bombed out in Spain, undermined above all by the betrayal of Britain. So, as the second year of the war ends and a scheme of withdrawal of foreign volunteers is evolved, no body cares to set any store by that. For one thing it is clear that really the end of the struggle is known, the 'settlement' demanded by Mussolini can not be refused. Inspite of the Non-intervention Commission, the world knows, Italy could defiantly send men and armament, both in the name of Franco open towns on the Republican side, and, even after the signing of the Anglo-Italian Agreement, help in the sinking of British vessels to the Republican ports. Italy, therefore,—and Germany too, though less flagrantly, would not hesitate to 'torpedo' the present agreement within twenty-four hours if that impedes the victory of Franco and Fascism. M. Blum in the columns of *La Populaire* lost no time to point out that the scheme, which strips the Pyrenese against the Republicans immediately, leaves the Portuguese coast open for the Insurgents, and is thus unjust to the former. Justice or humanity, in the conflict, the old gentleman knows, it is too late in the day to talk of. And the Spanish Republican note to Britain alleging that Italian troops are to be kept in the Spanish Foreign Legions under assumed Spanish names and Italian General Staff advisers are to remain there to carry out their duties in mufti, clearly foresees a position which everybody anticipates. *The Times* correspondent of Rome supplies from the Italian journal *Stampa* figures, evidently taken from official records, in regard to the activity of the Italian squadrons in Spain:

> For example in June, when Castellon was captured there were 3,103 flights in 5,838 hours. 718 tons of explosives were dropped and 40,542 rounds fired. A total of 291 tons of explosives were dropped in April and 381 tons in May. The correspondent adds that, from the numbers of aeroplanes employed, it is evident that an appreciable section of the Italian Air Force is now engaged in Spain.

Majorca is known to be the base of the Italian air forces, and practically admitted to be the position of an Italian port, as it were. It is to remain immune from any attack of the Republicans because of the recent British and French advice to them. That Government had notified Britain of its intentions of reprisals on Italy for the bombing of the Spanish non-combatants. Their objective, not revealed at the time, was likely to be this Italian base in Spanish territory supposed to be in the Insurgent hands. Britain, however, at once informed Italy of the Republican idea, and Rome was indignant at the prospect of any other party playing its game at its cost. Its reply would be—War. Britain and France quickly therefore tried their influence on the Spanish Government lest the real conflagration be started straight by Mussolini. So the Italian air base at Majorca is to remain safe as if Majorca

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elonged to Italy. And Il Duce has no terri-
orial ambitions in Spain, the Anglo-Italian
greement declares.

The third year of the Spanish war begins
ith celebrations by both the parties and a
ongratulation from Mussolini to Franco:

"Fascist Italy is proud to have given her contribution
f blood and material to your victory over the destructive
orces in Spain and Europe," says Signor Mussolini in
telegram to General Franco on the occasion of the
econd anniversary of the Spanish war.

The telegram predicts victory for General Franco
within the next year.

The year is likely to see the victory of the
ascists in Spain. Some of the deep implications
f the war of these years as indicated aobve may
e easily read. Events of these two years proved
urther that freedom of the seas will no longer
e accepted as a principle by the power which
an flout it, that merchantmen will be subjected
bombing attacks even though they carry only
odstuff to the enemy country; and that even
e civil population of a remote town is as much
xposed to the bombing operations as the
oldiers in the front or fortified areas. These
re of vital significance to Great Britain too in
ase she is thrown into any major war. Mr.
hamberlain, however, by his pitiful attempts at
xplaining away, or at virtual condoning of all
ese Fascist war methods, has lent his support
these new standards of military ethics.
ritishers of different parties view this as a
anger to the general interest, and, worse still, a
eitrayal of the more sacred thing—the British
terests.

British Foreign Policy

British patriotism or imperialism considers
elf humiliated, at what it thinks to be vacilla-
on, surrender to blackmail, and a defeatist
cifist mentality of the present National Cabi-
t. The opinion gains ground more and more
Britain and the Chamberlain-Halifax (or
ould we call it the Cleveland group?) policy
armament and appeasement—proves to be
satisfactory.

More and more British people are waking up
this stern fact. Even *The Times* now admits
e necessity under pressure of the forces of
constructing a National Cabinet with a new
mbination of efficient members from the ranks
the other parties. *The New Statesman* warns
at such a body under the Conservative leader-
ip will prove to be the old National card, which
e Conservatives have played too long to be of
y service to them any longer. Hence, the trick
a reshuffle to have the old advantage under
a new name. Only the Labour leadership, according to the paper, of such a combination can save the country from war and Fascism.

Peace at any price, it is seen today, means peace nowhere, peace to no one; it means peace at the cost of others,—of Spain, of Austria, of Abyssinia, and possibly of Czecho-Slovakia and the Balkan and Baltic States; finally it means peace at a higher price, through the loss of the Mediterranean Empire route, the betrayal of the League and collective security, and loss possibly of the former German colonies. It results in the weakening of the strategic points of one's own and strengthening the power of the aggressors all the time, until peace at an price leads to war at too late an hour, under too hopeless conditions.

British foreign policy, in view of this proves a puzzle even to the Britishers themselves. No wonder therefore if the Chatham House arranged for lectures and debates on it by Lord Lothian, Prof. A. J. Toynbee and other distinguished students of international affairs. The last two quarterly issues of the *Journal of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* contain these which show the different facets of the policy and the problems. It may however be noted that in spite of every thing that can be credited to the account of Chamberlain and Halifax the policy can claim no improvement in the European position. The 'realist' policy is at best a policy of drift, if it is not something deeper and more sinister—a strong 'anti-Red' feeling, a conscious Fascist leaning.

In fact liberal Englishmen have themselves made frequent references expressing their fear and suspicion that the Sedition Acts, the Official Secrets Act, measures to put industries on war footing, are already placing so many shackles on British liberty that the passing over to Fascism may be said to have already begun in Britain. For her the democratic screen need not be torn off. It makes the journey safer, smoother.

The foreign policy of the British Cabinet shows its true colour faithfully enough. It is undoubtedly decided on the exigencies of the imperial interests. But that does not disprove the fact that it is Fascist in its leanings and objective. Fascism has no quarrel with Imperialism. On the contrary, Fascism, as the natural growth of an aggressive nationalism, is an ally of Imperialism. "Fascism", as Pandit Jawaharlal reminded his Kingsway Hall audience, "is near relative to Imperialism". Pursuit of imperialistic interests naturally, therefore, emerges in the age of the breakdown of the old system as Fascism.

G. H.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Science and True Religion

It is the scientific method alone that offers hope to mankind and an ending of the agony of the world. Essentially the major conflict is between the method of science and the methods opposed to science. Writes Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in *The Indian World*:

Science and academic halls have not known me for many a long year, and fate and circumstance have led me to the dust and din of the marketplace and the field and the factory, where men live and toil and suffer. I have become involved in the great human upheavals that have shaken in recent years this land of ours. Yet in spite of the tumult and movement that have surrounded me, I do not pretend to be wholly a stranger. For I too have worshipped at the shrine of science and counted myself as one of its votaries.

Science has brought all these mighty changes and not all of them have been for the good of humanity. But the most vital and hopeful of the changes that it has brought about has been the development of the scientific outlook in man.

In the early days of science there was much talk of a conflict between religion and science, and, science was called materialistic and religion spiritual. That conflict hardly seems real today when science has spread out its wings and ventured to make the whole universe its field of action,, and converted solid matter itself into airy nothing. Yet the conflict was real for it was a conflict between the intellectual tyranny imposed by what was deemed to be religion and the free spirit of man nurturd by the scientific method.

Between the two there can be no compromise. For science cannot accept the closing of the windows of the mind, by whatever pleasant name this might be called; it cannot encourage blind faith in someone else's faith. Science therefore must be prepared not only to look up to the heavens and seek to bring them under its control, but also to look down, unafraid, into the pit of hell. To seek to avoid either is not the say of science. The true scientist is the sage unattached to life and the fruits of action, ever seeking truth wheresoever this quest might lead him. To tie himself to a fixed anchorage, from which there is no moving, is to give up that search and to become static in a dynamic world.

Perhaps there is no real conflict between true religion and science but, if so, religion must put on the garb of science and approach all its problems in the spirit of science. A purely secular philosophy of life may be considered enough by most of us. Why should we trouble ourselves about matters beyond our ken when the problems of the world insistently demand solution? And yet that secular philosophy itself must have some background, some objective, other than merely material well-being. It must essentially have spiritual values and certain standards of behaviour, and, when we consider these, immediately we enter into the realm of what has been called religion.

It is time we brought up our minds in [illegible] with the progress of science and gave up [illegible] meaningless controversies of an age gone-by.

It is true that science changes and there is no [illegible] dogmatic or final about it. But the method of s[illegible] does not change and it is to that we must adhere in [illegible] thought and activities, in research, in social life, [illegible] political and economic life, in religion. We may [illegible] specks of dust on a soapbubble universe, but that s[illegible] of dust contained something that was the mind and s[illegible] of man. Through the ages this has grown and [illegible] itself master of this earth and drawn power from its in[illegible] most bowels as well as from the thunderbolt in the sk[illegible] It has tried to fathom the secrets of the universe [illegible] brought the vagaries of nature itself to its use. [illegible] wonderful than the earth and the heavens is this [illegible] and spirit of man which ever grows mightier and s[illegible] fresh worlds to conquer.

Ghandhiji as a Psychologist

According to P. Spratt, whether the fu[illegible] of India is to be capitalistic or socialis[illegible] Gandhiji's example of self-training thr[illegible] ascetic renunciation is valuable. Incident[illegible] he compares Gandhi with Hitler and contr[illegible] his method with that of Hitler. He observes [illegible] *The Indian Review*:

Any popular leader must be something of an e[illegible] at psychology. That great demagogue Hitler evid[illegible] is. Hitler and Gandhiji have something in common, [illegible] they obviously differ greatly. In particular Hitler is [illegible] more deliberate about it. He has that intuitive fa[illegible] which Gandhiji also has, which enables him to [illegible] what the masses feel and how they will behave, [illegible] unlike Gandhiji he has a general theory of propag[illegible] and devotes much care to working out his appeal in [illegible] light of its principles, laboriously arranging even [illegible] details of party propaganda, slogans, uniforms, ba[illegible] and what not. Gandhiji's appeal also extends to [illegible] things. His khadi, his poverty, his style of speech [illegible] might have been designed to further his purpose, [illegible] probably they were not designed. He has not suffe[illegible] cynicism. In all these cases he does what seems to [illegible] right, and what he thinks right usually—not alwa[illegible] happens also to be politically useful.

Gandhiji then, while a supremely good judge [illegible] Indian mass psychology, has little to say about it [illegible] general terms. He has stated that when speaking [illegible] crowd he can tell how they are reacting by looking [illegible] their eyes. But he has never gone into any detail. [illegible] spirits are much affected by mass-feeling. When [illegible] people are united and agree with him, he is buoyant [illegible] confident. When they are divided he suffers a d[illegible] evidently more directly felt and more acute than [illegible]

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of more calculating politicians. He then says that feels a sense of weakness, or has lost power. Similarly when he is separated from the people by jail or going abroad, he loses confidence. Most interesting of all is his idea suggested by some remarks of his that he becomes more sensitive to mass feeling when he fasts.

His moral ideal is attacked not only as impossibly high, but as intrinsically wrong. Dr. Tagore voiced this criticism many years ago, and the Marxists, especially M. N. Roy, have emphasised it recently. The ideal of renunciation, they say, is radically unsound. Life is to be accepted, and enjoyed.

Dr. Tagore and Mr. Roy criticise Gandhiji's as an extreme ideal. I think they are right; but I believe that an ideal acceptable to them would involve a substantial element of Gandhian asceticism. Gandhiji is to be criticised not as ultimately or wholly wrong, but as being a one-sided or extreme view. He is after all a propagandist.

Indian Federation and Constitutional Unity

'The constitutional unity' wherewith Lord Lothian seeks to hypnotise India into acceptance of an ill-conceived constitution is a solemn farce. Observes K. S. Pathy in *The Hindustan Review*:

Indian Federation is the integration of two compacts, British Indian Provinces and the feudal princedoms. The provinces are autonomous entities functioning on democratic lines, whereas the States are still vestigial of an autocracy and just on the threshold of democratic consciousness. The fusion of the two under a unified federal scheme is as ludicrous an affair as harnessing a horse and a racer. The British Imperialistic constitution, though democratic in its machinery, is yet hierarchical in form, and it is beyond question that the interest of the States by its inherent affinity, can ill-afford to keep away from the protective influence of the British Crown. On the other hand, the avowed aspiration of the British Indian Provinces is the progressive achievement of absolute independence. In an all-India federation, the entire mass of States will be a drag on the ambitions of the provinces. Prof. Keith says: "If Dominion Status were at once to be enjoyed by the Provinces, the Princes would be precluded from entering it. Their adherence is now possible because the Crown retains in respect of executive government and federation final control over executive authorities."

Lord Lothian, in the course of his statement to the press on the conclusion of his recent visit to India, has said:

"There are very strong arguments against the Indian proposal that British India should federate first on the ground that the States should be left to come in with a representation to their population when they become democratic. The greatest single advantage which India enjoys today is its constitutional unity. The unity is derived from the fact that the ultimate responsibility in British India and in the States has rested in the same person—the Viceroy."

Lord Lothian has, perhaps, too numerous arguments put forth against the supposedly common, but supremely improper proposal of bringing about a Federation of British Indian Provinces alone for the present. The constitutional unity of India resulting from the residence of ultimate responsibility in one and the same person the Viceroy, which to Lord Lothian, is a mighty factor is, after all, the unity of executive control from Westminster and not the singleness of Indian political endeavour. There need be no fear that if Federal government of British Indian provinces alone were to come about, the constitutional unity of India will be impaired. The Government of British India on the advice of Ministers responsible to the Federal legislature and Paramountcy in Indian States exercised in responsibility to the Secretary of State on behalf of the Crown can subsist side by side without detriment to either. The unity of British India and the unity of Indian States are rendered real and workable by making them separate and self-coherent. The imposition of a formal and fictitious unity by the ultimate centralization of executive and legislative control is a betrayal of all democratic aspiration. An inchoate grouping of unallied entities is a greater impairment of constitutional unity than the clear division of the constituents into organic and homogeneous systems.

'The constitutional unity' which to Lord Lothian is a distinctive merit of Indian Federation, is but the tightening of the fetters from which there is no extrication.

There is already a growing apprehension in the minds of the people of India, at least in the most progressive section of them, that the present-day Congress policy is fast drifting towards a passive constitutionalism. Now that Provincial Autonomy has been rendered workable by the imposition upon it of a sort of change by oral assurances between the Government and the party in power, there is sufficient cause for anxiety that the Federal Scheme also may be set into operation by conciliatory tactics of a similar nature. It is, therefore, the prime duty of the Congress organization to stand firm on its original principles and convictions and not temporize over this momentous issue.

International Understanding Through Education

Principal P. Seshadri concludes his address delivered at the World Conference on Education (as published in *The Indian Journal of Education*) with the following remarks:

One of the great tenets of my own religion is that God is one, though He may be called by many different names. Our scriptures have proclaimed, repeatedly, that just as many roads lead to a great city, many faiths lead to the same God. As the same sun is reflected in many waters, the same God can be discovered in many religions. Like the string running through the many pearls of a necklace, the same God is in all the religions of the world. This is a lesson which must never be forgotten in the class-room.

Travelling in America the other day, I happened to be in a Parlour Car, talking to a Negro attendant on a Sunday morning. He had just said his prayers, and was reading the Bible with a devotion which many of his betters could emulate. I was apparently so nice to him, that he asked me if I was a Christian. I told him

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that I was not a Christian, but a Hindu, but the boy said with a happy smile, "But you look like a Christian!" I should be, similarly, able to say when I look at a good Christian, 'you look like a Hindu,' for so long as the qualities prized by mankind are there, it matters very little what religion they profess.

A common mistake which people often make is to imagine that there is some kind of necessary conflict between nationalism and internationalism. Rightly understood, however, it is not so, as true patriotism is only a step in the direction of universal brotherhood. As Rudyard Kipling has said, God gave all men all earth to love, though "he ordained for each, one spot should prove beloved over all." It may be that you and I are very fond of the places and the sights of the places to which we belong, but that does not necessarily mean that we should be incapable of appreciating beauty in other parts of the world. If I am proud of the Taj Mahal at Agra, I can also be fond of the Parthenon at Athens. If I admire the Himalayas of my own land, I need not be lacking in appreciation of the grandeur of the Rockies on the American continent. If I appreciate the grace and charm of the women of my own country, I can also be an admirer of beauty even elsewhere in the world.

I should like to commend to you in conclusion, that it is necessary in the best interests of mankind to instil this sense of international understanding in the young people all over the world. It is a mistake not to love one another, because we happen to be different in colour or feature, or happen to live on either side of a boundary which is sometimes not even a river or a mountain, but an entirely imaginary line. I have no doubt that teachers have an important part to play in this work, and let us hope that when the time comes for a consummation of this ideal, these periodical world-gatherings of teachers will be found to have played no mean part in the achievement.

China and India in the Historical Period

In the course of his article on problems of Chinese Art and Archæology in *The Calcutta Review* Dr. Kalidas Nag observes:

The problem of the first definite historical contact of China with India is very complicated, as I discovered while consulting the eminent French Sinologist Paul Pelliot who gave me valuable suggestions relating to the appearance of the name China in the Arthasastra of Kautilya generally assigned to the Maurya period. Pelliot thinks that the Sanskrit form "China" can only be derived from the Chin dynasty (255-106 B.C.) founded by Sho Hwang Ti, a contemporary of Asoka. Dr. Laufer somewhat differs from Pelliot and is inclined to admit the possibility of earlier contacts. Laufer's book *Sino-Iranica* has opened our eyes to many unsuspected facts about China's contacts with the West—a line of investigation which has been carried further afield by Rostovtozeg in his *Iranians and Greeks in Sounth Russia* (1922) and by Hirth in his *China and the Roman Orient*. However, there is little doubt today that from *Circa* third century B.C. to third century A.D., specially during the Hun dynasty (206 B.C.—220 A.D.), India and China vigorously collaborated spiritually as well as culturally for Buddhism, which linked up the two great nations, was the vehicle of spiritual ideas as much as of artistic inspiration. What remains tantalizing and vague, however, is the striking resemblances in the literature of the two countries, specially in philosophy and p[illegible] science of the pre-Hun or late Chou period. [illegible] diplomatic mission of Chang Kien (130 B.C.) [illegible] by the invitation of the Chinese emperors of the [illegible] dynasty to the learned Indian Buddhist monks de[illegible] prove that the cultural collaboration was in full [illegible] and it was carried on gloriously by the Wei (Tur[illegible] the Tang, the Sung and the Yuan (Mongol) dyn[illegible] Dr. Laufer's *Chinese Pottery of the Hun Dynasty* op[illegible] a new vista just as Ed. Chavennes gave us [illegible] archaeological findings of inestimable worth.

Two outstanding branches of arts, Sculpture [illegible] Painting, which developed under Sino-Indian collab[illegible] have been discussed by hosts of scholars, Okakura [illegible] Omura, Fennollosa and Laurence Binyon, am[illegible] others.

In conclusion Dr. Nag says:

Visiting China in 1924, in the company of [illegible] national Poet Tagore and of our great painter Nan[illegible] Bose, I had the privilege of being introduced to so many groups of indigenous Chinese artists and critics, many of whom could not speak English and were interpreted by our late lamented friend, Chinese poet Su Tsumo. I shall also remember [illegible] gratitude in this connection the fraternal co-oper[illegible] offered by our esteemed friend Dr. Li Chi (of [illegible] Academia Sinica, founded after our departure). [illegible] was my friend, philosopher and guide while I se[illegible] with Nandalal Bose from Peking to visit the v[illegible] historic sites and pilgrim.ges of Chinese Bud[illegible] While visiting the various collections and temple[illegible] Peking, we discussed now and then of pre-historic C[illegible] but we never dreamed that within a few miles from Peking lodge will be discovered the remains of [illegible] earliest man of Asia traced so far.

Thus the pre-historic and the historic, the cl[illegible] and the medieval in Chinese art and culture e[illegible] into our being as were led from site to site, mon[illegible] to monument, revealing through a flash of intuition [illegible] it were, the Eternal China. Sometimes she was [illegible] sometimes degraded, but she never failed to s[illegible] that there was an inexhaustible vitality which [illegible] triumph over occasional lapses and temporary de[illegible] tions. China supplied us with some of the [illegible] valuable tools of human material progress. She [illegible] given us also a literature, philosophy and an art [illegible] will survive the shocks of history and will be ch[illegible] as the permanent heritage of humanity. It was [illegible] and her culture that civilized Korea and Manchuria [illegible] through which regions Japan derived some of [illegible] permanent elements of her spiritual and artistic life.

India in World Culture and World Po[illegible]

India is as large as the whole of Eu[illegible] except Russia; and it has a population of [illegible] than 300 millions. Ancient Indian histo[illegible] contemporaneous with, or perhaps older [illegible] that of Egypt. Dr. Taraknath Das writ[illegible] *Prabuddha Bharata*:

Through the researches of Western and [illegible] scholars and archaeologists, it has been de[illegible] established that some 5,000 years ago, before the Aryan conquest, a great civilization, in many

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erior to contemporary Egypt, flourished in the North ern part of India.

In his recently published *Creative India*, Professor y Kumar Sarkar of the Calcutta University, has with some of the creations of the Indian peoples ersonalities, ideas, institutions and movements during period of approximately 5,000 years (3,000 B.C. to 5 A.D.). Among other things, he has discussed, ature, art and social philosophy of the Indian people, influence of Indian culture all over Asia and other s of the world.

While study of Indian cultural history is receiving ention among scholars, the question of Indian struggle freedom is one of the great problems of the twentieth ury, affecting world politics and world peace. Of se the late Rev. Dr. Sunderland's classic work *India Bondage and Her Right to Freedom* (New York) ld be studied by all students of Indian politics. Chaman Lal, an Indian journalist of international ding in his recent work, *The Vanishing Empire*, s his views regarding Young India's struggle for dom during recent years. The work is eclectic; yet Lal's attitude may be regarded as an expression of younger generation of India and therefore this book be helpful to those who wish to understand the of Indian thought regarding the political future the land.

India's cultural heritage is a valuable asset to nanity and India's political future is bound up with progress of the nation and the trend of world tics.

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e Buddhist Tantric Literature of Bengal

Dr. S. K. De prefaces his article on the ddhist Tantric (Sanskrit) Literature of Bengal the first issue of the recently published *New ian Antiquary* with the following introduc- y remarks:

By far the most extensive literature which Bengal duced in the whole course of its literary history, which has also an importance and interest of its concerns itself with the large number of Buddhist ers, whose works, however, are mostly lost in skrit but are preserved in Tibetan translation in the n-bgyur. They flourished in Bengal under the ddhist Pala kings in the 10th and 11th centuries, or ps a little earlier. The works belong to the different ds which developed out of the Mahayana, and are lly called Buddhist Tantra (*Rgyud*), as opposed to Buddhist Sutra (*Mdo*) inasmuch as they teach ric doctrines, rites and practices in a highly obscure, perhaps symbolic, language. That Bengal had been eminently a land of Buddhism even before the 7th ury is known to us from the testimony of the Chinese rims, who refer to the existence of Buddhist nasteries as centres of later Buddhistic culture; but her Yuan Chwang nor Yi-tsing makes any reference Buddhist Tantrism, which could not have developed early. Taranatha tells us that during the reign of Pala kings there were many masters of magic, tra-Vajracaryas, who being possessed of various dhis, performed miraculous feats; and his testimony the prevalence of Buddhist Tantric culture is borne by the hundreds of works produced on this subject, a small part of which presumably belongs to Bengal. was during this time that the monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Jagaddala, Somapuri and Pandubhumi were renowned seats of Buddhist learning, with which the composition or translation of many of these Tantric works are associated. The second of the Viharas named above, which is said to have been situated on the banks of the Ganges, most probably had its location, like that of Nalanda, in Magadha; but the other Viharas, no less distinguished, were probably situated in some parts of Bengal, although their exact situation is a matter for speculation.

Many of these Vajrayanist writers and thaumaturgic Siddhacaryas of medieval cults, whether directly Buddhist or indirectly of Buddhistic origin, belonged undoubtedly to the east and most probably to Bengal in these centuries. Some of them travelled beyond Bengal and were so transformed into deified or legendary figures that all trace of their place of origin and activity was obliterated. Although the descriptions are often insufficient or obscure, the Tibetan sources sometimes definitely mention the locality of some of these works and authors; and of them alone we can be reasonably certain that they belonged to Bengal.

Elizabeth Barret Browning and her Sonnets

Writing in *Triveni* about the premier English poetess whose *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, as the expression of a woman's soul, stands unrivalled in the domain of English poetry, Dr. D. W. Dodwell observes:

"A soul of fire enclosed in a shell of pearl." This is how an American friend described Mrs. Browning, of whose death today is the seventy-seventh anniversary. Another American wrote of her: "She is a great loss to literature, to Italy, and to the world—the greatest poet among women. What energy and fire there was in that little frame, and what burning words were winged by her pen! With what glorious courage she attacked error, however strongly entrenched by custom, how bravely she stood by her principles! Never did I see anyone whose brow the world hurried and crowded so to crown, who had so little vanity and so much pure humility."

That Mrs. Browning is the greatest woman poet among those who have written in English can hardly be disputed, and it is unlikely, I think, that any other literature possesses a woman poet who is her equal. Her finest achievement is probably the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*. This series of forty-four sonnets describes with exquisite sincerity and tenderness the development of her feelings towards Robert Browning up to the time of their secret marriage, when she escaped at the age of forty from the tyranny of her barbaric father and her chronic ill-health to a life of freedom, achievement and perfect happiness in Italy. Her love story is like a fairy tale come true.

Browning insisted that the sonnets ought to be published, since they were too good to be withheld from the public. In those early Victorian days his wife thought that to publish such frank expressions of her innermost feelings would appear immodest, so she chose the title *Sonnets from the Portuguese* in order to give the poems the appearance of being translations.

The sonnet is a short poem of fourteen lines with a special rhyme pattern first used with great effect by Petrarch and other Italian Renaissance poets. Mrs. Browning's devotion to Italy makes it very fitting that

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her greatest work should be in the form of sonnets. Though it was born in Italy, the sonnet soon became naturalised in England, and has been a favourite form of expression with many of our poets. A few of them in an occasional sonnet reach even greater heights than those of the *Sonnets from the Portuguese*, but there is no other great sonnet-sequence in English except Shakespeare's. Sonnet No. 43, the last but one in the series, is a typical example of Mrs. Browning's best sonnets :

How do I love thee ? let me count the ways,
I love thee to the depth and breadth and height
My soul can reach, when feeling out of sight
For the ends of Being and ideal Grace.
I love thee to the level of every day's
Most quiet need, by sun and candle-light.
I love thee freely, as men strive for Right;
I love thee purely, as they turn from Praise.
I love thee with the passion put to use
In my old griefs, and with my childhood's faith.
I love thee with a love I seemed to lose
With my lost saints,—I love thee with the breath,
Smiles, tears of all my life ! and, if God choose
I shall but love thee better after death.

The Modified Crest of the Calcutta University

The Journal of Arts and Crafts discusses the modified crest of the Calcutta University "not from the communal standpoint but purely from the artistic" :

The arrangement of the design of the crest reminds us of the arrangement of circular *Alpana*, which consists of a central lotus, surrounded by a creeper and the *Kalasis* on the other edge. But what a great pity it is to find a gulf of difference between these two things as regards their quality and composition. The woman artist of Bengal achieved a great success in combining the three parts of the design in *Alpana* with bold and simple lines which harmonise the whole by creating a distinct and definite character. On the other hand, the thing which strikes one most in the crest of the University is an eclecticism of motifs of different individual character.

Firstly, the central lotus in the crest is oblong, and with its plastic quality disturbs the whole design, particularly the adjacent stylised lotus-creeper drawn in the flat and the outer band which is nothing but a repeated geometrical motif, perhaps representing the rays of the sun.

Secondly, the combination of black and white in the crest is poorly distributed, resulting in a separation between the outer band of sunrays and the inner lotus ring and the central lotus. The detailed dissection numerous black lines lessens the due proportion of space in the outer hand; on the other hand, the motifs are profusely enriched by white spaces.

Thirdly, the lettering on the outside with Sanserit character destroys the unity of the whole de

So far as the symbolical meaning of the crest concerned, we are absolutely helpless in getting a meaning unless we have an explanatory note from authirities of the University.

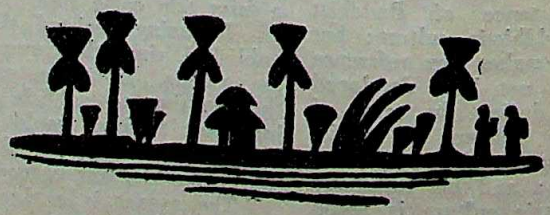
The note concludes with an appeal to University to change the crest once again "the sake of artistic dignity."

The Pursuit of Happiness

Self-expression is the most active source mental satisfaction. Writes K. N. Dutt in *Aryan Path* :

Perhaps the greatest antidote against dejection self-expressions. Self-expression needs two things idea and the medium. The painter and the sculptor essentially similar persons, but their mediums of ex sion, are different, colour and stone. Music, body-th as in dancing, clay, wood, are all mediums through w ideas can be expressed. We cannot properly say the plain carpenter who joins a simple chair is expre an idea, as we cannot say that the garrulous fool rhymes a ditty has expressed an idea in the way Byron expressed one in his "Isles of Greece," or fourteenth century woodworkers have in the Ve Cathedrals. No work almost wholly mechanical ca called self-expression. Yet it would be foolish to con all work which falls short of the standard of Byron Venice, as non-expression. There are degress descen into non-expressive, mechanical efforts and also ascen beyond measure.

Self-expression not only counteracts dejection, it pro new happiness. By not expressing something of your (and this is the way most people go through life), leave unexplored an active source of satisfaction; if leave unexpressed something really strong and clea you, something that is urging for an outlet, like la the earth's bowels, then you will be miserable. usual for persons with such marked tendencies to dis a medium and use it. Nothing can restrain them. the plain man must, with conscious effort, try to inc self-expression as he would increase his physical f with exercise.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Genius of Indian Sculpture

In Hindu Sculpture, apart from its ritual and symbolical character, there are tain plastic qualities (observed Sir William thenstein in the course of the Sir George dwood Memorial Lecture delivered to the yal Society of Arts, London, and published the *Journal* of the society) of breadth, volume d poise which seem to be unique. No people, ntinued the speaker, has been so profusely ventive as the Indian People: their iconoaphy is the richest, the most exuberant ever lved from human brain. There is a tendency pass too lightly over this prolific creation of rms, of gestures and attitudes perfected by e Indian genius, but this creative fertility is itself an astonishing, a supreme achievement, more so since the Indians showed, in the rms they conceived for their gods, an equally undant plastic inventiveness.

Nowhere have the plastic qualities of the human m, both male and female, been better understood and ered than by Indian sculptors. They are early parent in the heavy Mauryan figures, and again in e reliefs at Bharhut and Sanchi. In all these we see e subtle use the Indian carvers made of jewellery and rnament, which in contrast to their rigidity gave a ality of radiant breadth and smooth roundness to the ole form. This sense of the part which jewelled rnamentation can play is apparent in every phase of dian art, Buddhist, Brahminic and medieval. I have mind the enthusiasm of Degas and Rodin when I owed them, late in their lives, photographs of the great athura figures. Here was an art which was the reverse spiritual. Never has the radiance, the unity of form, en better expressed in sculpture than in these strangely scinating sensual figures. Here, indeed, one gets the nse of volume, so often referred to by writers on art dly, but volume combined with grace.

The early carvings of Bharhut and Sanchi, flatter relief than the Mathura figures though many of them e, show a similar sense of volume. Buddhist art as concerned less in its earlier phases with philosophical nceptions than with episodes of the life and legendary istences of the Buddha. But already in Buddhist art ppear the Ariel-like Apsaras, at the same time so elicately spiritual and sensuous, which appear roughout Indian art. In the Apsara figures the artist as able to express the grace of the feminine spirit tached from homestead or household. The Apsaras ke an equally important place in the Buddhist, rahminist and Jain carvings. A conception so racial as not to be changed with the forms of religious ema.

If the Gupta carvings show less profound sense of orm than we see in the figures from Mathura, they have a peculiar refinement. The grace and subtle charm which they gave to the figures. standing or seated. of the Buddha had a permanent influence on the Buddhist art of Java and the further East.

After the refined art of the Gupta period, a refinement which often accompanies the later stages of a once powerful movement, there was now to arise, with the return of Brahminism, a vigorous religious impulse, which finally drove Buddhism from the continent of India, to find a permanent refuge in Ceylon and to flourish anew in Java, Cambodia and Angkor.

The story-telling of Sanchi and Bharhut, the subtle and complex spirit of Amaravati and Sarnath, are now to give place to a new dynamic conception of the universe. The range and audacity of this movement in sculpture, consequent on the return of the older religion, is astonishing. If ever there was meaning in the legend that images lie hidden in blocks of stone awaiting only the blows of the sculptor's mallet to be set free, then the cave carvings of Elephanta and Ellora show the truest form of sculpture. Not from single blocks of stone or marble, but from solid hillsides complete temples were hewn. Elsewhere, figures have been applied to buildings. In India the entire fabric, with its halls and courts, its roofs and supporting shafts, its sculptured figures and enrichments, was conceived and produced from the womb of the earth itself.

Were today a great expressive art within our compass, there could be no fitter interpretation of our present atnomic conception of matter and energy than these carvings of Elephanta and Ellora.

The Indian craftsmen served many masters, giving permanent form to what was fluid and transient. The same genius which perfected the rapt contemplative repose of the Buddha also evolved the symbol of perpetual movement. These two inventions, with their many variations, have formed the body and spirit of Far Eastern art. Not the least original of these forms were conceived when Tantric ideas were giving a new shape to Hinduism. In the medieval temples the Apsaras become so prolific as almost to overwhelm the gods and goddesses they serve. To me, the mastery displayed in htese stone carvings which, on account of their number, must have been executed by ordinary craftsmen, is astonishing. In each of these figures, playing in and out of the light and shadow of the mouldings, there is unfailing plastic beauty, a strange, somewhat disquieting sensuous energy and subtlety of movement; while the sense of design and rhythm concentrated in each of the hundreds of figures used to enrich mouldings, plinths, capitals and door-jambs in a single temple is unfailing.

Soviet Wages

Vera Micheles Dean discusses in the *Foreign Policy Reports* some problems of labour in the U. S. S. R.:

Critics of the Soviet system declare that the Soviet government—sole employer of labor in the country—pays workers and office employees starvation wages.

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The Soviet authorities point out that, in addition to his nominal wages, the worker receives "socialized wages," which include social insurance benefits, vacations on full pay and, in some cases, reduced rent and free light and fuel.

While Soviet nominal wages followed a rising curve after 1928, the cost of food rations in government stores and factory "closed shops" steadily increased until 1935, and workers found it difficult to obtain many necessities of life except in the open market, where exorbitant prices prevailed. The real wages of the Soviet worker in terms of purchasing power were thus frequently much lower than his nominal wages. On January 1, 1935, following two excellent harvests, the government abolished bread cards, permitting the workers to purchase bread freely in government and co-operative stores. To counteract the rise in the price of bread, which was fixed midway between the old breadcard prices and those prevailing in the open market, the government decreed an increase in workers' wages. On October 1, 1935 all food cards were abolished, and the prices of many foodstuffs were reduced 30 per cent. The Soviet authorities expect that, with the increased production of consumers' goods anticipated under the third Five-Year Plan, prices will be further reduced, leading to a marked rise in the workers' purchasing power. Some foreign observers contend that, in the meantime, the prices of most consumers' goods are so high that the budget of the average worker's family is sufficient only to cover the bare necessities of life, without allowing any margin for entertainment, education, medical service or expenditures on extra clothing and furniture.

While it is true that some foodstuffs and most consumers' goods remain out of reach of the average worker's family, rents in the Soviet Union are relatively low. Housing, however, is as yet wholly inadequate, both in old cities like Moscow, which suffer from overcrowding while undergoing reconstruction, and in new industrial centers, where housing has not kept pace with the influx of workers. New apartment houses erected for workers are built on utilitarian lines, and furnished with such modern conveniences as baths, gas and electricity.

Expenditures for various forms of social service were estimated at nearly 6 billion rubles under the 1938 plan. Of these 654 million will be spent on the care of children; over one billion on sanatoria, rest homes and health resorts; two billion for temporary disability; and one billion for maternity pensions and subsidies to large families—as compared with 376 million in 1936, when abortion was prohibited. The government also provides free education and medical service, stipends for students, and other benefits. Due to the relatively slow development of construction for social welfare as compared with heavy and defense industries, these benefits are as yet restricted to a small percentage of the workers. Thus, according to the 1938 plan, passes to rest homes, resorts and sanatoria will be issued to 2,700,000 out of about 26 million industrial, office and other workers eligible to social insurance benefits.

Where Japan rules in China

The China Weekly Review publishes a typical account of the misery of the Chinese districts now under Japanese occupation, from which only brief extracts can be made here. Robbery, burning, rape, murder: everywhere it is the same story:

Along the public road (in a rural area of the lower Yangtze Valley), a large number of farmers' cottages were burned as the Japanese progressed. More than a hundred peasants, young and strong, who tried to run for safety upon sighting the Japanese, were indiscriminately shot to death on a length of road about [illegible] miles. In the city, doors, partitions, tables, chairs, and window-frames were the soldiers' fuel. Fires for [illegible] continued day and night, and the soldiers never cared whether the houses they occupied were consumed or not. If one house caught fire, they moved to the next. From a great distance, one could see distinctly the smoke by day and the light of flame by night. Many times soldiers deliberately put incendiary materials in houses, laughing loudly.

The record of killing is equally appalling. The people of the interior had never before heard that a person might be killed at will by anybody. One ordinary civilian was instantly killed because he gave a military salute to a soldier, intending to show his eagerness and to impress the soldier that he knew the manners of the guild. Two women jumped into the water and were drowned while trying to escape from raping. Two brothers were simultaneously shot because the soldiers saw a picture of a uniformed person in their home. The head of one pao (unit of a hundred families) lost his life because a stray group of soldiers did not succeed in extracting money from the people in a remote village where there were strong militia units.

Except for one market town in which life and property remained relatively intact, the whole district was thoroughly looted. Not a single house escaped the visitations of soldiers. Many houses were ransacked numerous times in one day. All the bedding with quilt covers, and the iron kitchen pots, were taken away to other place in heavy trucks. Rifling of pockets was a universal habit in those days. A person who failed to keep some money on his body was liable to be whipped and kicked. The peasants who came into the city with vegetables or rice for sale were many times robbed by the guards.

The *China at War* publishes an account showing how two Chinese girls avenged the murder of their father, who was bayoneted to death by Japanese soldiers. The story is related by a surviving cousin:

To my great astonishment, the girls acted in a way seemed to me the most disgusting way towards the Japanese. They acted as if they were their sweethearts. One of the soldiers saw me and wanted to kill me but the girl smiled at him and took hold of his arms before he could strike. I ran back to tell my wife and my cousin's sister-in-law. We all sighed in disgust. We waited till they went away and fled to a neighboring town ten miles away.

On the third day after we had arrived there, I met one of the girls, who was evidently fleeing from danger. I asked her what had happened and what had become of her sister. The story she told me revised all my opinions about her and her sister.

When the girls heard of the tragic killing of their father, they decided on a revenge. So they set their mind on two of the Japanese. They took the Japanese out to a place near the river, where they played all sorts of games. Finally they agreed to play hide and seek by tying their feet to a long string. One of the girls sneaked away the bayonet belonging to one of the Japanese and hid herself behind a tree on the bank

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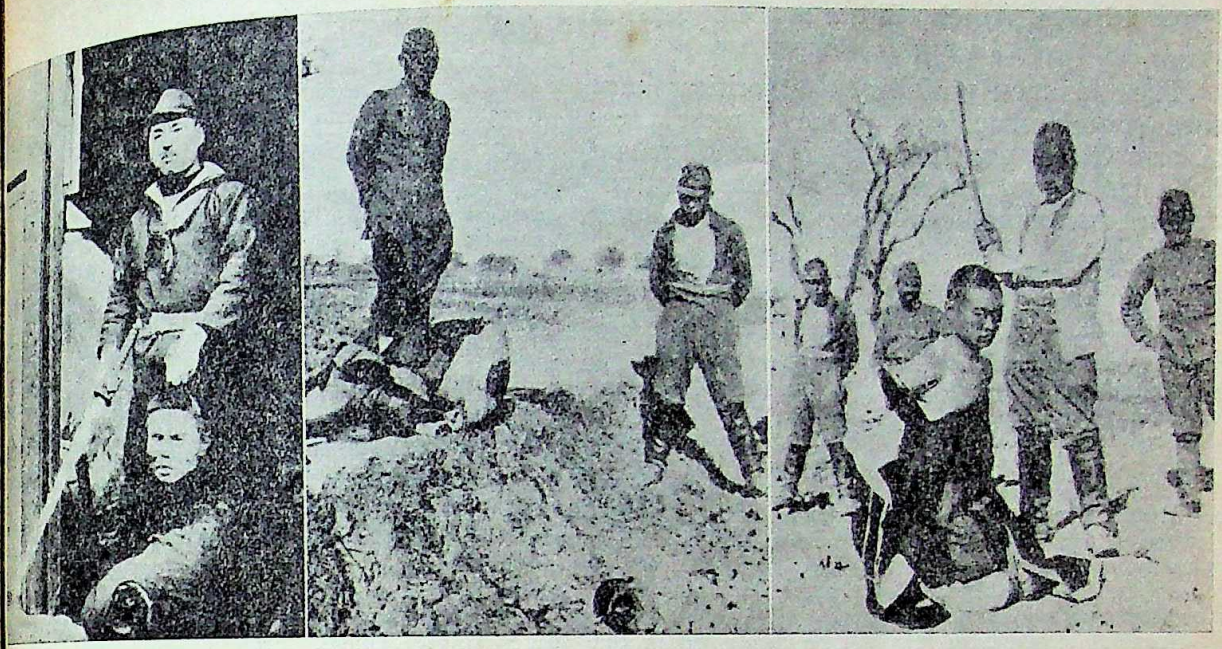

Japanese atrocities in China: execution of Chinese civilians

river. When the Japanese came near her, she drove bayonet through his heart with all her might. She cut off the string and pushed him into the river. Then followed a struggle between them and the other Japanese who was tied between the two girls. The result was that all fell into the river. When she was rescued by a passing boat, both her sister and the enemy had been drowned.

Workers' Education in France

E. and G. Lefranc, secretaries of the Workers' Education Centre of the General Confederation of Labour, bring out the special aims of workers' education as organised by the Confederation, in a paper contributed to the *International Labour Review*. The workers' education movement of the Confederation has three aims: to encourage the use of leisure for educational purposes, to strengthen trade unionism and to develop a new humanism:

THE USE OF LEISURE FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

The legislation of 1936 introduced the 40-hour week and holidays with pay—advances of inestimable value for the dignity of the working class. The dangers involved in the utilization of the additional spare time, however, rapidly became clear. Efforts must be made to protect the worker against idleness on the one hand, and on the other hand against a false conception of leisure in which the free time is used for odd jobs with a view to earning some additional money. In the choice of recreation also there are many errors to be corrected. The worker is often attracted by entertainments of poor artistic quality or of dubious moral character which are brought to his notice by flashy advertisements. He cannot be expected to avoid this danger if he is left uneducated and with a taste untrained.

Another serious problem is that of combating a craze for sport among the younger generation of workers :

The present writers fully appreciate the value of enthusiasm for sports, which means enthusiasm for health and healthy contact with nature. But this enthusiasm must not be all-absorbing; the sportsman's joy in his own strength must not be allowed to lead to overtaxing that strength and, as happens more frequently than might be thought, to a scornful indifference for every type of intellectual recreation. It is therefore important to counterbalance this craze for physical activity during spare time by a movement in favour of intellectual activity.

STRENGTHENING TRADE UNIONISM

The main purpose of the system of workers' education organized by the Confederation is naturally to strengthen the trade union movement.

DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW HUMANISM

The third, and by no means the least important, of the aims of workers' education is cultural enfranchisement. The workers must be made to understand that they have to fight to abolish the monopoly of knowledge which has in the past made such abnormal differences between individuals. The worker who has been unable to continue his school career as he would have wished, and who has only fragmentary and confused recollections of his school subjects, must be helped to free himself from the resulting sense of humiliation. That is the purpose of the labour colleges, which give the worker an opportunity of developing his personality more completely.

What is true of enfranchisement individually is also true collectively. The working class demands new rights, but there are no rights without responsibilities and duties. The working class cannot hold what it has gained or make further advances unless it shows itself competent to accept new responsibilities—those of the supervision and management of economic life.

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Censorship in North China: Suppression of Liberty in Japan

The Japanese military authorities have issued strict instructions to the Chinese press in North China, detailing what is forbidden and what must be published. Some of these instructions are reproduced here from the *Manchester Guardian*:

Setbacks to Japanese troops may not be published in editorials or news.

It may not be published that Japanese soldiers occupying a place are unable to preserve the peace.

It may not be published that Chinese soldiers are victorious.

It may not be published that Chinese airplanes bomb a place.

Defeats suffered by Japanese troops or things connected with them may not be published.

Foreign news telegrams may not be published if they are unfavourable to the Japanese.

It may not be published that peace does not reign, as according to wild rumors.

Financial disturbances may not be mentioned in the press.

No notice shall be taken if attempts should be made to put business men out of work, or if workmen and students should go on strike.

It may not be published if Japanese soldiers living in certain places pay less rent than was paid before, or if workmen receive lower wages, or if persons are dismissed, or if salaries are reduced, or if it is feared that there will be scarcity of food.

Nothing may be published concerning alleged Japanese teaching of licentiousness, reviling in depraved language, acquiring of bad manners, or corruption of good ones.

The press must be guided by the following considerations:

That the Japanese soldiers are fighting for a very high ideal by punishing and destroying Chinese opponents and the Communists. The Japanese want to create peace in the Far East, but decidedly they do not want to be hostile to the good Chinese people. All these points have to be understood clearly by the Chinese.

That the Japanese have come with a patriotic idea, because they are good friends of the Chinese people.

That they have left Japan for the heat and cold China without their wives and children; that they to undergo fatigue and all kinds of hardships; that have to march through the rain of bullets; that throw their lives away without hesitation.

That they do all this in order to make the Chi people and future generations happier.

That he Japanese exert themselves for the sake liberty and that under no circumstances have the Japa any other intentions.

That, therefore, the Chinese people must co-ope with the Japanese Army. If this sacred duty is ful by our joint efforts, then we will stablize the Far E for a hundred years to come.

You cannot suppress liberty abroad maintain it at home, as the following news it about attempts to crush liberal ideas in Jap reproduced here from the *World Youth*, show

Considerable feeling has been roused in Japan mass arrests of the intellectuals and students during past weeks. In Nagasaki, last December, 372 per mostly writers and professors, were arrested. February, 32 more suffered the same fate. Among th were Hyoye Ouchi, Professor of Economics of Imperial University of Tokyo, and eight other profess the same institution.

In a February session of the Japanese Diet Kotaro Tanaka, eminent scholar and head of the Fac of Law at Tokyo University, was accused of "lack piety" in his book, "Law, Religion, and the Sanctu of Shintoism."

In his attack on Dr. Tanaka, Admiral Sues Minister of the Interior, declared, "I shall not hesit to crush whatever liberal ideas may still exist in Jap I shall proceed without mercy, above all against Imperial University of Tokyo, which is a veritable of liberalism." Most of the imprisoned professors graduates of Tokyo University, and enjoy, according the press of Tokyo, a great popularity among students

The police maintain a strict surveillance over the universities of Japan, to the resentment of stude

Recently, due to a considerable resistance an students against being recruited for the war in China. police raided cafes and other meeting places in To and arrested 2,8000 young men, many of them stude This action was characterized officially as a "spiri mobilization" intended to "save those demoralized yo who are unwilling to consecrate themselves to the nati cause."

A NEW METHOD OF FILMING

The Pioneer Olympia Film

The great two-nights film of the Olympia Games in 1936, by Leni Riefenstahl, entitled "Olympia, Festival of Nations, Festival of Beauty," was shown in Berlin for the first time in Hitler's presence, on the occasion of his birthday, April 20th, in a thoroughly festive performance. But it was not the brilliance of the surroundings which stamped the performance as unique, but rather the impression of a real work of art, which the film left behind.

Frau Riefenstahl's Olympia film comes us as a pioneer in a sphere which is hardly open up, and yet perhaps holds the greatest fut —that of the artistic recording of actual fa and incidents.

No higher or more difficult obligation falls art than to develop the actual reactions of to external stimuli. No one who sees the Olym pia film will doubt that Frau Riefenstahl fulfilled her task beyond all expectation. T

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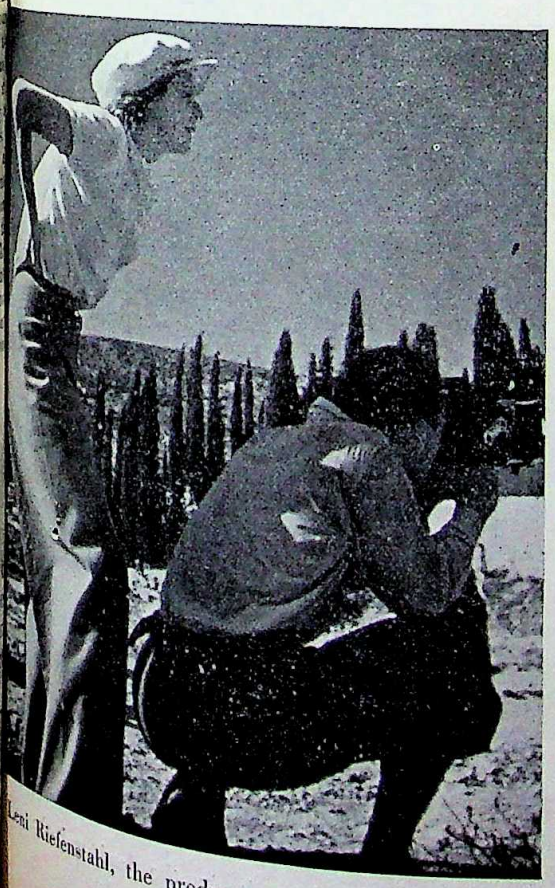
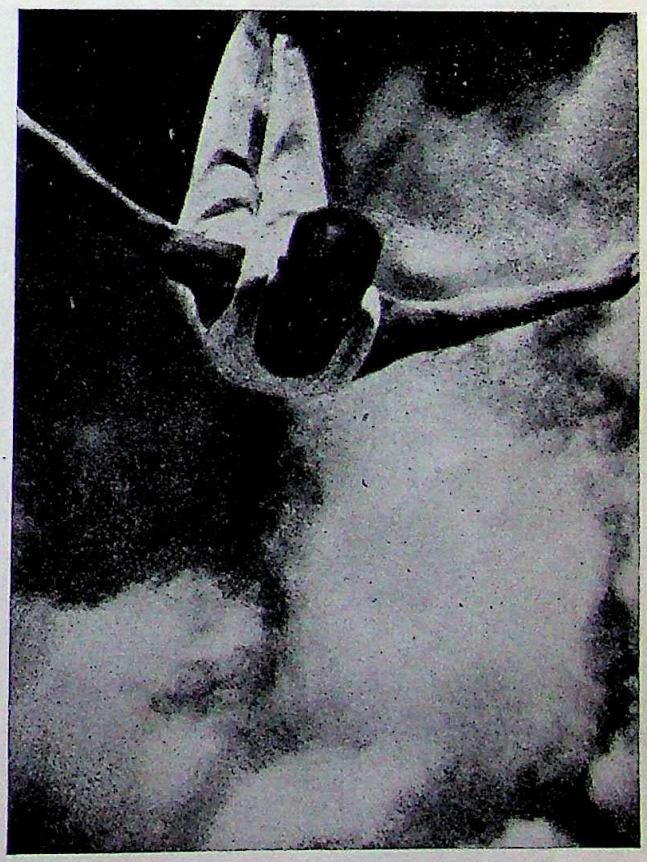
A scene from the Olympia Film produced by Leni Riefenstahl
Syring, the last of the relay torch-bearers from Olympia in Greece, arrives at the Berlin Stadium



Leni Riefenstahl, the producer of the Olympia Film, at work



The "Picque" display by a gymnast at the end of the performance

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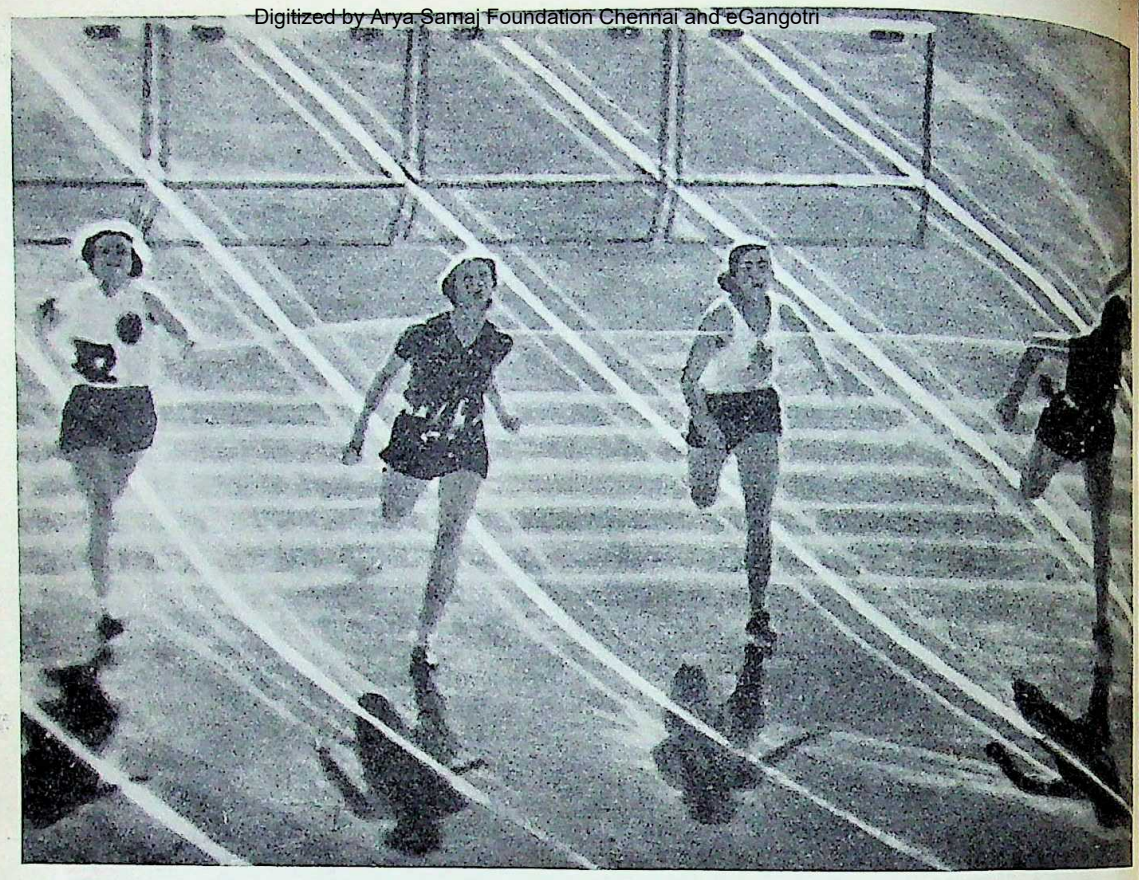
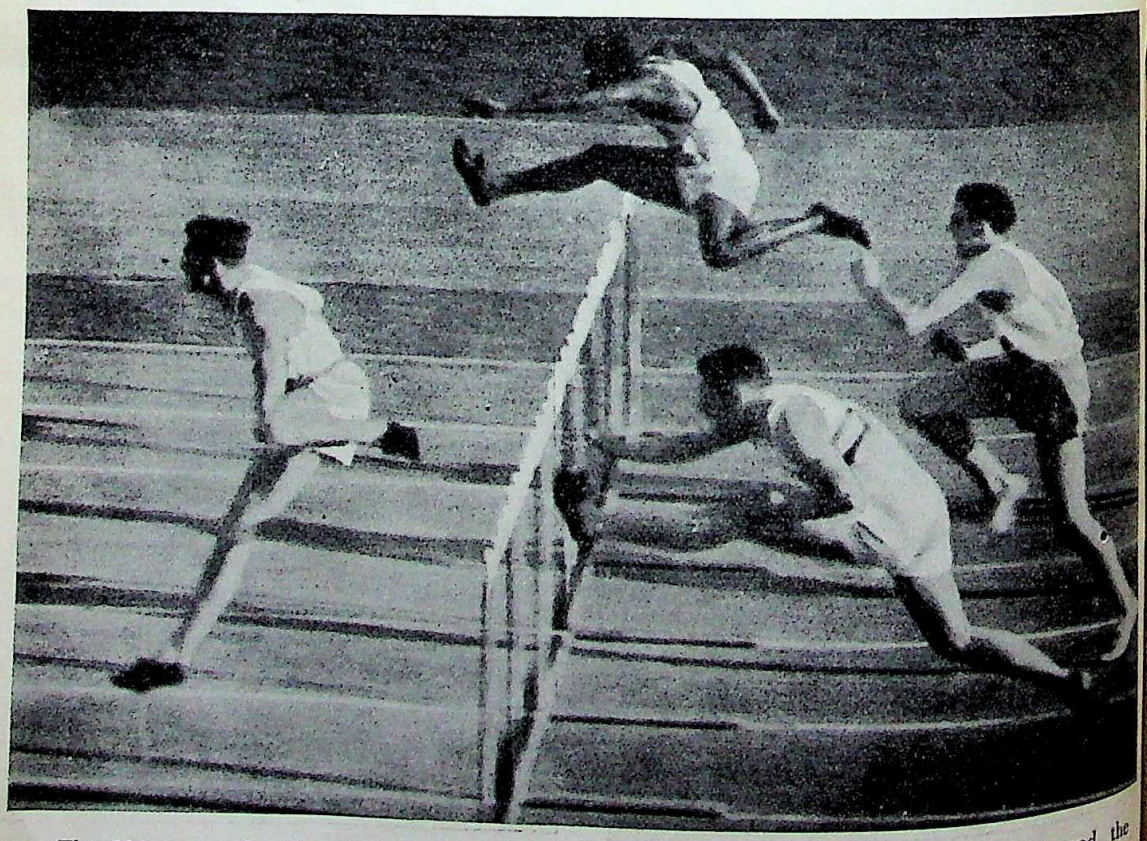


The Italian Valla winning the 83 metres ladies race



The 110 metres hurdle-race in the last Olympic. Towns the American is in the lead and the Negro-American Pollard is clearing the obstacle

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Schnitt and travelling film cameras exhibit the Grecian plastics in an entirely new light. The immortal figures of Achilles, Paris, Alexander the Great and Aphrodite, although photographed just as they are, appear to be alive, and it seems to be a sheer accident that the camera shows them in a single pose. Out of the concentrated strength and easy grace of the Disc Thrower of Myron, appears the figure of his modern counterpart—an artistic possibility known only to the film—the transition to present time is there.

The kindling of the Olympia Fire, and the running torch-bearers in their symbolical simplicity are worthy successors of their Grecian prototypes in the lonely valleys of Hellas. Again in very singular trick photos, one follows the succession of torch-bearers through the different countries right up to the Olympia Stadium in Berlin; here the eager expectancy of the assembled spectators is conveyed by a single aerial film.

In this film symbolism and realism are harmonised, and this is perhaps its highest achievement.

We lived through every phase of the 1500 metre race, won by Lovelock's clever tactical husbanding of his strength, as also in the 10,000 metre race where the three Finns, acting as if they were a team, defeat the plucky Murakoso from Japan, and in the officers' exciting contests in the modern five matches, and above all in the Marathon race. Not only the exterior struggle, but rather the inner emotional reaction on the gruelling track of 42.195 kilometres, until the final burst of fanfares proclaim Sieger Kitei Son the victor, while the remaining runners as they arrived, were acclaimed, not indeed for their victory, but for their endurance.

Then again the absolutely beautiful pictures of the gymnasts—of both seexs, and the artistic high diving in the swimming contests, where the tenseness of struggle has been discarded in favour of the rhythmic beauty of a perfect physique. The harmonising of art and technique —of which we have heard so much from the very first—here celebrates its ideal triumph.

AN EXHIBITION OF NAGESH YAWALKAR'S PAINTINGS IN AMERICA

By K

A display of modern Indian art was put on in Boston recently, at Doll and Richards' galleries. This was the one-man show of paintings by Nagesh Yawalkar, 23 year-old Indian artist who has been sent on a world journey by the Maharajah of Gwalior, noted patron and connoisseur, of whom a portrait appeared in the show. James G. Reardon, Commissioner of Education of the State of Massachusetts, formally opened the exhibition to the general public. Mr. Yawalkar had held his initial American display in New York.

The artist is the son of Trimbakrao Yawalkar, a prominent Indian sculptor, who carves statues in stones for temples and other important places. Beginning at the age of nine, the younger man learned drawing, painting and modelling under his father. His studies were completed in Bombay and Paris.

Most striking characteristic of his work is its variety. Of about fifty of his paintings of contemporary Indian Life, portrayals of Hindu subjects and folklore. The Boston exhibit included thirty-seven oil and water-colors which were mostly appreciated.

"Lasya Dance," an indoor figure study, comes out in enamel-like detail and delicate rhythmic flow. Such panels as "Buddha" and "Dance of Siva" reflect the flat style and pure abstract feeling of ancient oriental art.

Numbered among the Boston sponsors were Sir Herbert Ames; Mr. Hugh Alexander Ford, British Consul, Charles Frederick Weller, Executive of the World Fellowship of Faiths, Charles Hammond Gibson, Arthur F. Musgrave, F. B. A. Rundall, Mrs. Courtenay Crocker, Mrs. Charles R. Codman and Mrs. James R. Hooper.

In his search for true expression, Nagesh Yawalkar has made use of Chinese, Japanese and western tradition as well as his own. Any technique, he feels, becomes natural to the artist who can use it appropriately. "It is in this sense," he said, "that art is international."

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WHAT IS BIHAR SOIL?

By P. R. DAS

As it is claimed by the Congress Ministry in Bihar that the Biharis are the children of the soil of Bihar and are entitled to all the privileges which appertain to them as such children, it is necessary to enquire into the question,—what is Bihar soil? I have elsewhere contested the proposition that there is any such thing called the Bihar soil; but I will assume for the purpose of the present enquiry that there is such a thing called Bihar soil of which the Biharis are the children. The question still remains,—what is Bihar soil?

I may point out that for centuries, Bengal and Bihar have been under one government. Maulavi Abdus Salam, the learned translator and editor of *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, has shown that from the days of Bakhtiar Khilji portions of Bihar and Bengal formed one government. In the time of Bakhtiar Khilji and his immediate successors, South Bihar was included in the Bengal viceroyalty. South Bihar was separated from the Bengal viceroyalty by Emperor Altamash in 622 H, and was placed under a distinct Governor named Alauddin Jani. On withdrawal of the Emperor, Bihar was again annexed by the Bengal ruler Ghiasuddin. It continued to be a part of the Bengal kingdom till 1320, when Emperor Ghiasuddin Tughlak again separated it. Bihar belonged to the Sharqi kingdom of Jaunpur from 1397. Again under Ibrahim, Bahadur Khan, son of Darya Khan, assumed independence in Bihar with the title of Shah Muhammad at about 1498, South Bihar again became more or less subject to the Musalman Kings of Gaur, Hussain Shah and Nasrat Shah. Under the early Moghul Emperors, Bihar was again formed into a distinct Subah but under the later Moghuls, it again became incorporated along with Orissa in the great Bengal viceroyalty. North Bihar appears to have been generally included in the Musalman knigdom of Bengal. (See *Riyaz-us-Salatin*, page 59, footnote). It is clear from the above narrative that it is somewhat difficult to separate Bihar soil from Bengal soil. For good or for evil, the history of Bihar was bound up with that of Bengal for many centuries. Still an endeavour must be made to ascertain what in fact is Bihar soil.

For these purposes, we msut obviously go to *Ain-i-Akbari*. My reference throughout will be to Gladwin's edition. In *Ain-i-Akbari*, Subah Bihar has been divided into seven Sircars: (1) Sircar Bihar, which obviously included the modern districts of Patna and Gaya; (2) Sircar Monghyr, which included Bhagalpur; (3) Sircar Champaran; (4) Sircar Hajipur; (5) Sircar Saran; (6) Sircar Tirhoot, and (7) Sircar Rhotas. Later, Sircar Rhotas was divided into Sircar Shahabad and Sircar Rhotas. It is clear that we do not find either Purnea or Chota Nagpur or Santhal Parganas in Subah Bihar. So far as Purnea is concerned, there is no difficulty whatever; for Purnea is one of the Sircars in the Subah of Bengal. (See Vol. II, page 198). It is clear that the river Kosi formed one of the boundaries between Bengal and Bihar.

So far as Chota Nagpur is concerned, it is said that it has been shown in *Ain-i-Akbari* as part of Sircar Bihar. So far as I know, this theory is based upon a passage in a learned paper contributed by Prof. Blochmann to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. As I shall have to refer to this paper constantly, I may say that this is to be found at page 111 of Volume 40 of the Journal. Professor Blochmann says at page 117:

> "Of Ramgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihar because Chai Champa, according to Ain, was a parganah belonging to Bihar."

It is significant to note that there is nothing in the Muhammadan historians to suggest that the hilly tracts of Ramgarh were subjugated by the Muhammadans. I do not myself find Chai Champa mentioned as one of the Mahals in the Sircar Bihar. I find, however, that Jaey Chempa is shown as a Mahal of Sircar Bihar. What ground is there for suggesting that Jaey Chempa is the same as Chai Champa of Hazaribagh District? I do not think that the reference is to Chai Champa of Hazaribagh for the following reasons:

(1). There is no record at all of the subjugation of Ramgarh by the Muhammadans at all. This is admitted by Prof. Blochmann.

(2). If Chota Nagpur was part of Subah of Bihar, the reference would not have been

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Chai Champa. I do not find Chai Champa even mentioned by name in Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI. On the other hand, Chota Nagpur was well-known to the Muhammadan historians as Jharkhand. The domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur were also well-known to the Muhammadans by the name of Kokrah. It is quite impossible to accept the theory that Chai Champa, even if mentioned as one of the Mahals of Sircar Bihar, means Chota Nagpur, since the Muhammadan historians knew Chota Nagpur as Jharkhand and the domains of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur as Kokrah.

(3). Chutia Nagpur was over-run by the general of Akbar for the first time in 1585. (See Prof. Blochmann's paper, page 130.) Raja Todar Mull's Settlement of Bihar was in 1582, so that it was quite impossible for Raja Todar Mull to include any part of modern Chota Nagpur as part of Subah of Bihar.

I contend, therefore, that so far as *Ain-i-Akbari* is concerned, there is no pretence whatever for supposing that the modern division of Chota Nagpur was treated as part of Bihar.

Here I must sound a note of warning. Chutia Nagpur as the Muhammadans knew it, must not be confused with the modern Chota Nagpur. This is made clear by Prof. Blochmann at page 112, where he points out as follows:

> "The Fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the E. I. Co. by Grant has still Chutea Nagpur. On Rennel's maps, we find 'Chuta Nagpur' and only in modern times, do we find 'Chota Nagpur,' as if it was 'Lesser Nagpur' in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near the modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Raja and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phani Mukuta, 'the serpent crowned,' the legendary ancestor of Chutia Nagvansi Rajas. Abul Fazl calls Chutia Nagpur by its old name Kokrah, which is still the name of one of its Parganahs. . . Kokrah was known at the Moghul Court for its diamonds and it is evidently this circumstance which led the generals of Akbar and Jehangir to invade the district."

It is necessary to remember this, because I have seen in responsible newspapers, the invasion by Akbar of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah being referred to as the invasion of Chota Nagpur. This is a pure delusion. The Muhammadan emperors had no charm for the hilly tracts of Chota Nagpur. They were attracted to Kokrah or Ranchi because of its diamond mines; and, as I shall presently show, there never was an occupation of Chutia Nagpur or Kokrah by the Moghul Emperors. Their invasion meant the taking away of the diamonds from the dominions of the Ruler of Kokrah. At the present moment, it is sufficient to say that Chutia Nagpur means Kokrah or the zamindary of the present Maharaja of Chota Nagpur and did not include either Ramgarh or the rest of the modern Chota Nagpur.

I think I am right in pointing out that Bihar, as Emperor Akbar knew it, did not include Chota Nagpur. The following passage on page 447 of Hunter's *Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. XVI, is of interest:

> "The hilly country now comprised in the Chutia Nagpur division remained independent both in name and in fact, during the Muhammadan period, until the Musalman Governors of Bengal and Bihar failed in their attempts to push their conquests farther to the east and therefore turned their arms towards the west and south. Their earliest inroads, however, were directed not against the frontier chiefdoms of Ramgarh and Palamau but against Kokrah or Chutia Nagpur proper, which was celebrated at the Moghul Court for the diamonds to be found in its rivers."

On page 450, it is pointed out that "natives of Bihar were considered foreigners in Chutia Nagpur." It is now said that the Biharis are the children of the Chota Nagpur soil.

It is to be remembered that Chota Nagpur properly belongs to the aboriginal tribes who have nothing whatever in common either with their neighbours of Bihar or with those of Bengal. Sir Hugh McPherson (as he afterwards became) points out as follows in his *Final Report on the Sruvey and Settlement Operations in the District of Santhal Parganas* on page 12:

> "The striking proportion of the aboriginal elements marks the district out at once as a place apart from its neighbours in Bihar and Bengal. It finds its counterpart in the more retired districts of Chota Nagpur, being more strongly aboriginal than the two nearest districts of that division, Manbhum and Hazaribagh, which connect it with the great plateau of Central India."

Mr. Grand in his celebrated *Historical and Comparative Analysis of the Finances of Bengal* refers to Chota Nagpur, namely Palamau and Chota Nagpur, as "foreign dependent Government." He says that these districts are inhabited by people "who are an original savage race differing extremely in appearance, religion, language and manners from the Hindus."

If Chota Nagpur had ever become annexed to Bihar, it could only have become so annexed by conquest, and it would be ridiculous to say that Biharis are children of the soil conquered by the Muhammadans and annexed to Bihar for purely administrative reasons.

I now propose to deal with the different districts of modern Chota Nagpur division. I will first begin with Manbhum. The name Manbhum is of course the creation of Regulation

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XIII of 1833. Pacheet was, however, familiar to the Muhammadan administrators. It is not mentioned in Todar Mull's Settlement at all; but Sircar Madarun is shown as the frontier Sircar of Subah Bengal. (See *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, page 179.) Jaffar Khan's Settlement of 1722 shows that Pacheet is in Bengal. As is well-known, Todar Mull's Settlement divided each Subah into different Sircars. But Jaffar Khan adopted a different plan; he divided each Subah into different Chucklehs. Chuckleh Burdwan was formed out of Sircars Sharifabad, Madarun, Peschush, the greater part of Salimabad with a portion of Satgong and included the rich zamindary of Burdwan and one-third of Birbhum and the whole of the tributary districts of Bishenpur and Pacheet. (See Firminger's Edition of Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 189.) At page 198, Pacheet is described as "the large and western zamindary of Bengal, bounded by Chutea Nagpur and Ramgur the southern districts dependent on the Subah of Bihar." Pacheet is throughout shown as part of Bengal (See pages 248 and 259, 2nd Vol. Fifth Report) and situated in Sircar Madarun, Chuckleh Burdwan. (See Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 398)

It is clear, I think, that Pacheet was part of Bengal in Muhammadan times.

In British times, there is no doubt whatever that Pacheet was part of the Dewanny lands inserted in the Settlement of Mohammad Reza Khan (See Appendix to the Minute of Mr. Shore dated 18th June, 1789, Fifth Report, Vol.. 2, page 128). It is to be noted that Mr. Shore, as he then was, was dealing purely with Bengal in his Minute dated 18th June, 1789. We then find that Pacheet was included within Birbhum. (See *District Gazetteer*, Manbhum, page 61.) This is distinctly acknowledged in Regulation XVIII of 1895 which brought into existence the jungle Mahals carved out of different districts. Section 2 of the Regulation provides as follows:

> "The districts called jungle Mahals constituted in zillas of Birbhum, Burdwan and Madarun shall be separated from the jurisdiction of the magistrates of these zillas and placed under the jurisdiction of a district officer to be denominated 'Magistrates of the Jungle Mahals'.

Section 3 shows that Pacheet was taken out of the zilla Birbhum. It is clear that upto 1833 Pacheet was in Bengal.

Regulation XIII of 1833 placed certain tracts of countries under an officer denominated Agent to the Governor-General. By this Regulation, the District of Jungle Mahals was broken up and the estates of Sainpaharee, Sheergarh and Bishenpur were transferred to Birbhum and a new District called Manbhum was constituted including, besides the present area of the district, the estates of Supur, Raipur, Ambika Nagar, Simla Pal, Bela Diha, Phul Khusma, Shamsunderpur and Dhalbhum. (See *District Gazetteer*, Manbhum, page 65). In 1838, the headquarters was removed to Purulia described then as "lying in the centre of the jungles." It follows that Manbhum was first created under Regulation XIII of 1833. It included not only Dhalbhum but also a large part of the present district of Bankura and Sheergarh now part of Burdwan. In 1845, Dhalbhum was transferred to Singhbhum. In 1871, Sheergarh with part of Pandra was transferred to Burdwan, and Chatna, etc., were transferred to Bankura. In 1879, Pargana Supur, Raipur, Ambika Nagar and certain other parganas were transferred to Bankura, thus reducing Manbhum to its present limit. By Act XX of 1854, the agency to the Governor-General was abolished and Chota Nagpur was formed and Manbhum became one of the districts of Chota Nagpur division.

I do not think that it can be doubted from the above recital of facts that Manbhum has from the earliest times been part of Bengal. It is said that Manbhum is part of Chota Nagpur. But this again is a delusion. It is a part of Chota Nagpur for administrative purpose by Act XX of 1854. Geographically, it is not part of Chota Nagpur. River Subarna Rekha forms the boundary between Manbhum and Chota Nagpur. The distinction is pointed out by Grant at page 399 and again at page 433, Fifth Report, 2nd Vol. He begins his analysis of the Finances of Bihar at page 432. He says that Subah of Bihar is naturally divided into nearly equal portions of territory, north and south of the river Ganges. So far as the northern part is concerned, he points out that the Subah of Bihar is bounded on the east by the District of Purnea in Bengal. The other division according to him extends to south of the Ganges, 60 miles to the range of hills, and is divided from Bengal, on the east by a branch of the southern hills which, curving to the north, forms at its extremity near the banks of the Ganges, the boundary pass of Terriagharry on the confines of the district of Raj Mahal. I shall have to refer to the pass of Terriagharry hereafter to show that this was the boundary between Bengal and Bihar. But apart from these two grand divisions, he says, there is a third division, an elongated adjoining region still farther to the south which forms a part of Subah of Bihar, and which includes the modern subdivisions of Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur bounded on the west by Subah of

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ahabad and on the south by Orissa and on east by Bengal.

I shall have to deal with Mr. Grant's point t Palamau, Ramgarh and Chutia Nagpur m parts of the Subah of Bihar; but it has e pointed out at once that Chutia Nagpur ot the modern division of Chota Nagpur, as ave already shown. He is clearly referring to modern district of Ranchi which was iently known as Kokrah, famous for its ond mines. The most important point in statement is that Manbhum is not only not n as part of Bihar, but is distinctly shown part of Bengal. Mr. Grant has throughout n Pacheet as in Bengal, and, in this sage, he says that Bengal is to the east of Highland district of Palamau, Ramgarh and tia Nagpur. We know that Manbhum is e east of Ranchi district.

At page 390, dealing with Pacheet, after ing out that it is situated in Sircar Mada- Chuckleh of Burdwan, he says as follows:

"In the gross medium settlement of 1184, Raja nath Narain, the actual payment of Pacheet with recent territorial annexation of Jilda stands rated for 69,027 rupees exclusive of the rental of rganty, Bellaghaut, comprehending the whole or of the hilly districts of Ramgur, Nagpour etc., being ch of Bihar, and therefore properly belonging to Subah."

Here again Mr. Grant is drawing a line een Pacheet on the one hand and Ramgarh, re (another name for the domains of the araja of Chota Nagpur) etc. on the other According to him, it is clear that Pacheet part of Bengal, whereas Palamau, Ramgarh Chutia Nagpur are parts of Bihar. There warrant for the suggestion that Manbhum at any time been part of Chota Nagpur. As tter of fact, there is no geographical entity n as Chota Nagpur before the Act XX of As I have already pointed out, Chutia pur means the domains of the present araja of Chutia Nagpur.

I can find no evidence whatever that any of Manbhum was at any time part of Bihar. ence is conclusive that from the time we Pacheet at all mentioned, it has always been rded as part of Bengal. The census of 1931 s that out of a total population of 18,10,890 Manbhum, no less than 12,22,689 are alees. Yet a Bengalee living in Manbhum eated as an alien in Manbhum, whereas a ri is regarded as a child of the Manbhum It is significant to point out that the eet Raj family is governed by the Bengal ol of Hindu Law. (See I.L.R. 4, Cal. page and 42, C.L.J. at 402.)

As against the mass of evidence to which I have referred, there is in *Padishanamah*, the following passage:

"Bir Narayan the zamindar of Pacheet, a country attached to Subah of Bihar, was under Shah Jehan a commander of 700,300 horses and died in the 6th year (A.D. 1632-33)."

I have however shown that in *Ain-i-Akbari*, Pacheet has nowhere been shown as in Subah of Bihar whereas in all the subsequent Settlements, it has distinctly been shown as in Sircar Madarun, Subah of Bengal. As I have already pointed out, Chutia Nagpur, properly means the domains of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, which is in Ranchi district. This is pointed out in all District Gazetteers that I have been able to consult. For instance, we read in the *District Gazetteer* of Manbhum at page 53 that "Akbar about 1585 sent a force to subdue the Raja of Kokrah or Chutia Nagpur *proper* a country celebrated for its diamonds". In the *District Gazetteer* of Ranchi at page 59, speaking of the dialects spoken in Ranchi district, it is said that "the dialect is generally known as Nagpuria, or the language of the Chota Nagpur *proper*. In the Statistical Account of Bengal, dealing with Lohardaga, Vol. XVI, pages 362, it is pointed out that

"with the exception of a few villages belonging to the Ramgarh estate, the revenue payable is paid in Hazaribagh. The only estate in Chutia Nagpur *proper* paying revenue direct to Government is that of the Maharaja of Chutia Nagpur."

In Palamau District Gazetteer, at page 35 in dealing with the proposal to constitute Palamau as a separate district in order to secure greater efficiency of administration, the learned author points out

"that the people taken as a whole were as different from the inhabitants of the remainder of the district as the latter from the neighbour on the east and that the land tenures were as different from those in Chota Nagpur *proper* as the latter were from those in Lower Bengal."

It is clear that Chota Nagpur takes its name from Chutia Nagpur, which was anciently known as Kokrah.

Now coming to Chota Nagpur proper, that is the modern Ranchi district, the land of the Munda and Oraon races, I have already shown by reference to the paper contributing by Prof. Blochmann to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, page 111, that Chutia Nagpur means the domains of the Maharaja of Chota Nagpur. Mr. Grant uses the name Kokrah as equivalent to Chutia Nagpur. Neither historically nor geographically nor ethnically is Ranchi a part of Bihar. This, I do not think, will be denied.

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It will, however, be contended that Kokrah was conquered by the Muhammadans and was annexed to the Subah of Bihar. Assuming that the contention is correct, Ranchi soil nevertheless remains Ranchi soil. Let me take an illustration. If China is conquered by Japan today and is administratively made a part of Japan, can it be suggested for a single moment that the Japanese are the children of the Chinese soil? I do not think that anyone will answer the question in the affirmative. Let me consider, however, how far it is correct to say that Kokrah was conquered by the Muhammadans and made part of the Bihar Subah?

I turn again to Prof. Blochmann's paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, which so far as I can see is the basis of the different accounts we get in the different Gazetteers. We find that in 1585 Shahbaz Khan Kambu sent a detachment to Kokrah which was famous for its diamonds and his men carried off much plunder. The Raja became a tributary. This is hardly a conuqest. It was pure plunder and nothing more. We then find that in 1616 Ibrahim Khan, the Governor of Bihar, overran Kokrah and took possession of its diamond washings. The quotation is from *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri* and it is said, "this district belongs to Subah Bihar and the river which flows through it yields diamonds." The Governors of Bihar sent frequently detachment into Kokrah but as the roads were fortified and the jungles impenetrable, the Muhammadans were satisfied with a tribute of "two or three diamonds." The exploits of Ibrahim Khan are then given in greater detail. It is said that Ibrahim Khan was preparing to invade Kokrah, and according to custom, the Raja sent a few diamonds, but Ibrahim was dissatisfied and invaded the district before the Raja could collect his men. Ibrahim deprived the Raja of the diamonds in his possession and also captured 23 elephants. Jehangir then says as follows: "The district is now subject to me and the diamonds found in the river are forwarded to Court." From another account in the possession of Col. Dalton and which is quoted in Prof. Blochmann's paper, it appears that Durjan Sal, who was then the ruler of Kokrah, was captured and taken a prisoner; but twelve years later, he secured his release, owing, it is said, to his ability in testing the diamonds and agreeing to pay an annual tribute of 6000. The possession of Kokrah was made over to the Raja and he was restored to his former rank including the right to sit on a chair in the presence of the Emperor. This is all that we get of the conquest and annexation of Kokrah to Subah of B We read in the District Gazetteer of Ran page 134 that "the subjection" of Kokra the Moghuls was at first *purely nominal. Moghuls exacted no yearly tribute and content with occassional raids into the co and carrying off as tribute a few diamonds were found at the time in the Sankh ri* After referring to the exploits of Ibrahim reign of Emperor Jehangir, the learned says:

> "Even after this, the Mahommedans exercis little control over the internal affairs of the distr were content if they received a portion of the s tribute."

In my opinion, it is quite impossible t on the narrative which I have just given Kokrah was annexed to Subah of Bihar. It be remembered that there was no occupati Kokrah by the Moghuls but they merely im a tribute just as the British Government im tributes upon the feudatory states in Indi fact there was great doubt at one time whether the position of the Maharaja of Nagpur was not that of a feudatory Chief. is dealt with at page 188 of the Gazetteer. claim was based on a Resolution of 1789 exempted the District from the Regulation also on the fact that in the early days British administration, the Raja was gi free hand in the internal affairs of the d the only interference being by the desp small detachments to secure the arrest criminal or to assist the Chief in realiz dues from his subordinate tenure holders. question was finally disposed of by the of the Government issued in 1824 in w was held that the District had olny exempted from the Land Revenue Regul and that the General Regulations appl Chota Nagpur in the same way as to other of the Province.

There is no evidence at all that K was made an administrative Mahal of Sub Bihar. Indeed from the admitted histo could not have been so made. Admittedl Moghuls did not occupy Kokrah nor did interfere in the internal administration. were at first satisfied with "a diamond or and later imposed a tribute and they wholly satisfied if they could exact a por the tribute. I do not think that it is p to argue that Kokrah ever became a p Bihar so as to give the children of Bih right to claim Kokrah soil as Bihar soil.

But at the same time, it has to be a that the tribute was payable to the G

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Bihar and that, in this sense, it was pendent on the Subah of Bihar". I have dy said that Mr. Grant regarded Palamau, garh and Chutia Nagpur as parts of Subah Bihar; but it is clear that he regarded them parts of Bihar in the sense that they were tary States and that the tributes were pay- to the Governor of Bihar. They are through- referred to as "foreign dependencies." For ance at page 198 (Fifth Report Vol. 2), he ribes Chutia Nagpur and Ramgarh as pendent on the Subah of Bihar." At page he describes the hilly districts as "being Kokerah of Bihar and *therefore* properly ging to that Subah." He clearly used the "Kokerah" as implying a foreign depen- y. The word "therefore" is significant. fact, according to him, is that it is a depen- of Bihar. He draws the inference that perly belongs to that Subah. At page 433, scribes it as "a foreign dependent Govern- t." The position is clear beyond doubt. Chutia Nagpur and, as I shall presently Palamau had to pay tribute to the Gover- of Bihar; but the Governor had nothing to with the internal adminsitration, which ughout was in the hands of the local chief. is the fact. If from this, it is legitimate er that the soil of Chutia Nagpur and mau became Bihar soil, then the inference be made. But I do not think that it is ble to draw this inference.

I now come to Ramgarh. We read in the contributed by Prof. Blochmann at page that

"Of Ramgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in mmadan historians. It must have been at an early dependent on Bihar, because Chai Champa, ding to Ain, was a parganah belonging to Bihar."

I have dealt with the argument of as to Champa and I do not think that it can be that the reference is to Chai Champa, as not even mentioned in Vol. XVI of the *tical Account of Bengal*. But it is most ficant that there is no record that Ramgarh ever conquered by the Moghuls and annexed Bihar. If there is any such reference, I should to hear of it. In my opinion, Ramgarh d at no time attract the Moghuls for the on they never made any attempt to subju- these hilly tracts. It is pointed out by Sir h McPherson in his *Final Report on the ey and Settlement in the Santhal Parganas* the Moghuls made no impression on the country. Kokrah attracted their notice use of the diamonds it possessed, but Hazari- h possessed no diamonds and coal was not thought of at that time. At any rate, if there was any attempt made by the Moghuls to subjugate Ramgarh and to annex it to Bihar, there must be records of it somewhere. If Prof. Blochmann is right that there is no record at all of any such subjugation, then I think, it must follow that Ramgarh retained its independence and was saved by reason of the fact that it was situated in a hilly and somewhat inaccessible part of the country.

We get a clue as to the true position from the manner in which Hazaribagh was dealt with directly after the Dewanny. We read in Vol. XVI of the *Statistical Account of Bengal* that in 1755 Mukund Singh was the Raja of Ramgarh and the recognised chief of the country (See page 18). His relative Tej Singh had the control of the rural levies which made up the local army. If this be a correct account, then it is hardly possible that Ramgarh was administratively a Mahal of Bihar in 1755. We read at page 18 that in 1771, Tej Singh "turned a traitor" and asserted his claim before Capt. Camac. Traitor to whom? If Ramgarh was a Mahal of Bihar and was transferred to the E. I. Co., by the Dewanny, then there was no question of treachery to Mukund Singh. The narrative proceeds to say that Tej Singh returned with a force under Lt. Goddard. Mukund Singh fled and Ramgarh was made over to Tej Singh for a tribute of 40,000 a year. This is the first time that we hear of the subjugation of Ramgarh in history. I think it is clear that Capt. Camac took advantage of the feud between the two cousins and succeeded in imposing his authority in Ramgarh. In Mr. Shore's celebrated Minute dated 18th June, 1789, respecting the Permanent Settlement of the land in Bengal Province, Ramgarh is treated as part of Bengal (See Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 92, paragraph 428). Ramgarh could hardly have been dealt with as part of Bengal if prior to Dewanny of 1765, it was part of Subah Bihar. Then there is a celebrated Regulation dated 23rd November, 1773, only a few years after the date of the Dewanny. This Regulation is of the utmost importance in determining what was regarded as part of Bengal and what was regarded as part of Bihar. By these Regulations, the Provinces were formed into certain grand divisions. The first grand division was to be managed at Calcutta. We are not concerned with it. The second grand division was to be managed at Burdwan and was to consist of, amongst others, Pacheet, Ramgarh, etc., the districts under the management of Capt. Camac. We know that Capt. Camac had much to do with the subjuga-

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tion of Ramgarh. In my opinion, this important State paper is conclusive upon the question that Pacheet and Ramgarh were both regarded as part of Subah of Bengal directly after the Dewanny. I do not for a moment contend that this shows that Ramgarh was part of Bengal. It cannot be part of Bengal because obviously it was conquered by Capt. Camac in or about 1771 and was annexed to Bengal purely for purposes of administration. I proceed with the Regulation. The sixth grand division under these Regulations was to be superintended by the present Chief and Council at Patna and to consist of the whole Province of Bihar with the exception of the separated districts as above mentioned. This is important. The fourth grand division contained amongst others Bhagalpur "including the annexations lately made to the latter from Monghyr." It is quite clear that the famous Regulation of 23rd November, 1773 considered that all the territories mentioned in the grand divisions first, second, third, fourth and fifth, appertained to Bengal except "the annexation made to Bhagalpur from Monghyr", which was part of Bihar although it was administered from Murshidabad. I must not be misunderstood. I am not for a moment suggesting that all the different districts shown as part of Bengal are in fact Bengal soil. That is not my point. It is obvious that the territory conquered and annexed to Bengal merely for the purpose of administration cannot be regarded as Bengal soil. But I rely upon it for the purpose of showing that neither Pacheet nor Ramgarh could properly be regarded as part of Bihar. This is, in my opinion, conclusive on the Regulation of the 23rd November, 1773, which will be found at page 200 of Colebrooke's Supplement. To sum up the position as to Ramgarh:—

(1). There is no record anywhere that Ramgarh was at any time conquered by the Moghuls and annexed to Bihar.

(2). On the other hand, we know that in 1755, Mukund Singh was the Raja of Ramgarh and the recognised chief of the country.

(3). We know that Capt. Camac took advantage of the quarrels between the two cousins and succeeded in imposing his authority upon Ramgarh.

(4). We know that directly after the Dewanny, Ramgarh was treated administratively as part of Bengal.

This is important. It could not have been so treated if it were part of Bihar.

I now come to Palamau. Sheista Khan marched upon Palamau in 1641-1642. Partab, the Ruler, submitted. He offered to pa tribute of 80,000 rupees. Sheista Khan ac ed it and returned to Patna on the 12th Fe ary, 1642. In 1643, the tribute not ha been paid, Zabardast Khan attacked Pala It is quite clear that up to 1643 notwithst ign two invasions, the Muhammadans exacted nothing but promises from the R This will appear from Col. Dalton's note a ed to the paper submitted by Prof. Bloch (See Vol. 40 of the *Journal of the A Society of Bengal*, page 31.) The third sion in 1660 by Daud Khan, the Govern Bihar, was more complete. Daud Khan Palamau in charge of a Muhammadan F dar. The latter was removed in 1666 Palamau was placed under the direct co of the Viceroy of Bihar. The Muhamm influence did not last long having regar the inaccessible nature of the country. Muhammadans treated the country as a and did not interfere so long as the tribute paid. To the south, the Chero Chiefs ret their independence, the north-west was trolled by the Muhammadan nobles *District Gazetteer*, Palamau, p. 24). The an interesting passage quoted from Sa *Mutakharin* in the Palamau Gazetteer at p Nawab Hedayat Ali Khan, the father of author of *Sair-ul-Mutakharin*, was at one Deputy Governor of Bihar. The Nawab u took in 1740 to subdue the chieftains o hilly country. The quotation is as follows

"As he sought to raise his character and to a a renown, the Raja of Ramgarh became, of cours object of his attention. This Raja was the most p Gentoo zamindar of the hills and so considerab warlike, that *the Viceroys of the Province had any control over him.* He was joined in that des Raja Sundar Singh and Raja Jai Kishun Ra zamindars of the Palamau country as well as by some zamindars of Siris, Kutumba, Shergati. Suppor such a confederacy, he laid siege to the form Ramgarh and at last took it, after which he ad some journeys more into the hilly country, and settled it, he was taking some rest from the f of that expedition, when on a sudden intelligence brought by some trusty persons that Raghuji P Pandit had sent his own Pradhan at the head of horse to conquer Bengal, and that in a few days would pass close to him through the hills on the to that country. He held consultations with his as the forces he had with him were by no means to the task of barring the passage to such in They all adivsed him to quit the hilly country. accordingly descended and encamped at the foot chain."

From this, it is quite clear that Ra had never been subjugated by the M madan and they treated Palamau as a The tribute was paid to the Governor of

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nd if from this, it can be argued that Palamau ecame a part of Bihar, then the argument ust prevail. I do not myself take that view. alamau soil remained Palamau soil. It had s own chiefs who were virtually independent long as they paid the tribute to the Muhamdan Governor of Bihar. The position of alamau with reference to Bihar Government ffered in no respect from the position of the udatory chiefs in India to-day with referce to the Government of India.

At the date of the Dewanny, Palamau was ctically independent. We read in the Dist Gazetteer of Palamau at page 26 that for ng time, the country had been in a state of urbance owing to the struggles between rival factions for the chiefdom. In 1722, a ellion broke out in which the ruling Chief ajit Rai was murdered and his place taken Jai Kishun Rai. A few years afterwards Kishun was shot in a skirmish with some of ajit Rai's relatives. Jai Kishun's family to Gaya district and took refuge with one want Ram, but in 1770, he took Gopal Rai, grandson of the murdered Raja, to Patna presented him to Capt. Camac as the ful heir to the Palamau Raj. Capt. Camac nised the assistance of the British Governt and it happened that about the same Jiunath Singh, Dewan under Chatrajit had declared before Mr. Bellam at ngabad that the Raja of Palamau would er become a vassal of the British nor grant bles to any British troops that might pass ugh the country. This declaration reaching t. Camac's ears, considerably hastened tters, and shortly afterwards, the British e appeared before Palamau forts. Palas formally taken possession of as a tish Province in 1772.

My reading of the history of Palamau is s: it remained independent until 1772, ough it had been conquered three times by Muhammadans. It no doubt came under sphere of influence of the Governor of Bihar. ever became annexed to Bihar. The utmost t can be said is that it was a tributary state Bihar.

I now come to the position of Santhal ganas. Santhal Praganas, as a district, e into existence in 1855, as a result of Act XVII of 1855. It was carved out of Bhagal- and Birbhum districts.

Rennel's map of jungle terry of 1779 shows t the jungle terry district of 1772-79 as inistered by Capt. Brooke and Brown inded almost every portion of the present Santhal Parganas and in addition a considerable tract to the west and north-west. Sir Hugh McPherson in his Settlement Report at page 12 says:

> "The striking proportion of the aboriginal elements marks the district out at once as a place apart from its neighbours in Bihar and Bengal."

In Santhal Parganas, we find a historical boundary between Bengal and Bihar, Telliagarhi, 7 miles east of Sahibganj (See District Gazetteer, Santhal Parganas, page 284). Maulavi Abdus Salam points out in his translation of *Riyaz-us-Salatin* that the passes of Teliagadhi Sakrigali were considered the 'key' to Bengal (See page 139, foot note). In *Aini-i-Akbari*, Vol. 2, page 28, we read that "in Sircar Monghyr, is a raised stone wall extending from the Ganges to the mountains and this wall is considered to be the boundary between Bengal and Bihar." There is reason to suppose that this wall referred to in *Ain-i-Akbari* is the pass of Teliagadhi. In the Fifth Report, Vol. 2, page 373, we read that

> "Raj Mahal was an important military Government, on the confines of Bengal towards Bihar commanding some of the mountainous passes into either country, particularly the famous barrier Terriagully, the possession of which was deemed of so much consequence in times of the hostile independence of the two neighbouring Subahs."

Raj Mahal as we know was the capital of Bengal for some years up to 1606 and it again became capital of Bengal when Shah Sujah became Governor of Bengal in 1637. In every financial statement that we get in the Fifth Report, Raj Mahal is shown as part of Bengal; and it could hardly be otherwise, because we know that Raj Mahal was for many years the capital of Bengal. The Rugulation of 23rd November, 1773, to which I have already drawn attention is almost conclusive upon this point. We have in this important State document a complete definition of what was Bengal and what was Bihar. As I have already said, the Provinces of Bengal and Bihar were formed into grand divisions. The first grand division was to be managed at Calcutta. We are not concerned with this. The second grand division was to be managed at Burdwan and was to consist of, amongst others, Pacheet and Ramgarh districts under the management of Capt. Camac. The third grand division was to be managed at Murshidabad and was to consist amongst others of Raj Mahal and Bhagalpur including the annexations lately made to the latter from Monghyr and Jungle Terry districts under the management of Capt. Brooke. The fourth grand division was to be

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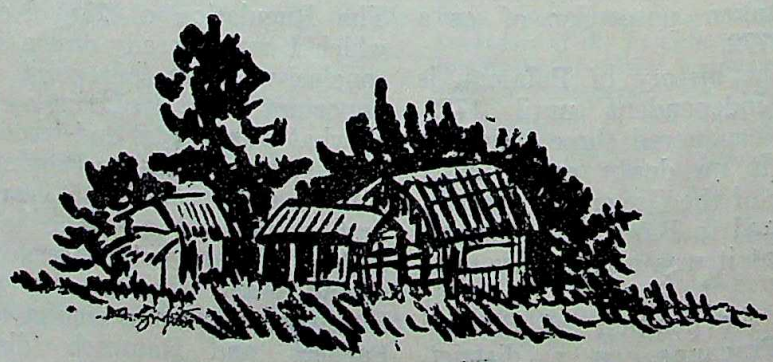
managed at Dinajpur and was to consist of amongst others Purnea. The fifth grand division was to be managed at Dacca and we are not concerned with this. The sixth grand division was to be superintended by the present Chief and Council at Patna, and was to consist of the whole Province of Bihar except the separated districts of Monghyr as above mentioned.

My point is this. We have here a complete definition of the Province of Bihar which included all the territories except those mentioned in the grand divisions number one to five; but it included the separated districts of Monghyr, etc., although for administrative reasons, they were to be managed at Murshidabad. It is clear that Bengal included Pacheet, Ramgarh, Raj Mahal, Jungle Terry districts under the management of Capt. Brooke, and Purnea. Sir Hugh McPherson's Settlement report at page 9 tells us that the jungle terry districts included almost every portion of the present Santhal Parganas and in addition a considerable tract to the west and north-west. Sir Hugh McPherson points out that Rennel's map of Jungle Terry prepared within a few years of the assumption of the Dewanny is a most valuable index to the condition of the country in the first years of the British administration. I ask with all humility, how can Santhal Parganas be regarded as Bihar soil?

It is unnecessary for me to pursue the point, but I respectfully ask anyone interested in the question to peruse Sir Hugh McPherson's Report. He points out that the south of Raj Mahal was the division of Kalikapur, which coincides more or less with the present sub-division of Pakur and that the northern portion of Kalikapur coincide with Pargana Ambar and that the south with Pargana of Sultanabad and that Ambar and Sultanabad formed part of the zamindari division of Rajshahi (See page 25).

He also points out that southern and south-western portion of the district formed part of the zamindary of Birbhum which was included in Sircar Madarun, which as we know, was a Sircar in Subah Bengal. Sir Hugh sums up the whole position in these words at page 24: "the district as we know it, five-sixths appertained to the Subah of Bengal", and yet the whole of this territory is considered to be Bihar soil to which Biharis have a natural right.

From a reference to the different authorities to which I have referred, we can draw the historical boundary between Bengal and Bihar. In the north, River Kosi was the boundary, Purnea belonging to Bengal. Lower down, Teliagarhi pass was the boundary, and five-sixths of the modern Santhal Parganas was within Bengal including the important places like Raj Mahal, Pakur, Dumka and Deoghur; and lastly river Subarna Rekha was the boundary between Bengal and Chutia Nagpur. My conclusions are that Purnea, five-sixth of modern Santhal Parganas, and the whole of Manbhum were parts of Bengal, and that the rest of the modern division of Chota Nagpur and one-sixth of modern Santhal Parganas did not belong either to Bengal or to Bihar.



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RAJA PRAFULLA NATH TAGORE

By KHAGENDRA NATH CHATTERJEE

By the untimely death on July 3, 1938, of Raja Prafulla Nath Tagore at his garden house at Alumbazar on the banks of the river Hugli, Bengal lost a noble-hearted gentleman and the landed aristocracy, one of their able spokesmen. Though a supporter of the Revenue Indemnity Pact of Lord Cornwallis, he was a staunch champion of agrarian interests. From his youth he displayed a sobriety of temper and character for which his great grandfather, Babu Gopal Lal Tagore, had been reputed. His patient and heroic energy enabled him to come out of many entaglements unscathed. He was remarkable for his social virtues and outstanding gentlemanly qualities. Obstacles and calamities could not discourage him. His speech and act were always marked by a force and determination of purpose coupled with transparent sincerity and cogent reasoning coming out of a sympathetic heart.

The Tagores have always bestowed their bounties with that princely hand which well becomes their great historical house "with a pedigree to which that of the Bourbons is modern" (*Vide* London *Spectator*, "Hindu Civilians and their Value") and have contributed largely to the cultural advancement of the race since the advent of the British in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the establishment of the Hindu College in 1817. The latest addition to the list of the illustrious Tagores renowned for their enlightenment, refined manners and polished action, who have done so much by their personal efforts to bridge the gulf between a subject people on the one hand and the administrative authorities of the land reluctant to part with prestige or power on the other, was Raja Prafulla Nath. He was born on November 10, 1887 at 9, Durpanarayan Tagore Street, Pathuriaghatta in Sutanutty, Calcutta. This was the original homestead of the Tagores built by Babus Durponarayan and his elder brother Nilmoni close upon the recapture of Calcutta in 1757. Babu Cally Kissen was the only grandson of Babu Mohini Mohun (the seventh and youngest son of Babu Durponarayan) who laid the foundation of the territorial estates, of which the Raja was the sole proprietor, on or about the year 1812 by purchase of Zemindary Pergunah Edilpur in the district of Backergunje. Since then the management of large estates have become, so to say, a hereditary talent with the Tagores.

The Raja was an able administrator. He was bold enough to tell his brother zemindars that they must in view of altered times make common cause with their tenants, bidding goodbye to feudal landlordism. He acted as Secretary of the British Indian Association in 1929 with late Babu Surendra Nath Law as his colleague in office, and occupied the Presidential chair in 1932, 1933 and 1934. He was twice elected Chariman of the Recepiton Committee of the All-Bengal Landholders' Conference held at the Calcutta residence of the Maharaja of Durbhanga in 1933 and in the Town Hall of Calcutta in 1934, respectively.

From his youth he was a generous patron of arts, literature and the sports of his province. He had a discerning eye for good pictures and he took equal delight in *kirtan* recitals and demonstrations of stringed instruments.

The title of Raja, conferred on him, received the royal imprimatur at the hands of Lord Willingdon. He was appointed Sheriff of Calcutta in 1930 and soon after was made the District Commissioner of the Boy Scouts of Calcutta. His overt acts for medical relief and for promotion of agriculture at Barisal together with his munificence extended to the Carmichael Medical College and the Calcutta Club for promotion of healthy life and better understanding between the children of the soil and foreigners sojourning in this land, are thrown into the shade by his multiple and varied covert acts of charity both public and private, quite in accordance with the tradition of his ancestors especially the renowned Cally Kissen.

Any casual visitor to the beautiful suburban villa at Alumbazar or to his town residence in Calcutta would have been struck by the display of specimens of Indian art and Indian workmanship bearing evidence of his subtle aesthetic taste as also of his interest in things of historic value. He has left behind

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him, to mourn his loss along with others, the widowed Rani, his five sons, three married daughters and several grandchildren, to all whom we extend our condolences.

Raja Prafulla Nath Tagore

Statue of the Maharajah of Cochin
By D. P. Roy Chowdhury

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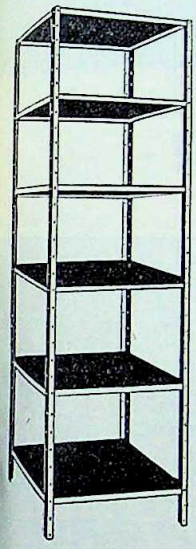

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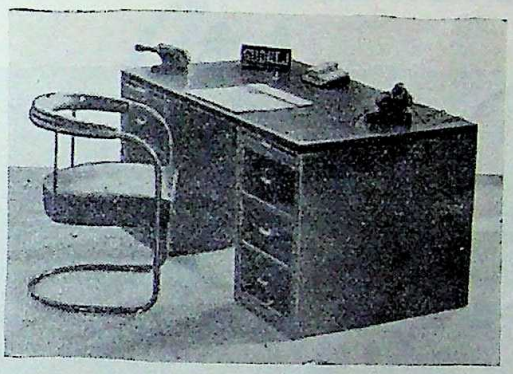

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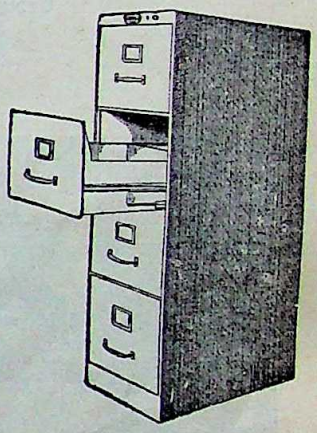

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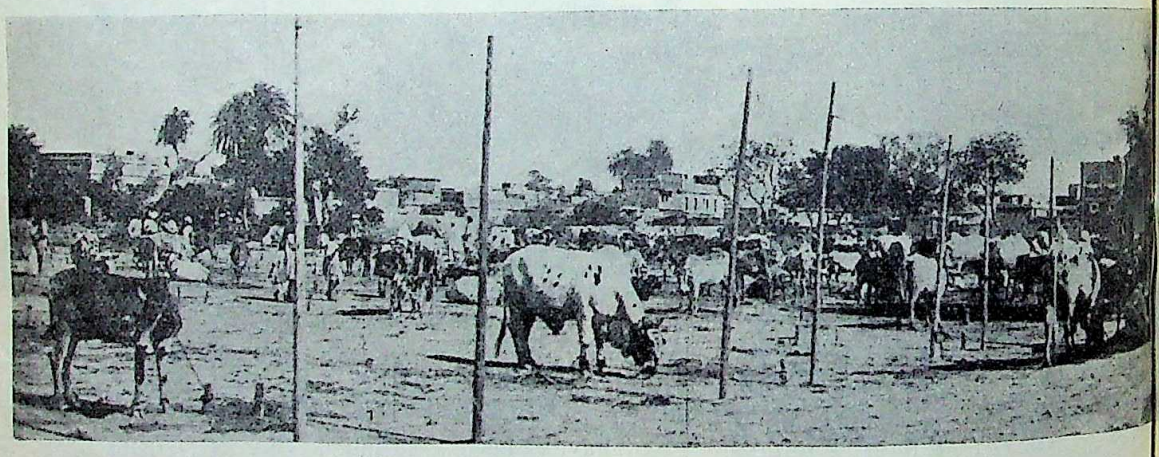
Group tent pegging at the Agricultural Show at Dehra Ismail Khan



General view of the Agricultural Show at Dehra Ismail Khan, held on April last

Stud bulls and cows at the Show

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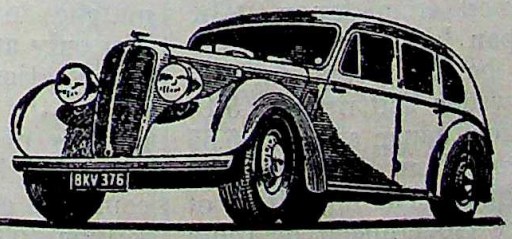

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THE TRAGEDY OF THE INDIAN MATCH INDUSTRY

By X

The match box—a very common article of necessity in our modern life—will after some time be supplied to the people in India entirely by foreign concerns. Perhaps, the statement sounds surprising but if the course of events in the Indian Match Industry is examined a little more carefully, the truth of the remark will be evident.

It was in March 1922 that the Government of India increased the revenue duty on imported matches to Rs. 1-8 per gross. The duty amounted to 100 to 200 per cent *ad valorem* and Indian industrialists were quick to perceive the advantage it held out if an indigenous match industry was started in India. Machinery was soon imported and genuine match factories began to work at various centres in the country. Since pre-war days, however, the large Indian market for matches was supplied by Japan, Sweden and various other European countries. In 1912-13 out of the total imports of 15.12 millions gross of boxes in India, about half *i. e.*, 7.29 millions were supplied by Japan. In the years of war, imports from European countries practically ceased and Japan consolidated her position in the Indian market by claiming 10.74 millions out of the total Indian imports of 11.11 millions in 1918-19. Sweden, however, could not afford the loss of the Indian market and the several Swedish Companies which combined and formed the Swedish Match Company in 1917 soon prepared for the grim struggle to recapture the Indian market from Japan. The year 1923-24 found Japan losing much of the ground covered during the war years, for imports into India from Sweden had risen to 5.15 millions whereas those from Japan stood at 5.55 millions gross—the proportion of both the countries being nearly equal. The imposition of the revenue duty by the Government of India in 1921 and its increase to Rs. 1-8 in 1922 gave a fillip, as observed above, to the Indian Match Industry which came as a powerful rival both to Japan and Sweden. But it was not long before Sweden found out the way, usually followed by manufacturing countries, of circumventing the protective duty by establishing factories within the tariff wall. Between 1924 and 1926 six factories were started at various places in India by the Swedish Match Compa In 1926-27, the total market secured by Swe by way of imports was about 50% while ports from Japan were reduced to about 6% the Indian demand. The 44% of the dem lost by Japan was supplied by the factories the Swedish Match Company in India and the Indian Match Manufacturers, who had recently entered the field. It will be evi that the Indian Match Manufacturers had the fore, now to face competition principally in the Swedish Match Company.

The name of Ivar Kreuger needs no introduction. It was through his efforts that two the largest and the oldest of the match facto in Sweden known as the Jongkoping Comp and the Vulcan Match Works formed a com nation and absorbed also five more conce Eleven other companies formed a second com nation called the United Swedish Match Fac ries. In 1917 when Sweden had lost much of foreign trade, the two combinations united u the name of the Swedish Match Company Ivar Kreuger as its Chairman. It will interesting to form an idea of the huge resou and the political influence, this company wield. In 1927, the capital of the Comp stood at £15,000,000. The Swedish Match C pany with its subsidiary company—the In national Match Corporation, incorporated U. S. A., have acquired a dominant control the capital invested in the manufacture matches in more than 30 countries of the wo Not only are some of the most powerful Ban organisations in London and New York inter ed in the Swedish Match Company and number of subsidiary companies brought existence by it, but Governments of var countries also take loans from them. About million dollars have been advanced to the Fre Government at 5% by the Swedish Match C pany and in the balance sheet of the In national Match Corporation for 1926, it shown that advances to various other Gov ments amounted to about 22½ million dol It is no wonder, therefore, that the Comp enjoys a number of privileges, concession monopolies throughout the world. It is estim that about 70% of the total w

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S. S. "Jalamoban"		8300
S. S. "Jalaputra"		8150
S. S. "Jalakrishna"		8050
S. S. "Jaladuta"		8050
S. S. "Jalaveera"		8050
S. S. "Jalaganga"		8050
S. S. "Jalayamuna"		8050
S. S. "Jalapalaka"		8050
S. S. "Jalajyoti"		7400
S. S. "Jalavijaya"		7150
S. S. "Jalarashmi"		7100
S. S. "Jalaratna"		7100
S. S. "Jalapadma"		6500
S. S. "Jalamani"		6500
S. S. "Jalabala"		6500
S. S. "Jalatarang"		6000
S. S. "Jaladurga"		4300
S. S. "El Hind"	Gross	4000
S. S. "El Madina"	Gross	5000
Regular Passenger Service between Rangoon and Coromandel Coast.	Gross	4000

Regular cargo services maintained between the Coast Ports of India, Burma & Ceylon.

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CALCUTTA MANAGER, 100, Clive St., CALCUTTA.

34—19

PROSPERITY OF NATIONS - - - - - - DEPENDS ON BANKING.

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OFFERS Endowment and Whole Life Insurance for the benefit of Home Savings Depositors.

SPECIAL FEATURES: HOME SAVINGS BOOK BANKS, 5 & 10 TOLLA GOLD BARS, 3 YEARS CASH CERTIFICATES, TRAVELLERS CHEQUES ISSUED ALL OVER INDIA, etc.

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Barabazar Branch. 71, Cross Street.

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CAPITAL
Subs : Rs. 3,36,00,000.
Paid-up Rs. 1,68,00,000.
Reserve Rs. 75,00,000.

New Market Branch. 10, Lindsay Street.

Shambazar Branch. 133, Cornwallis Street.

Branches also at Dacca, Narayanganj, Jalpaiguri, Jamshedpur and Muzaffarpore.

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demand has been supplied by the Swedish Match Company. In more than 25 countries, the Company has either a complete monopoly granted by the Government or a virtual monopoly acquired in different ways. It may be mentioned here that the Western India Match Co., and its allied concerns wokring in India are the subsidiary companies of the Swedish Match Company.

The Indian Match Manufacturers had therefore now to contend against these Swedish concerns and one Japanese concern established in India called the Calcutta Match Works Ltd. With their vast resources and experience of over 80 years, the competition from these concerns which the Indian Manufacturers have had to face is decidedly formidable. The Swedish Company claims that it has a moral right to extend its opeartions in the Indian market. The late Mr. Ivar Kreuger in his memorandum regarding the match trade in India said :

"For half a century the Swedish Match Industry has had a firmly established trade in India. Under such conditions it seems that the Swedish Match Company has a strong moral claim to participate in the Indian Match trade and the efforts made by the Swedish Match Company to maintain or strengthen its position in India ought not to be regarded as unjustified or aggressive."

The measures adopted by the foreign companies in India, however, appear to be directed more towards killing the Indian Industry than towards a fair participation in the Indian market. It was as far back as 1935 that Indian commercial bodies drew the attention of the Government of India to the unfair competition and the price-war waged by the foreign match concerns in India. The undercutting of prices has been such as would leave no margin of profit to the Indian Manufacturers. Match boxes containing sixty sticks have been sold at Rs. 2/1/ per gross and if the Excise Duty of Re. 1/8/- per gross paid to the Government of India under the Act of 1934 is deducted, it can be seen how the sale price has been reduced to the lowest margin. Both the Western India Match Co., and the Calcutta Match Works have undercut the prices so much that the Indian Factories have found the competition practically ruinous. Moreover, several rebates and discounts are offered by these concerns to the dealers and vendors of matches, if they undertake not to sell matches manufactured by any other factory. Such rate or discount is generally paid at the end of the year. Moreover, when a further reduction in price is effected, the same is calculated on the stock already sold and at times such a refund is g to the dealer only if he undertakes to buy cases. This procedure induces the match d to confine his orders only to these concerns needs hardly be added that only on accou their vast resources the foreign concerns afford to give so many concessions. It wi interesting to note here that in a recent cir issued by the Western India Match Co., prizes are offered to the match dealers. instance any person who buys 25 gross o 'sea fisher' matches—one of the labels o Company—is deemed to have secured point and is awarded a silk *chaddar*. Sim a person buying 500 gross *i. e.*, 10 cases be entitled to 13 *chaddars*. Moreover, the paganda carried on by these foreign concern means of circulars, cartoons, etc., is surpr The Tariff Board on the Match Ind remarked in their report :

"At the same time we have seen advertisements Swedish Match Co., which in some cases explicit others by implication, condemn the products of all Match Factories without reserve. We must confe it strikes us as curious that a foreign firm should the hospitality offered to it by India by belittli quality of Indian Manufacturers as a class, or inde the Swedish Match Company considered that its in were best served by methods of advertisement which not but stir up animosity".

This unfair competition which the I Match Manufacturers have to face has al resulted in about 25 to 30 Indian Fac having been closed. About 17 Indian Fac have been closed in Bengal alone. The f ing figures would give an idea of the gr production of the Western India Match C

(In cases of 50 gross)

Year.		Wimco.	Indian Factories.	Percentage Wimco.	Indi
1935	..	50,860	61,311	45%	55
1936	..	39,113	38,694	50%	49
1937	..	58,748	28,888	67%	33

The remaining Indian factories also f very difficult to face the unfair competition the relentless price-war from such po rivals. Moreover, the Match Excise Duty 1934, has fixed the minimum duty as Re per box of not more than 40 sticks. The however, has been that the foreign co have got an additional advantage. I manufacturers hitherto sold two half-size for a quarter of an anna. But the duty the same now, the purchaser whether he half size or full size match box has to p price of one pice and the full size box

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MARBLE

FOR — STAIRS / FLOORS / DADOS

1. Our Marble Factory is the biggest and the only concern of the East which is equipped with the up-to-date machineries for Sawing, Cutting Polishing, Chipping and Air machine for ornamental work, and therefore surest guarantees it holds for first class workmanship.

2. Our import on the Port of Calcutta is more than half of the whole import in these lines.

3. **Economic point of view :—**

(a) Sawing machine saves the duty on the sawing charges of Italy as well as helps in employing Indian labour.

(b) Chipping machine is to utilise even the smallest broken pieces.

(c) Even the dust is sold. So the Company has no wastage whatsoever.

4. **Our employees are all Indians and the capital is also Indian.**

5. The quality of our work is shown by the work at Nawab Sir K. G. M. Faroqui's house at Store Road, Ballygunge, the Alipore house of Mr. P. R. Das, Patna, Mr. H. C. Ghose's house at Rash Behari Avenue, etc.

International Marble Co., Ltd.

Office :—2, MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA.

Phone : **Cal. 1020.** *Gram* : **"Marblite"**

Works : **5, Braunfled Row (Alipore)** :: :: :: :: *Phone* : **South 1162**

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consequently sold in larger number than half-size boxes, which the Indian factories manufactured. In order to comply with the public demand the Swedish Match Company floated a subsidiary enterprise a couple of months ago. Even in this concern, only half the issued Share Capital has been offered to the public in India for subscription while the controlling interests and the management are retained in the hands of the Swedish Match Co. But as clearly pointed out in the Resolution of the Congress Working Committee in April last, no company can be considered to be genuinely Swadeshi unless, not only its capital but also its management and controlling interests are in Indian hands.

It cannot be gainsaid that the time has now come when the Government of India should examine the whole position created by such unfair competition. As early as 1927, the Tariff Board stated :

"We do not think that in the present circumstances any action is called for against the Swedish Match Company on the ground of unfair competition. But taking into account the vast resources of the company and the policy pursued by them in other countries, it is necessary that future developments of the company in India should be watched. Should such developments indicate that the company is acquiring undue control to the detriment of the Indian Industry, we recommend that Government should take steps to safeguard the Indian Industry."

The avowed object of the Swedish Company is to secure a position in every possible market of the world, which would enable it eventually to regulate prices. It is natural that the acquisition of merely a major part of the demand of a country will not enable it to achieve this object. If no measures are taken to check the unrestricted competition offered by the foreign concerns, it is clear that the Indian concerns operating in the field would soon be eliminated. The severe competition entered into by the company in Belgium before it acquired a virtual monopoly in that country should serve as a reminder to the Government of India. The President of Belgium Match Manufacturers stated in 1927:

"The price-war which the cartel (meaning the Sw Match Co.) is capable of carrying on during ye all countries to which Belgium can hope to export m is formidable. It is a matter of public notoriety th year a Belgian Factory was compelled to go into liqu on account of the price-war; the assets realised in liquidation were not enough to pay even 10% to shareholders".

The Indian Tariff Board has also s that

"it must be admitted that the resources of the Sw Company are sufficient, if it is so desired, to crush time all competition from Indian firms and captu itself the whole of the Indian market."

The need for intervention of the Go ment to help the Indian Manufacturers to on their legitimate activities can therefo longer be doubted.

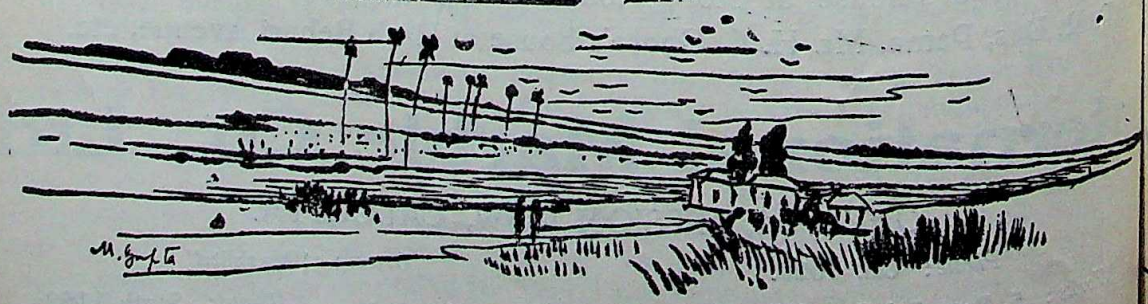
An important aspect of the question should not be lost sight of here is the pro tion of matches as a cottage industry. Th the Tariff Board dismissed the matter peri torily the question needs to be examined carefully studied.

What Indian commercial bodies had posed to the Tariff Board was that

"a Central Sale Organisation should be started should be entirely Indian in management and capit that it should control the manufacture and sale of ma both local and imported. This sale organisation s fix a price for the purchase of the products of m facturers such price being fixed separately for each m facturer on the basis of his cost price plus a perce of depreciation etc., provided such price shall unreasonable having regard to the average cost of facture by Indians. All the match factories sho licensed and a quota should be fixed according capacity and output of each factory. In the case Swedish Match Co., provision should be made f reduction of the quota so as to ensure the cessa production within five years".

Only if some such bold and comprehe scheme is adopted can the Indian man turers hope to survive.

Meanwhile factories after factories unable to withstand the relentless compe of these foreign concerns are closing. B their cry heard by the Government? One ders.



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TATA AIR LINES

serve

Karachi
Bhuj
Ahmedabad
Bombay
Hyderabad
Madras
Trichinopoly
Colombo

Goa
Cannanore
Trivandrum

Indore
Bhopal
Gwalior
Delhi

Agents

Thos. Cook & Son, Ltd.

TATA SONS, LIMITED

AVIATION DEPARTMENT, BOMBAY.

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GROWTH OF AN INDIAN AIR LINE

It is interesting to trace the growth and present position of the Tata Air Service.

Karachi-Madras Air Line

The Aviation Department of Tata Sons, Limited was created in the middle of 1932, in which year the Company entered into an agreement with the Government of India to operate a weekly air mail service between Karachi, Ahmedabad, Bombay, Bellary and Madras.

The progress of this service has been a rapid one. In 1932, the Aviation Department operated the whole Karachi-Madras service with two light aeroplanes, two pilots, one Ground Engineer and a few unskilled assistants. From this small beginning has grown the present network of air services operated by the Company today, totalling a route mileage of about 3,600, entailing the ownership of a fleet of 14 aeroplanes ranging from 4-seaters to 8-seaters, capable of speeds of 160 miles per hour, and a staff of over ninety men.

In January 1935, the frequency of the Karachi-Madras service was doubled. In the same month this service was diverted from Bellary to Hyderabad by arrangement with H. E. H. the Nizam's Government. Later with the assistance of the Government of Kutch, Bhuj was included as a regular halting place on the line.

Bombay-Trivandrum Air Line

With the collaboration of Travancore State, a weekly air service between Bombay and Trivandrum was established in October 1935. The service shows a remarkable saving in time over surface transport—as much as 48 hours being saved by an air journey between Bombay and Trivandrum—and offers special attractions to tourists. This line is now extended from Trivandrum to Trichinopoly, thus forming a complete link round South India.

Bombay-Delhi Air Line

In November 1937 a bi-weekly air service was established between Bombay and Delhi *via* the States of Gwalior, Indore and Bhopal.

The service, which was made possible by the support of the States served, provides the first regular air link between Bombay and the Capital of India, and the timetable has been prepared to allow passengers to make a quick return visit or a more leisurely trip between Bombay and Delhi and intermediate points, or *vice versa*.

The service also provides through air travel between Delhi and South India in connection with other Tata services.

Empire Air Mail Scheme: Colombo-Karachi Air Line

The Tata Air Lines are also participating after long preparation in the Empire Air Mail scheme.

The frequency of the Colombo-Karachi Service is four times a week in each direction and later will be increased to five times a week in each direction.

As regards the future, it is hoped, at a not too distant date, to establish a regular nightly air service between Bombay and Calcutta for passengers and mails, thus bringing together the two largest centres of commerce in India.

The progress made up to now in the development of these air services is largely due to the constant support which Tatas have received from the public as users of Air Mail, Passenger, and charter services.

The Colombo-Karachi route is 1,900 miles long, as far as from England to Egypt.

The Bombay-Trivandrum route is 780 miles further than from London to Vienna.

The Bombay-Delhi route is 800 miles long, as far from London to Madrid.

The total route mileage in regular operation by Tatas today is about 3,600, as far as from Paris to New York.

Tata aeroplanes have flown 1,500,000 miles (a distance equal to sixty times round the world), carried 3,28,000 of air mail, and have maintained during five years an average regularity of 99.4%.

The growth and progress along the lines of efficiency of this service holds out hopes that given the required support it may gradually develop into a continental service of a calibre comparable with the great air-lines of Europe and America, as the beginnings most certainly compare favourably with them.

Undoubtedly there are great handicaps in the path of such progress, and the greatest of them is the clash of interest with all-powerful "Empire" concerns. Just as road transport has been most unfairly crippled by the retrograde policy advocated by the short-sighted advice to the Railway Board of the Government, it is to be feared that outside influences may considerably affect the development of really Indian air-transport concern.

The question of aviation and that of road transport brings to the fore that of fuel. In the case of military exigencies consequent on war, the problem of finding sufficient sources or reserves of petrol and other fuel near at hand becomes very acute. In certain countries of the West, the governments are providing subsidies and grants for the industrial production of synthetic petrol from coal. But so far as can be gauged from latest reports the cost of petroleum from such sources is so high that it can only be used when the natural product is not obtainable in quantity. The petroleum production of India and Burma is as yet not adequate to meet the peace-time demands of the country, although the Burma Oil Co. is undoubtedly doing its level best to further its reserves.

In view of the enormous scope for expansion of road and air traffic in this country there is no doubt the market will expand rapidly in the near future.

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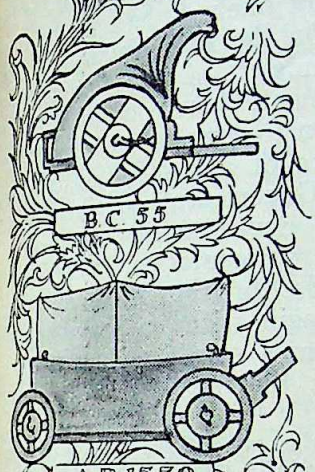
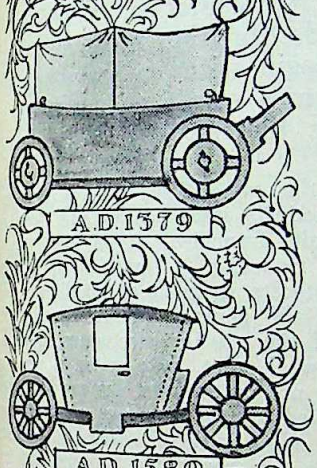
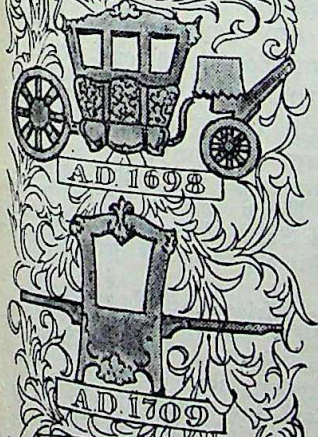
Progress

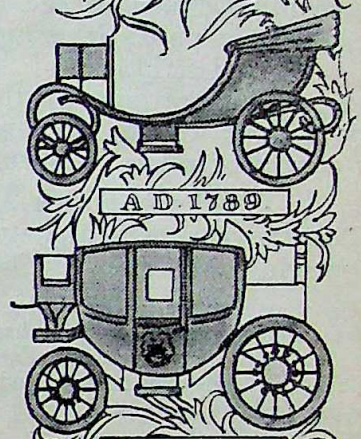


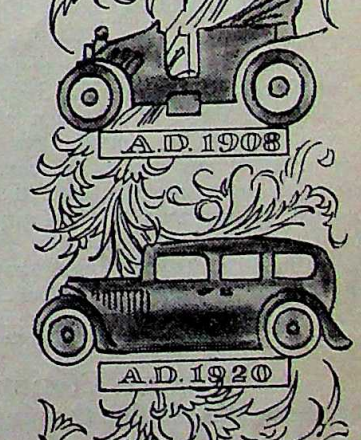


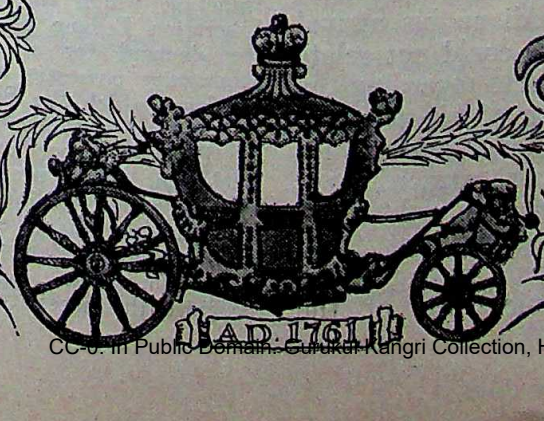


Progress to-day is the key-note of the economic wealth of the Indian and the British Empire. Great commercial organisations have played their part in bringing the necessities and amenities of life to every corner of the land, and amongst these organisations the Burmah-Shell Oil Storage and Distributing Co. of India. Ltd., and its Associated Companies, have for nearly half a century played a prominent part. Petroleum products ranging from Aviation Spirit through Motor Spirit, Kerosene and Industrial Oils, right down to the heaviest Petroleum products, such as Asphalt, can to-day be obtained in every province, district, city and village of India, and the Burmah Oil Co., Ltd., and SHELL trade marks carry everywhere with them a guarantee of quality and service.

The Burmah-Shell organisation keeps ahead of the times, and, in meeting efficiently the Petroleum requirements of India, will, as in the past, continue to be closely identified with the prosperity of the country.







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INDIANS ABROAD

On his return to India Sir Raza Ali, lately the Agent-General for India in South Africa, gave an account at Simla of the condition of the Indians in that part. It is highly informative and a fair description of the social and educational improvements that have been slowly secured by the Indians during many years of patient struggle and suffering.

Indians in South Africa

Twenty years ago Mahatma Gandhi said in a speech in Madras,

> "The hotels refuse us admission. Indeed, there are cases in which respectable Indians have found it difficult even to procure refreshments at European places." In Mr. Gandhi's time 'the railway and tram car officials treated the Indians as beasts.'

But, according to Sir Raza Ali, no first class hotel in Durban, Johannesburg, Capetown or Pretoria, would refuse to admit Indians, nor Indians travelling in any municipal bus or car should be interfered with now.

In respect of their education the Indians have today better facilities and can show better results than before. This we hope will be followed by more vigorous efforts in the coming years and thus ensure a secure position of the settlers in the body-politic of the Colony. We should recognize, as *The Leader* of Allahabad reminds in taking note of the speech editorially:

> This improvement in the position of Indians socially and educationally is mainly the result of the efforts of the Agents-General, specially Mr. Sastri, and Sir Maharaj Singh. And yet there is a section of Indians in South Africa who express the opinion that the Agent-General far from being of any use to the community is a source of danger to their interests, and that the post should be abolished. Fortunately the majority of the community and the Government of India do not agree with that opinion. And it is to be hoped that the post will be maintained and that the Agent-General will continue to receive all the support and encouragement that the people and Government of India can give him.

"A Voteless Community"

"I have no doubt that most of the disabilities from which we suffer in South Africa arise from the fact that we are a voteless community," said Sir Raza Ali on his arrival in Bombay, and, at Simla he could not relate any encouraging or assuring facts regarding the economic or political condition of his countrymen in South Africa. The Indian demand for franchise is neither unjust nor extraordinary; it only signifies a return of the right they have been deprived of during the last forty years as race prejudice became stronger day after day when the economic need of the Indian to the development of the colo diminished. But the just demand of the Ind community is not likely to be conceded so e or so easily. On the 15th instant last, Mr. Stuttaford, Minister of the Interior in Union Government, came out with the st ment, in reaction to some talks in India, tha "was not aware of any intention on the p of the Union Government to give the Ind community in South Africa some form Parliamentary representation." Sir Raza therefore, pleads for the grant of a lim franchise, to begin with in Transvaal, wh the Indians form a small community, and, concession may therefore evoke less jealo He argues :

> "Let me at the same time make it clear tha will not be practical statesmanship for our pe to insist on adult franchise. It is true that in Natal if adult franchise is conceded to Indians, quality of the electorate in point of intelligence will be far inferior to the general level of intelligence played by some of the existing electorates in the Bl veldt of the Transvaal. But, even so, it is up to us disarm hostility by not putting our demands too high. Indians are admitted to the common electorate on basis of property, educational or other qualifications, will not be open to the most rabid European to say the demand of the Indian voters would constitute a th to European predominance."

Bitterly as any demand for reforms in racial relation of South Africa is bound to resented, any broad vision of Imperial relati as *The Statesman* (July 25) insists, would for the concession of many.

One of the ways in which the domiciled In community in the Union can be retained as loyal peaceful citizens of South Africa is to concede some the minimum legitimate demands put forward on behalf.

The indigenous African has three European ele representatives each in the House of Assembly and Senate of the Union Parliament to specifically repre his interests. Important amendments are now com plated by the Union Government to the Representa of Natives Act to make its provisions more effective.

The Natal Indian Congress has recently petitio the Provincial Administration to have the 1924 Ordina so amended as to restore to Indians the munici franchise which they had long enjoyed. The Natio Liberation League of Non-Europeans has also reitera the demand for citizenship rights. The Cape Ind community possesses a restricted form of franchise, the least which the South African Government could is to extend it to the other three units of the Union.

Eighty-five per cent Indians in South Africa local-born. They possessed the franchise at one t They are law-abiding and useful citizens. These qualifications of an eminent order, meriting the g of civic and parliamentary franchise. It is still not late to hope that the Government of South Africa w recognize the necessity for making minimum conces

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the nationals of the future Sixth Dominion of the British Commonwealth resident in its territory for nearly a hundred years.

These are hard facts which call for patient and united action of Indians. But unhappily the situation is further complicated by the disunity of our people, which will be evident from the following account of *The Leader* as it gives its notice of Sir Raza Ali's account :

Economically and politically however the position of Indians has deteriorated. Sir Raza Ali said that the number of Indians employed in industry had gone down during the last 20 years. This he ascribed to the 'aggressive racial policy which is being pursued in that country.' Politically while there were formerly only two Acts, viz., Law 3 of 1885 and the Gold Law of 1908, which discriminated against Indians, now a number of them have been placed on the Statute Book and they are more stringently applied than used to be the practice formerly. Sir Raza Ali thinks that no substantial improvement in the condition of the community is possible unless they receive the right to vote. 'Having granted representation to the natives,' he said, 'I fail to see how the Union Government can indefinitely continue to keep the people deprived of the same.' Of course, the demand for the vote has our full support, but we do not believe in separate electoral rolls for Europeans and Indians and Africans. There should be one common roll. 'One thing,' said Sir Raza Ali, 'is most important. India should take a keen and active interest in the fate of our people whose grievances are very real and substantial.' That the people and Government of India have been taking keen interest in the question cannot be denied. But it is also very important that the Indian community should maintain unity and not quarrel among themselves. Mr. L. W. Ritch who has been one of the oldest friends of the Indian community says, 'The unhappy truth is that since Gandhiji ceased to hold the people together and inspire them, their morale has steadily deteriorated.' Let us hope that the present Agent-General will succeed in bringing about unity among the members of the community.

The sad story of this fissiparous tendencies is many of the pages of the South and East African papers to hand. Mr. Rama Rau, Sir Raza Ali's successor, should not console himself with the idea that the Indians stand united because most organisations joined in welcoming him to the Colony. All efforts at effecting a unity between the South African Indian Congress and the Colonial Born And Settlers' Indian Association, another Indian body, failed though the Congress has for its President Swami Bhawani Dayal and its Secretary Mr. I. Kajee, two very sincere and energetic workers in the cause of their fellow Indians.

In East Africa

In East Africa, too, as the East African Delegation that visited India told us some time ago, the Indians politically or economically are in no better plight. Their future, we learn from a member of the Delegation, Mr. Amin, speaking at Lucknow, is likely to be darker still:

> If in the next ten years the Indians in East Africa did not obtain the support of the people and press of India, all the ground covered by the efforts of the Indians there was likely to be undermined, and once the position was lost it would not be possible to retrieve it or advance further—warned Mr. Amin.

Political Condition

Referring to the standard of living of the natives in East Africa he said that natives were helpless, could not even build up their own homes at present and though something in the way of education was being done they could not stand on their own legs. If Indians did not fight for their betterment not only would they betray their own cause but also that of the natives, who were not strong enough to safeguard their own interests. Continuing Mr. Amin said that the natives were not elected to the Kenya Legislative Council but were represented by two Europeans.

Indians, who numbered 40,000 had only 11 seats. Their existence was hardly recognized except in the case of difference between the Europeans and the Government when Indian opinion was valued.

Economic Policy

Dwelling at length on the economic policy, he said that steps were contemplated that would drive all Indians out of profitable trade. The Transfer Control Bill, the Dairy Control Bill and similar other measures were likely to be introduced which would be detrimental to the interests of the Indians. The chief object of the policy of the Government was to make life more expensive for the Indians.

He referred to retail trade which, he said, had been mainly in the hands of Indians so far. But a Marketing Bill was now being introduced by which Indians would be forbidden to purchase goods from natives direct. This would ultimately place the natives at the mercy of the Europeans.

The Highlands

Mr. Mehta, another member of the delegation spoke on the Highland problem. He said that in 1903 Europeans launched a move to secure all cool and fertile lands for themselves. And it was after a very strong opposition put up by the Indians that an assurance was given to them that nothing of the kind would be done.

But that pledge was broken in 1906. No Indian was allowed to purchase land from Europeans. Concluding Mr. Mehta remarked that it was the duty of Indians to see that the native population of Africa was not exploited by Europeans and if Indians rose to power care should be taken that they in their turn did not exploit the natives.

The new danger of reserving the Highlands for the European settlers has indeed to be countered by all means, as we have been maintaining always. Mr. Isser Dass, a member of the Kenya Legislative Council, who came to India as a delegate of the East African Indian Congress in a joint statement with Mr. C. F. Andrews suggests a London Deputation on the question.

Kenya Leadership in Indian Business

At a meeting of the Kenya Indian merchants, they requested Mr. Ismail, the Agent

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for Dar-es-Salem, for a united leadership for themselves in business over the settlers in Uganda and Tanganyika. The *Tanganyika Opinion* strongly pleads against the same on the ground that such leadership has been really of economic disadvantage to the Indians in general. Says the journal:

"The economic position of the Indian community today is distinctly weaker than it was in 1927. Everywhere the leadership of Kenya has resulted in a monopolistic organization of commerce and the elimination of the small Indian trader and middleman. There has been no corresponding adjustment in the economic life of the country for hundreds of Indian businessmen and traders who have been thrown out of work and employment owing to monopolies and marketing laws. The leadership of Kenya has resulted in the organization of local and intermediate civil services, in the emasculation of the Indian dhow and transport trade, in the elimination of Indian storekeepers and produce buyers in the hinterlands, in the unemployment of the Indian cotton store-owners in Uganda and the mandated territory and in the attrition of the railway and harbours of Tanganyika. No, Mr. Ismail has eyes wide open to see all this and we have the fullest confidence in him and are quite sure that he will singlemindedly devote himself to his great task of building up a highway of commerce and exchange of culture between the two great continents of the world that Nature designed for one another.

Indian Labour in Burma

Burma is now separated from India, and the twelve lakhs of Indians over there are now "abroad" from India. Vast numbers of them are, as eleswhere, labourers who left the over-populated Indian villages in expectation of a more hospitable land. Perhaps they are not altogether disappointed. They manage to get a living. But this cannot go on long, the unrestricted labour emigration is to continue only up to 1940. *The Statesman* Emigration Correspondent points out in an informative article some of the problems that the labour situation in Burma has already shown. The strikes in the Yenangyuang and Chauk Oil Fields as well as that at Syriam refinery of the B.O.C., have focussed public attention on the labour situation and the Burma Oil Fields Labour Bill of 1938 proposes to give effect to some of the recommendations of the Whitley Commission with regard to housing, hours, wages, etc. The writer refers to the unhomogeneous character of the Indian labour and its disunity as well as to the question of the restricted vs. unrestricted labour, and concludes:

The major problems awaiting Mr. Sattinadhan's (the Agent nominee for Indians in Burma) scrutiny need to be emphasized here, since he is expected to take over his office in Burma in a few days' time. In the first place, he has to properly advise the Government of India on the manner in which the Indian Emigration Act is to be extended to that country. Secondly, he has to [illegible] up his mind on the question whether restricted [illegible] restricted Indian labour emigration is justified [illegible] circumstances prevailing in that country. Thirdly, [illegible] *maistry* system, industrial and social legislation and [illegible] important issues have to be examined by him. [illegible] hoped that the establishment of the Indian Agency [illegible] Burma, prior to the lapse of the *status quo* period [illegible] operate for the benefit of Indian emigrant labour, [illegible] meeting the need of Burma herself.

Lease of Land in Fiji

The following statement from Mr. C. [illegible] Andrews on July 9, refers to the troub[illegible] the Indians in Fiji.

"News has just reached me from Fiji that [illegible] which had been obtained by the Indians during [illegible] years 1917-1921 are now beginning to fall in and [illegible] Fijian chiefs with their tribes are unwilling to [illegible] them except on extravagant terms.

"These leases were obtained by the Indians [illegible] the consent of the Government either for the culti[illegible] of sugar or else for the building of premises for [illegible] trade close to the Fijian villages.

"Land in Fiji is very difficult to obtain becaus[illegible] greater part of it is owned by the Fijians themselv[illegible] a tribal basis. The Government rightly protect [illegible] land ownership. But since the Indian population [illegible] numbers about 45 per cent of the whole of Fiji it w[illegible] be unjust to prevent the Indians from purchasing [illegible] and it would be very unwise to do so: for they [illegible] born agriculturists.

"The colonial sugar refining company owns so[illegible] the best alluvial soil and Indians have obtained [illegible] leases from this company, but these are not suf[illegible] for them. The problem therefore has become [illegible] Indians who have given their best energy and in[illegible] to the cultivation of the soil of Fiji are now lik[illegible] be thrown out of employment unless some remed[illegible] be found. It is necessary therefore, for a commis[illegible] to be sent out to Fiji as early as possible in ord[illegible] get better terms with regard to the renewal of [illegible] leases. He should at the same time take up the qu[illegible] of higher education.

Indians in Malay

An A. P. I. message from Madras of [illegible] 24, reads:

"The suggestion that an organization should [illegible] started in Malaya and another in India to look after [illegible] interests of Indians in Malaya, was made today by [illegible] T. A. Ramalingha Chettiar, a member of the Me[illegible] Legislative Council, in a talk on his impressions of [illegible] tour in the Dutch East Indies and Malaya, at [illegible] Cultural Association of the Central Co-operative Insti[illegible]

Mr. Chettiar said that Indians had been responsi[illegible] for developing the mines and estates in Malaya, w[illegible] was the most suitable place in the world for Indians [illegible] settle.

The speaker condemned the wage reductions [illegible] had been effected in Malaya.

Referring to the policy pursued by the Govern[illegible] of India, he said it was not enough to stop emigrati[illegible] State labourers. Recruitment of all kinds of labour [illegible] stop.

The s.s. *Rohna* which arrived in Madras [illegible] yesterday from the Straits Settlements landed [illegible] repatriates from Malaya. C. H.

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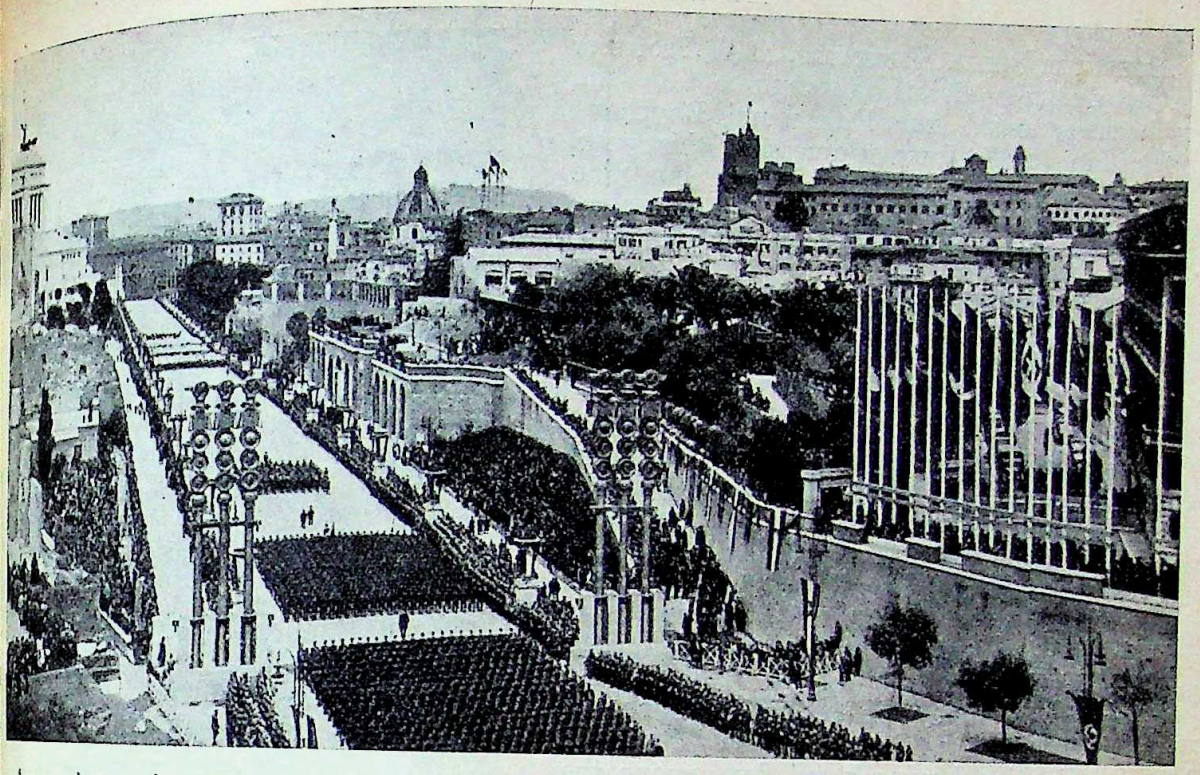
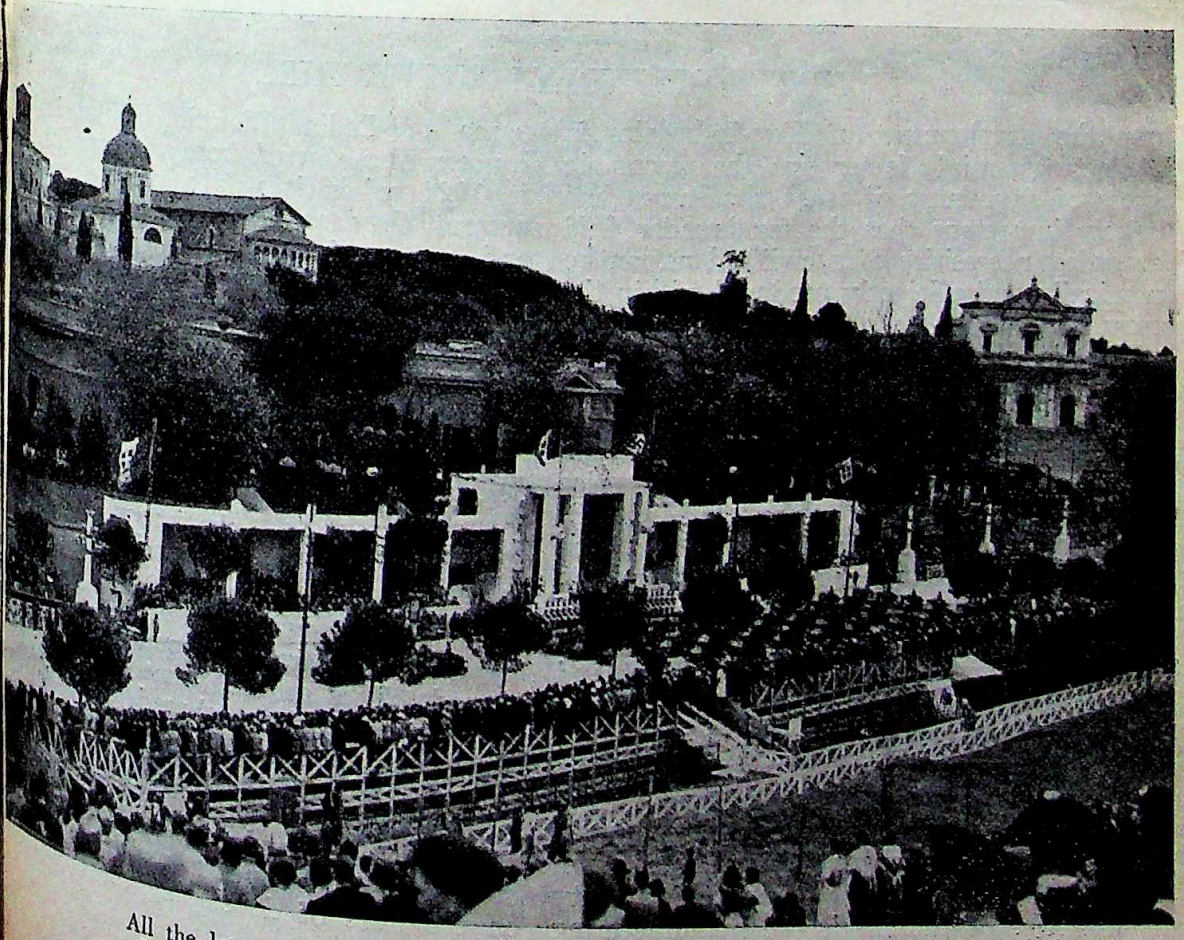
HITLER'S VISIT TO ITALY



Army review on the occasion of Herr Hitler's recent visit to Italy. More than 50,000 men took part



All the latest weapons of warfare were shown in the course of this review

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

SREEMATI BIBHA MAJUMDAR, M.A., Professor of Mathematics, Victoria Institution, Calcutta, has been awarded the Premchand Roychand studentship of Calcutta University, this year, on the merit of a thesis on Astrophysics. She is the first lady to achieve this distinction, by dint of an original research work, in Science.

She is the daughter of Mr. Dwijendra Mohan Sen Gupta, retired Headmaster of Barisal Government High School and is the wife of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.Sc., P.R.S., Ph.D., of Bose Research Institute.

She stood first in Sanskrit in I.A. Examination and secured the Nagendra Medal, being the best lady-candidate securing highest number of marks in Bengali, and the Pachete and Saradaprasad prizes for standing first in Sanskrit. She obtained first class honours in Mathematics in the B.A. Examination, standing second, and secured the Bankimchandra Gold Medal for the best Bengali composition at the examination. She also obtained the Padmabati Gold Medal in that examination having stood first among the successful lady-candidates taking up honours in different subjects.

Sreemati Bibha Majumdar

NOTES ON INDIAN ENTERPRISE

WHILE the development of Key-Industries is the most essential factor in the economic progress of a country, it is at the same time extremely important that the far broader field of everyday necessities of a civilized nation be economically and efficiently produced within the country.

This is the age of steel, and steel is penetrating in all directions in industry, commerce and the household of the people. The firm of Godrej is a bright example of what can be achieved in this line by Indian enterprise and skill. It was founded by the late Mr. A. B. Godrej about half a century ago. At the beginning the personnel consisted of one mistry in search of employment, and the "works" of a diminutive shed. Now the works can boast of being the largest of its dint in the east and it provides employment for over 1,200 workmen. The production ranges from locks to vast safe-deposit vault doors, covering in its scope steel furniture and equipment, of a number of varieties for household, office and factory use, of a quality that challenges foreign competition.

Another example of the organizing capacity and enterprise of Indians is the manufacturing concern producing electrical goods under the name of India Electric Works Ltd. concern also started from very small begin in 1924, when it was a private concern present they are employing over 900 p and are producing highly finished and efficient electrical utility goods, such as telephone and telegraph instruments, etc special feature is that almost every pa these articles, from the tiniest nut to the la part is manufactured, finished and fi assembled by Indian labour under Indian s vision. The fans specially have proved t highly efficient and reliable and are ra taking the place of the imported article.

Talking of imports, until very recently item that went largely into the construction the houses of wealthier Indians, was (and is) almost entirely imported in bulk abroad. This article, namely, marble, was only imported from abroad, but the han of the imported article in bulk as well as cutting and finishing was in the hand foreign firms. Recently however, Indian mercial enterprise has extended to this s of imports also and is making good p on the lines of developing the business utmost.

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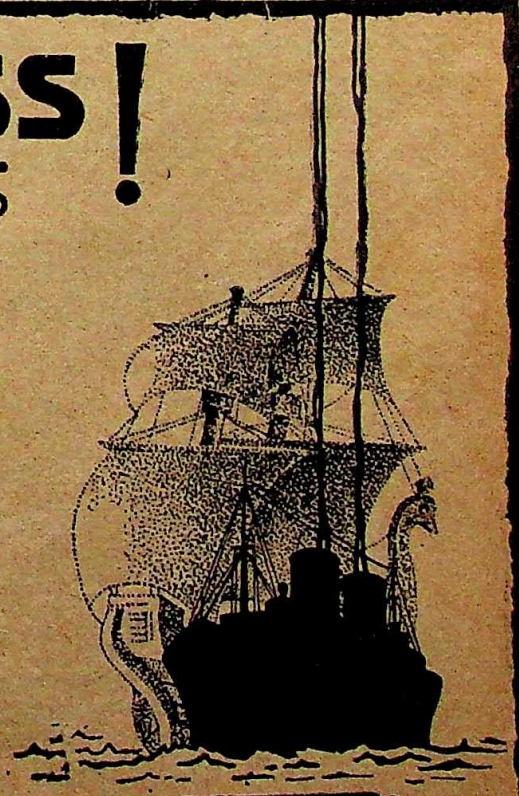

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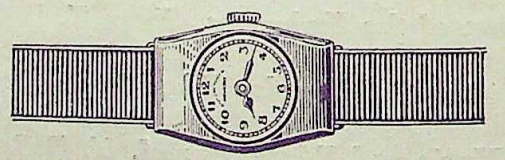

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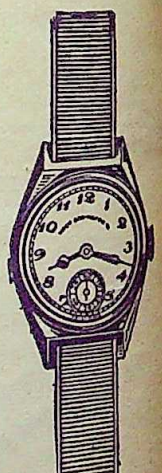

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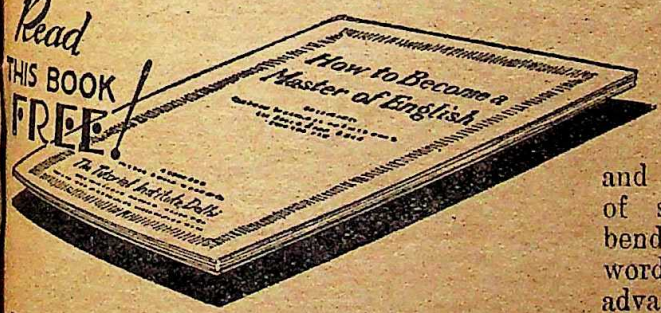

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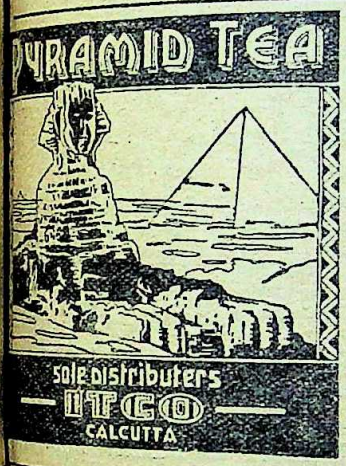

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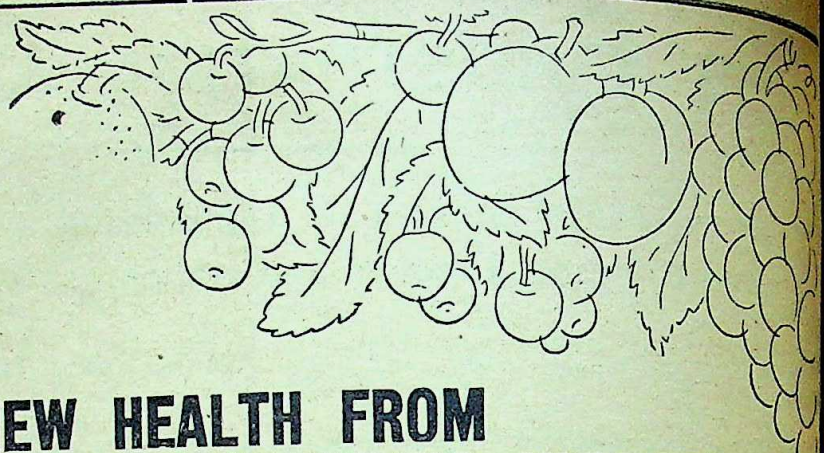

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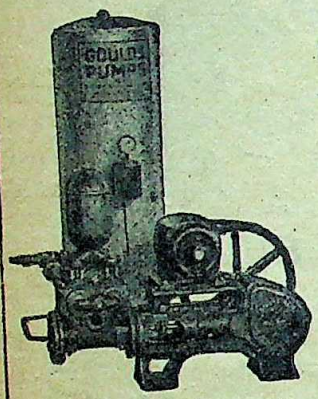

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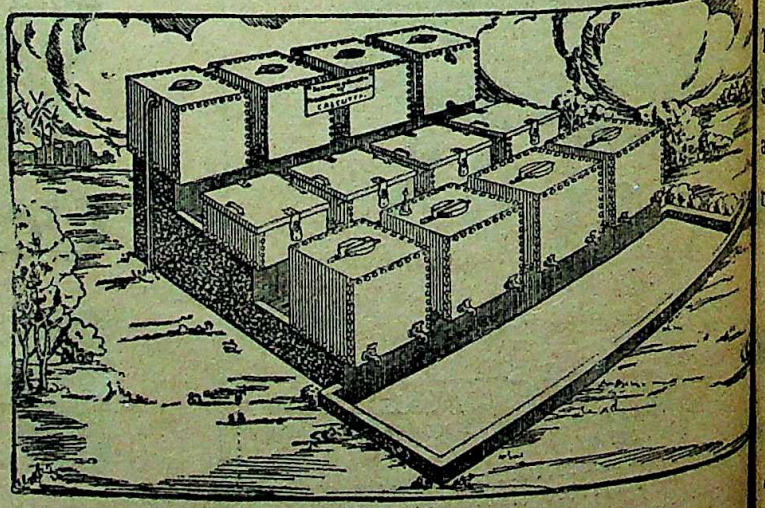

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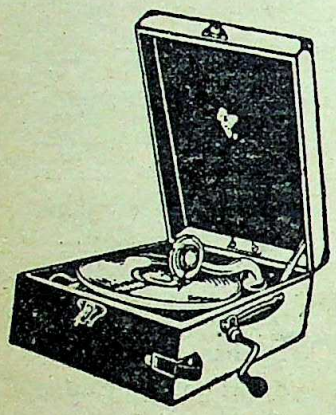

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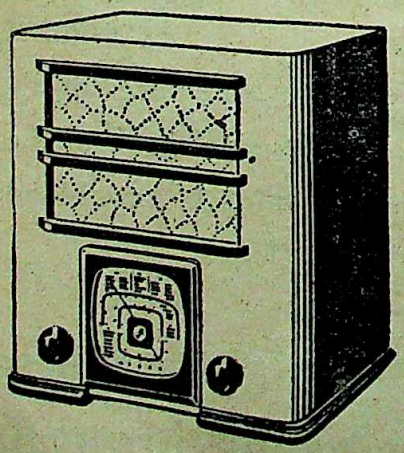

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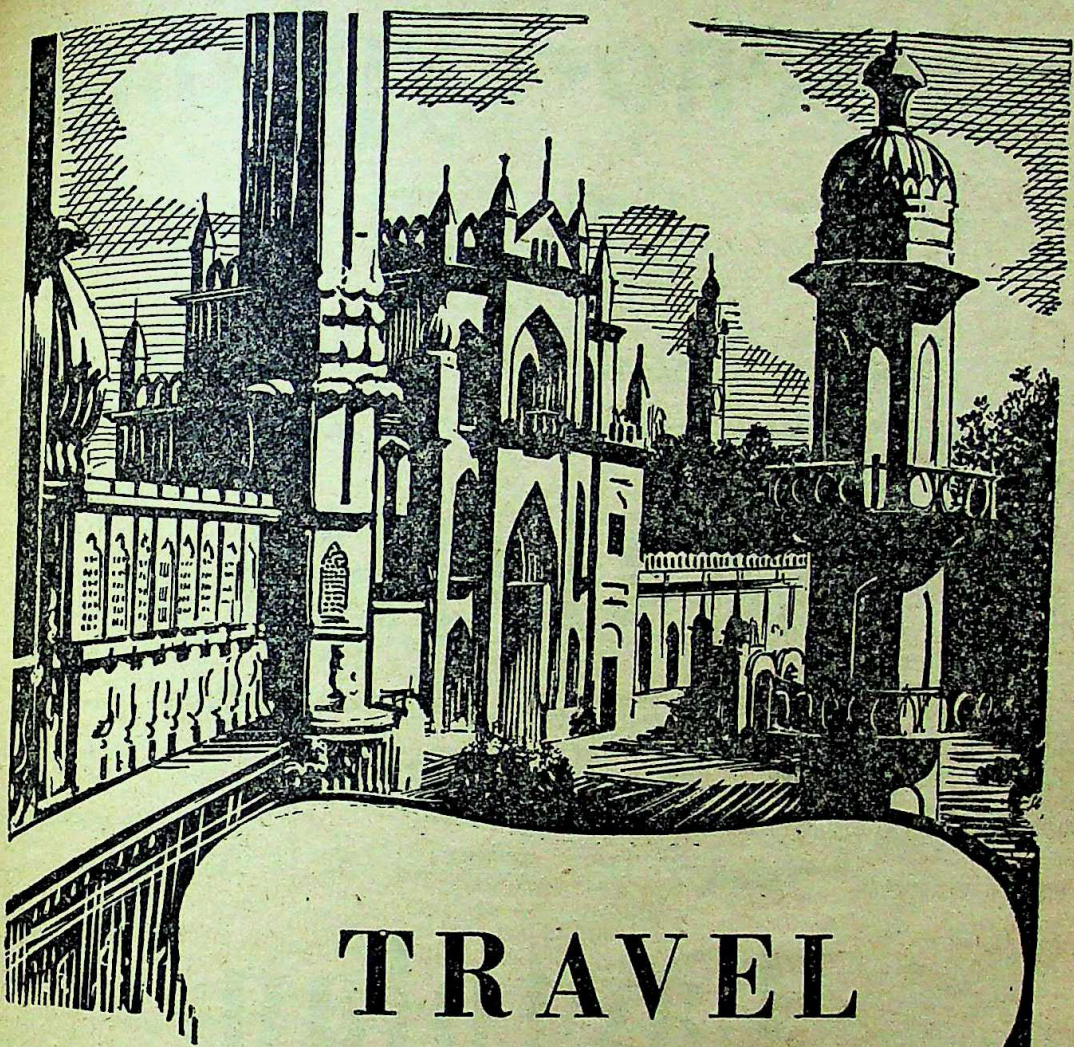

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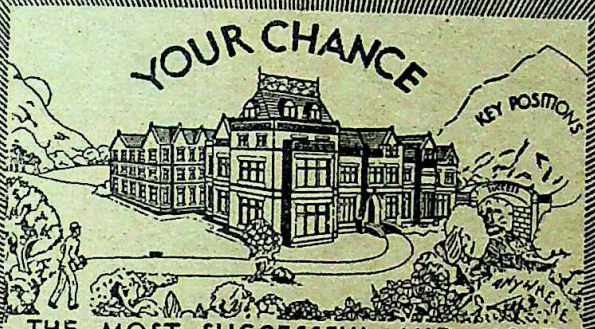

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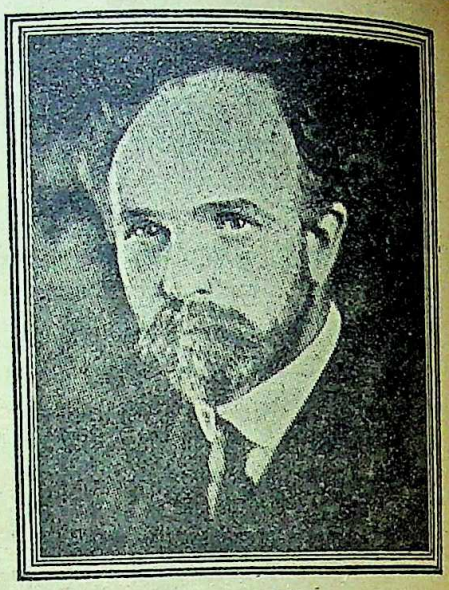

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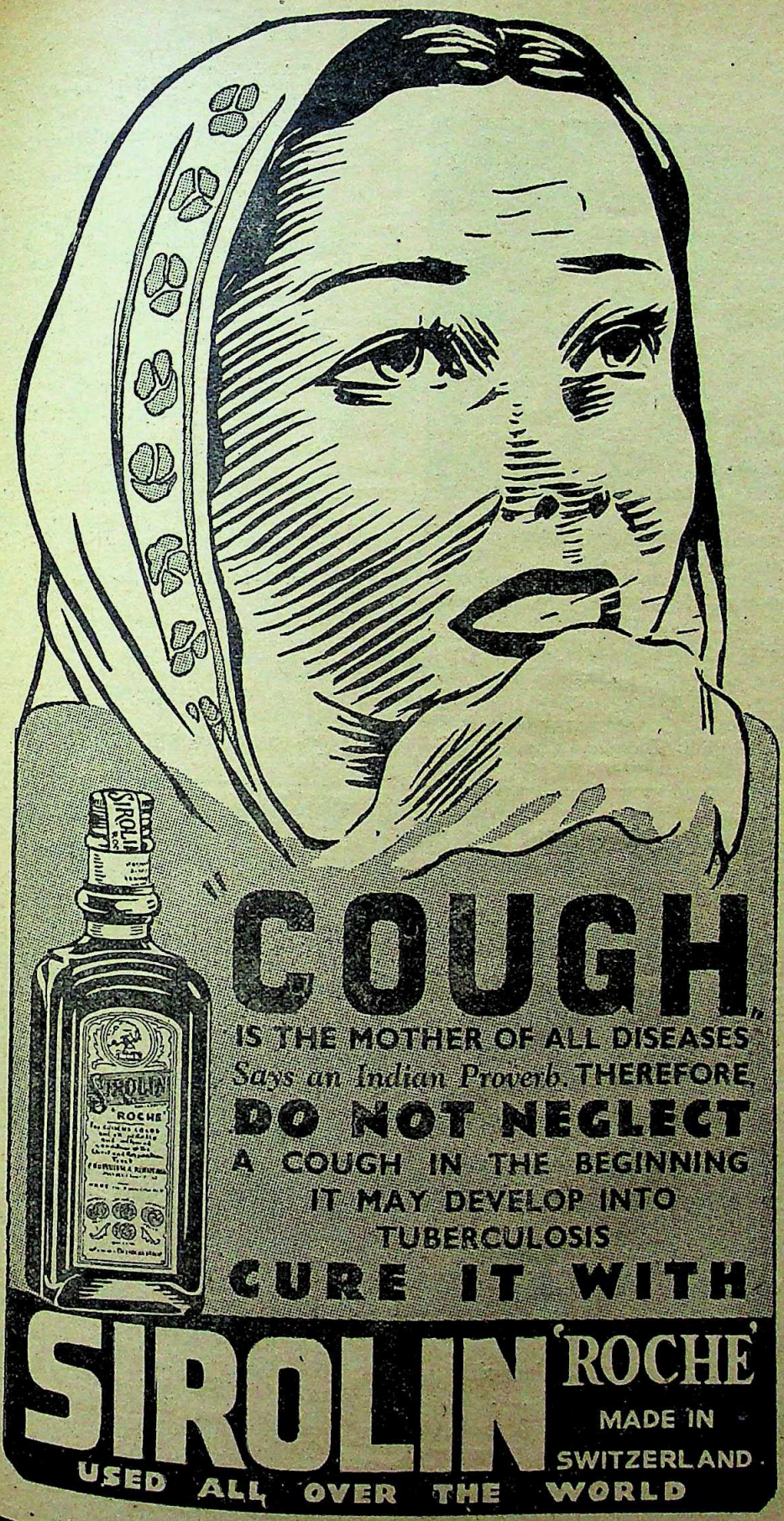

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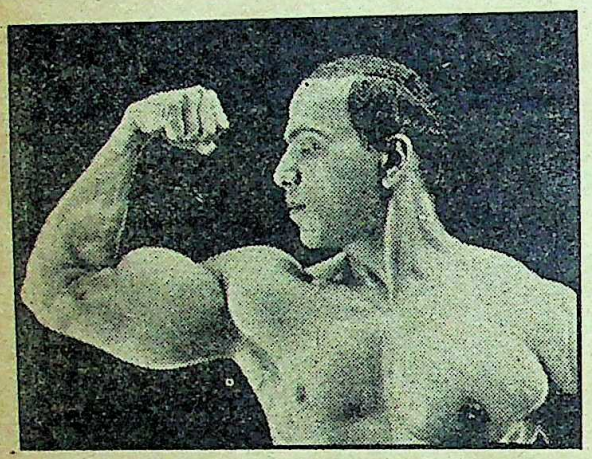

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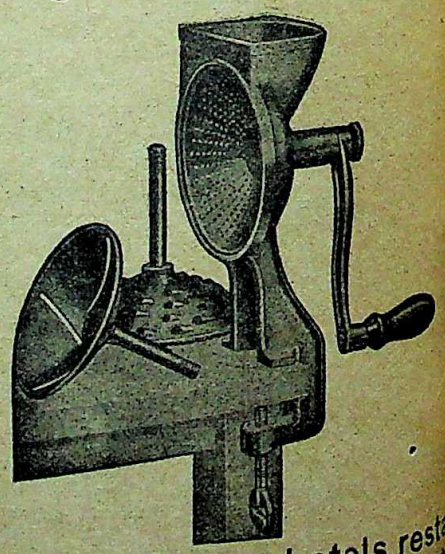

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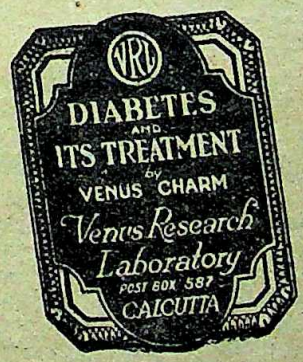

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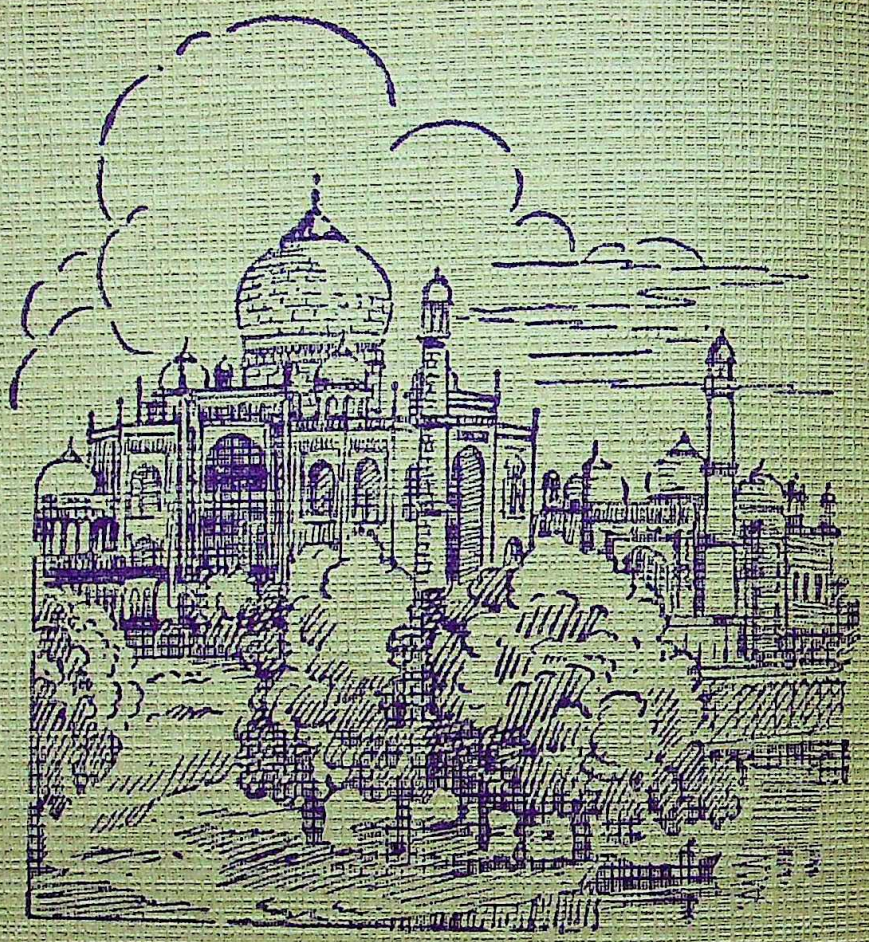

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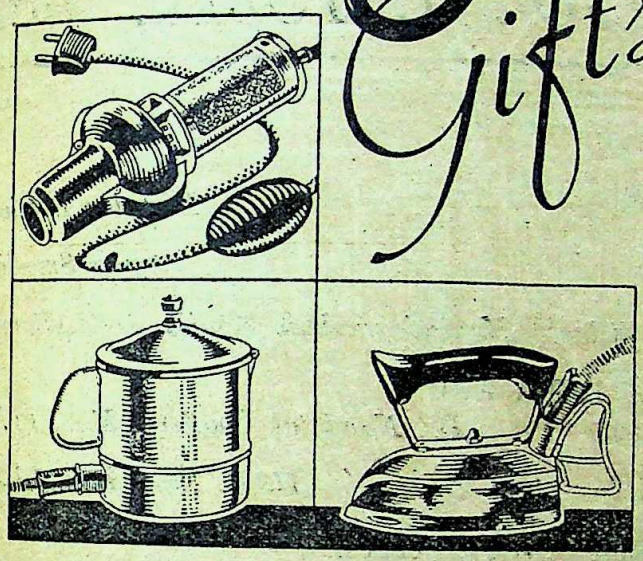

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THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXIV., No. 4

Whole No. 382

CONTENTS FOR OCTOBER, 1938

		Page
NOTES		397
RUSSIAN SILHOUETTES	*Nicholas Roerich*	421
THE CHINESE SOLDIER	*Agnes Smedley*	426
IMPRESSIONS OF BOHEMIA (*illust.*)	*Monindramohan Moulik, D.Sc. (Rome)*	428
THE ABORIGINAL RACES OF INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION	*Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D.*	437
THE WAZIRISTAN MENACE	*H. R. Nair, B.A., LL.B.*	440
THE VISVA-BHARATI HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES	*D. C. B.*	444
SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRE-WAR DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR-EDUCATION IN ENGLAND	*Sailendra Nath Sen, M.Sc., M.A.*	447
PEACE OR WAR ?	*Deep Chand Srivastava, M.A., LL.B.*	454
FOR THE REBEL (*Poem*)	*Sreemati Bharati Sarabhai*	456
ABUSE OF ADVERTISING	*Kshitindra Kumar Nag, Ph. B. (Chicago)*	457
WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS		459
ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA (*illust.*)	*Bireswar Gangooly*	460
THE SHARADASHRAM (*illust.*)	*Anandarao Joshi*	463
STARS OF THE UNDERSEA	*Ewen K. Patterson*	465
LIFE AND WORK OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY	*C. L. Gheevala*	467
CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES	*Vikram Jeet Singh, M.A.*	469

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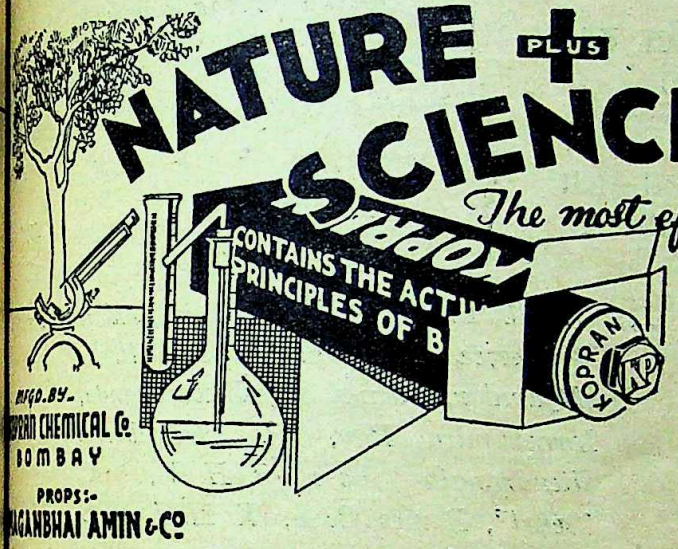

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CONTENTS---(Contd.)

		Page
MUSIC AND EDUCATION	*J. M. DeSouza, B.A. L.T.C.L., S.T.C.*	473
LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA	*Professor H. D. Mookerjee*	475
NEW INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN IN CHINA AT WAR		477
MOUNT KAMET (*illust.*)	*Govind Prasad Nautiyal*	478
CHINESE MOSLEM LEADER BACK FROM PUBLICITY TOUR ABROAD		484
INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)		485
NOGUCHI'S LETTERS TO TAGORE AND GANDHI AND TAGORE'S REPLY		488
THE EUROPEAN TANGLE	*Major D. Graham Pole*	488
BOOK REVIEWS	*D., U. C. Bhattacharjee, Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee, Nandalal Chatterji, D. N. Majumdar, Swami Jagadiswarananda, Isanchandra Ray, P. Chakrabarty, Jitendranath Bose, S. H. V., D., "Achal", Rames Basu, K. M. J., R. S. Bharadwaj*	494–5[illegible]
WORLD AFFAIRS	*G. H.*	50[illegible]

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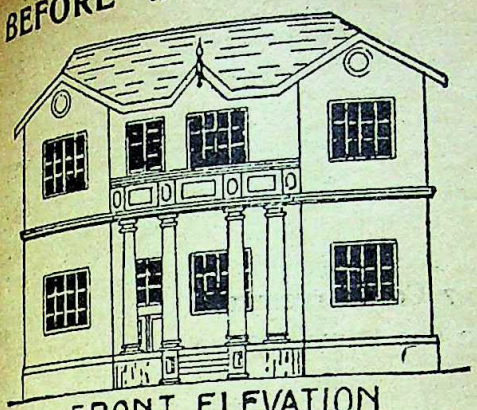

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CONTENTS—(Contd.)

PAGE

INDIAN PERIODICALS:

THE MAHATMA'S CREED AND "HIND SWARAJ" 506
THE SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE 506
IDEALISM AND REALISM 507
CONGRESS MINISTRY 507
CONGRESS HIGH-COMMANDS AND THE QUESTION OF COW-SLAUGHTER 507
MY EXPERIENCES IN THE WELFARE WORKS FOR THE BLIND ABROAD 508
FRANCISCO FRANCO 508
FEATURES OF ORISSA'S TEMPLES 509
FRUIT OR PAN ? 509

FOREIGN PERIODICALS:

THE CATTLE DRAIN IN INDIA 510
CHINA'S STAYING POWER 511
ISLAM AND BOLSHEVISM 511
FOOD PLANNING FOR 400,000,000 512
THE NEGRO IN AMERICA 512
WAR AND YOUTH 512
DICTATORS AND MASS PSYCHOLOGY 514
THE REPUBLIC OF CUBA 514
KEY TO THE FRONTISPIECE 514

COMMENT AND CRITICISM 515

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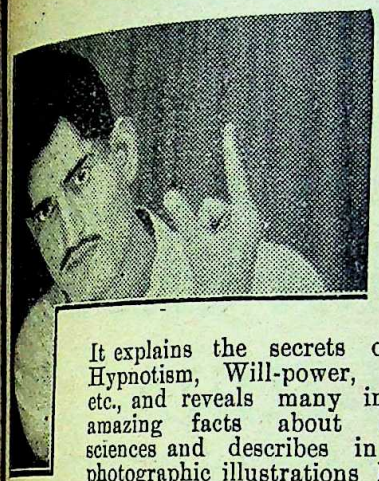

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THE MODERN REVIEW

OCTOBER 1938

Vol. LXIV, No. 4 WHOLE No. 382

NOTES

hatma Gandhi's Seventieth rthday

We write this note before the celebration of hatma Gandhi's seventieth birthday has mmenced anywhere. There is no question t everywhere it will be celebrated in an pressive manner. It is to be earnestly hoped t the pomp and circumstance which invariy mark such celebrations will not stand in way of the participants' realizing what hatma Gandhi stands for and what he has rked for.

He has all along laid the greatest stress on uth and non-violence. There is much lipyalty to truth and non-violence, which, it is ident from some of Gandhiji's recent writings, s given him pain and perhaps some sleepless ghts. Unquestionably loyalty to truth should whole-souled. So also loyalty to the prinple of non-violence.

To eschew hatred and anger in thought, ord and deed is a very difficult ideal to follow one almost impossible of realization. But an rnest endeavour should, we feel, be made.

Personally we, who are very very far from e realization of this ideal, think that all use force is not violence, though when force must used the ideal is to use it without anger and atred. In the present stage of human civilizaon, force has to be used for the prevention and pression of anti-social acts, generally called imes. There are certain occasions when even iling would be justified : for example, when a oman finds that she cannot save herself from being ravished except by inflicting what may amount to even a fatal blow on her assailant, it would be quite right for her to do so. It is both her right and duty. If she be disabled, some one else coming to her rescue may also quite rightly do so, or rather ought to do so, if there be no other way to save her.

We cannot assert dogmatically that if, for maintaining or regaining the independence and freedom of a country, non-violent means prove ineffectual, recourse should not be had to armed force, though our conviction is that in the present circumstances of India, our struggle for freedom and independence can only be and ought to be absolutely non-violent.

The leading part which Mahatma Gandhi has taken in India's struggle for freedom and the way to success which he has pointed out have raised untold millions of Indians from the slough of political despondency. They may not all be his followers. But his teaching and example have filled their minds with a new hope and confidence. They feel that India can and will be free.

There are dissensions in Congress ranks, and even some of the leaders have not been true to the declared principles of the Congress—which is to be deplored. The Congress can lead India to her goal only by being strictly non-communal, democratic and nationalistic. Though Gandhiji is not infallible, just as other human beings are not, he is better qualified than any other Congress leader to call the Congress back to its true principles and to keep it loyal to them. Apart from any feelings of personal

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attachment to him which numerous Indians have, mere selfishness must make us all wish him long life.

His devoted services to the "untouchables" are unsurpassed. He has made himself one of them. If others adore him while despising them, he cannot help it; he must be pained by it.

It would not be practicable—and it is not necessary, to recount all his services to the country and the world. The great impetus which he has given to village industries is known to the public. He has worked for the peasants and the factory workers without entertaining and rousing hatred against the landlords and the capitalists; and without hostility to the ruling princes he champions the cause of the disfranchised and oppressed people of the Indian States. He has been misunderstood for this kind of attitude and activity.

His services to world peace have been recognized by many in India and abroad, but not yet as generally as they deserve to be.

The purity, spirituality and simplicity of his life have given a new value to human personality, apart from accessories.

Question of India's Freedom "A Matter of Life and Death"

"India is at present deeply concerned with the question of her own freedom, which is a matter of life and death for her and not so much with minor political details," said the Hon'ble Mrs. Vijaylakshmi Pandit, explaining the background of the Congress ideology at a conference of press representatives, mainly of Indian newspapers.

She deplored the complacency with which her arrival was made the occasion for reports indicating that everyone was happy with the working of 'provincial autonomy' in India. She said that this deeply pained her, as also such manifestations of ignorance as a statement in one press report that she started her daily round of activities with a yogic exercise, standing on her head, and that the United Provinces was a backward Indian State.

Backwardness and superstitions did not matter now, nor small amenities such as roads and parks, but only bread and butter and the free air of freedom. India was fighting for her independence and all her activities in the political field today were conditioned by that sole objective.

Questioned on the subjet of the threat to the Czech democracy, and whether India as a protagonist of freedom would not choose to side with England in the event of a war for the protection of democracy,

she drew attention to the Congress resolution on the subject and added that the matter was for the people of India to decide, but this could only be done by an India which was free to decide for herself. She asked if he could fight for a democracy, while democracy was denied to her, and said: "No, that is a contradiction in terms."

Questioned about her future programme, the Hon'ble Mrs. Pandit said that she would devote the next ten days to the matter of her health and the question of social activities, if any, would be decided later.—*Reuter.*

That the question of India's freedom is a matter of life and death for her children is *literally* true, was shown by us in the last number of *The Modern Review* in the note on political subjection and length of life. The table of expectation of life in different countries given in that note proves to demonstration that in subject India people die on an average much earlier than in other civilized countries for which statistics are available. And all these countries are free and independent or almost independent or autonomous in their internal affairs.

Some months ago Mrs. Pandit had said that the kind of 'provincial autonomy' given to the provinces did not mean that they had obtained Swaraj. She did well to repeat this observation in London in different language. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand and other notable Congressmen have said similar things. As Swaraj has still to be won, all nationalists should concentrate attention on what is indispensably necessary for its attainment, refraining for the present from bringing to the forefront the particular fads or fancies of particular persons and groups.

Though some of the British newspapers are guilty of "manifestations of ignorance" in what they have written of her, deserved high tributes have also been paid to her by others. For example, the *Manchester Guardian* has written:

Until last year only one woman in any part of the British Commonwealth had ever held Cabinet rank. Vijaya Pandit . . . is Miss Margaret Bondfield's successor, but, unlike Miss Bonfield, she holds Ministerial posts in the Government of the United Provinces of India—those of public health and of local government.

Considering the energy with which the Governor has been working since it took office in July, 1937, the arduousness of Mrs. Pandit's duties (culminating in the weeks she spent touring through all parts of the province affected by the recent cholera epidemic), it is no wonder that the doctors ordered her to take three months leave.

Work in the Home

Most women in India, she thinks, have little sympathy with women in political life, fearing that their homes are likely to be neglected. One reason why she had attained a certain measure of popularity among women was that they had seen her trying to run her house and look after her children in the ordinary way, and realized that

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political work had not prevented this. It was a big strain, but the women's movement would certainly be injured if people thought it wrong for them to enter political life. Mrs. Pandit gave a sketch of her ordinary day, making it clear that she could run her house and fully carry out her ministerial work.

Her three young daughters take a great interest and pride in her work, and so does her husband, who is a member of the Legislative Council. "If I am able to achieve any success," she said, "a large part of it will be due to my husband's co-operation and moral support."

Mrs. Pandit shared in the great awakening of Indian women that took place in 1930 . . .

"My father had died," she said, "and my mother, a woman of the old school, with her main interest in her home, gave up her whole life to the movement. My mother, my sister, and I were sent to gaol. I had an eighteen months' sentence, and spent the whole of 1932 in gaol. Then they attached my motor-car and remitted the last six months." . . .

One of the things she is doing as Minister of Health is to plan a network of small dispensaries all over the province to meet the needs of villages too far from hospitals . . .

Mrs. Pandit was an early advocate of nursery schools; she has recently started a training school for nurses, and she wants to establish a nursing service for the poor and the middleclass people in their own homes. While in England she wants to see what is being done here on the preventive side of public health.

Congress Swadeshi Exhibition

Autumn is a season of rejoicing in India. In different parts of the country Hindus have festivals variously named Dussera (Dashahara), Durga Puja, Ram-lila, and so on. On these festive occasions members of the family, relatives, and dependents are presented with new articles of clothing, and sometimes with other things also. In no part of the year are greater purchases made than now. Now is the time, therefore, for pushing the sale of Swadeshi goods. Foreign articles attract buyers by their cheapness, finish, and gaudiness, though many of them do not last as long as country-made goods of the same description. Many persons again buy foreign articles of some kinds under the mistaken belief that Swadeshi goods of the same descriptions are not manufactured and cannot be had. Some unscrupulous shopkeepers also sometimes mislead customers.

Exhibitions of Swadeshi goods in this season are for these reasons particularly necessary and useful. Congress leaders in Calcutta rendered considerable service to the public and to the manufacturers of Swadeshi goods by holding a Swadeshi exhibition in the College Street Municipal Market last month. Not only were various kinds of goods exhibited there, but in addition demonstrations were given of the processes of manufacturing them. As the entrance fee was only half an anna per visitor and batches of school girls and school boys were also admitted free, the number of persons who saw the exhibition was large, and there was much buying and selling.

Moving Exhibition of Swadeshi Goods

If the Congress Swadeshi Exhibition was a success and served a useful purpose, much more spectacular and striking was the Moving Exhibition of Indigenous Products organised by the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation on the 4th September last. If busy or lazy men, or if ladies for some reason or other, would not or could not see the Swadeshi Exhibition, here was the Exhibition brought to their very doors. They could see without any expense or trouble how many different kinds of things their enterprising countrymen were making for their use. Many of those who saw these articles for the first time had no idea that Indian manufacturers had succeeded to so large an extent.

A fleet of seventy motor lorries and 'buses, loaded with various kinds of country-made things, well arranged and displayed, glided smoothly and slowly through many important thoroughfares of the city, creating a sensation and drawing large crowds of curious spectators to the roadside and the roofs, balconies and verandahs of houses.

It is to be hoped the Commercial Museum of the Calcutta Corporation will repeat this successful experiment so that lasting results may be obtained, and that towns outside Calcutta and Bengal will emulate Calcutta's example. Most of our manufacturers and traders have not yet acquired the advertising habit, and even if they had, such moving exhibitions would have their value owing to their direct striking visual appeal.

It should be mentioned in this connection that the Eastern Bengal Railway authorities have been serving both the manufacturers and the buying public by their annual Puja moving shops.

Among the large number of firms which took advantage of the Moving Exhibition mention may be made of the following:

Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, Calcutta Chemical Co., Himani Works, B. K. Paul and Co., Dhakeswari Cotton Mills, Mohini Mills, Lily Biscuit Co., Banga Sree Cotton Mills, Sree Durga Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Sterling Pharmaceutical Products Co., Bharat Electric Bulb Works, Bengal Electric Lamp Works, Bengal Waterproof Works, Ladco, Nasco, Parijat Soap Works, F. N. Gooptu and Co., G. C. Law and Co., Bengal Enamel Works, Sun Enamel, India Electric Works, Jay

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Engineering Works, J. P. Dutt and Co., Everest Engineering Co., Clyde Fan Co., Sreenath Mills, D. N. Bose's Hosiery, Kidderpore Hosiery, Deshabandhu Hosiery, Hari Hosiery Factory, Santosh Biscuit Co., M. L. Bose and Co., Bengal Immunity Co., Oriental Metal Industry, Standard Stationery Manufacturing, Orion and Co., Arya Bakery, Calcutta Mineral Supply Co., Darling Pump, Bengal Potteries, Suraj Mall Nager Mall, Panna Lal Seal Vidyamandir, Bangiya Diaselai, Calcutta Expanded Metal, Calcutta Metal Manufacturing, Bengal Glass Works, New Indian Glass Works, Vax Institute, Calcutta Celluloid Works, R. B. S. Rubber Mills, Bengal Salt Works, Indian Salt Manufacturing, Lakshmi Narain Cotton Mills, Maya Products, Flash Lights, Nath Brass-ware, Bengal Scientific and Technical Works, Tropico Sensidising, India Rubber Goods and Murial Laboratory.

Unique "Convocation" in Patna Senate Hall

In the Senate Halls of other Universities year after year degrees are conferred upon those who succeed in passing the Bachelor's degree and higher examinations. The Patna University Senate Hall recently witnessed a different, but not less important gathering for recognizing and rewarding pursuit of knowledge under difficulties.

The Hon'ble Dr. Syed Mahmud, Education Minister of Bihar, awarded prizes there to a batch of adults who were illiterate before but had become literate through the literacy campaign launcehd by him. The following passages are extracted from the impressive speech which he delivered on the occasion:—

I am extremely glad to be called upon to perform the most pleasant duty of giving away prizes to the first batch of those who a few months ago were steeped in the darkness of ignorance and in this short period of time through the devoted efforts of our student and teacher volunteers have been reclaimed to literacy and enlightenment. This great historic Hall has seen many distinguished gatherings and academic functions in which the highest academic honours have been conferred on eminent men of letters and science but never perhaps has this Hall witnessed a function which has been held to celebrate the success of hundreds of our unlettered adult countrymen in their efforts to seek knowledge and wisdom late in their lives. I have no doubt that today's function will be a turning point in the lives of these men and it will stimulate them to greater efforts for attaining a fuller and richer life.

To my newly literate brethren I take this opportunity of saying a few words. You have during the past few months shaken off your mental inertia and have, in spite of numerous demands on your time, come forward to receive the blessings of education and thus have set a noble example which will no doubt inspire others to follow in your footsteps. You must remember that you have taken upon yourself a great responsibility and that is to continue in the path of knowledge, a journey which you have just commenced. Let me remind you that you have another duty to perform and that is, not only to keep the torch of knowledge burning in your homes and hearts but also to illumine the darkness which today envelopes your fellow brethren. Let each one of you make a grim determination that by way of thanks-giving for the knowledge which you have been able to acq[illegible] you in your turn will pass it on to others. Thus in [illegible] crusade against illiteracy and ignorance, I have every [illegible] that we will be able to count on the active support [illegible] this new army of adult literate volunteers which [illegible] immeasurably strengthen our teacher and [illegible] volunteers and lead us to victory.

I shall be failing in my duty if I fail to acknowl[illegible] publicly the splendid and devoted services rendered [illegible] thousands of our teacher and student volunteers wh[illegible] the great sacrifice of their hard earned leisure w[illegible] hard in spite of all difficulties to make the movem[illegible] success.

United Provinces Literacy Schemes

The U. P. Ministry for Education has [illegible] number of schemes under contemplation [illegible] spread literacy in the Province.

Teaching of Adults

First, the Ministry is requesting all teachers emp[illegible] by local self-governing boards, numbering about 10[illegible] to give some of their spare time to the teaching of a[illegible] in their respective areas. For their good work, when [illegible] has been testified to by the Education Expansion [illegible] and headmasters of district board schools, they [illegible] be awarded certificates of merit and appreciation by [illegible] Government, and for exceptionally good work they [illegible] be given cash bonuses, ranging from Rs. 15 to 50.

Secondly, those interested in spreading literacy [illegible] being asked to undertake regular educational work in [illegible] villages. They will be required to organize private sch[illegible] in suitable village buildings. For their expenses, and [illegible] an honorarium, they will receive Rs. 10 per month [illegible] the Education Department.

Lastly, to utilize the services of those who may [illegible] be in a position to undertake whole-time educational w[illegible] the Education Department is planning to invite peop[illegible] enlist as part-time workers. For every person [illegible] literate through their efforts they will receive Re. 1.

Libraries and Reading-Rooms

It has been found that those who leave school [illegible] learning to read and write often relapse into illite[illegible] for lack of opportunities and facilities to increase [illegible] meagre knowledge. Plans are, therefore, almost com[illegible] for the opening of 960 adults schools, 750 circul[illegible] libraries and 3,600 reading-rooms in villages in Oc[illegible] the aim being that within a radius of three or four [illegible] there should be one reading-room, and that almost [illegible] village should be served by circulating libraries.

Each reading-room will be provided with at leas[illegible] Urdu and one Hindi weekly paper, and magazines in [illegible] and Hindi. For each library books worth Rs. 200 w[illegible] provided.

Experiments on Living Animals

A British Home Office Return rec[illegible] issued reveals the surprising fact that nea[illegible] million experiments were performed upon li[illegible] animals in 1937, or 96,793 more than in [illegible]

Of these, only 40,319 were performed under an[illegible] tics. The report admits that "in many cases of ex[illegible] ments performed without anaesthetics the results [illegible] negative."

It is shocking that in the vast majori[illegible] these million experiments on living animals [illegible]

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anaesthetics were used. What positive results beneficial to the human race were thereby obtained? Not that we admit that men have any right to torture the lower animals for human advantage.

Bombay's Compulsory Purchase of Lands Confiscated in 1931, And Return to Former Owners

BOMBAY, Sept. 2.

It is understood that the Secretary of State for India has permitted the Governor of Bombay to accord previous sanction as required by Section 299 of the Government of India Act to the Congress Ministry's Bill seeking compulsory acquisition of lands confiscated during the Civil Disobedience movement from peasants of Gujerat and Karnatak.

In this connection it might be recalled that the Bombay Legislature passed a resolution approving of Government's policy of purchasing these lands at Government cost with a view to returning them to the original owners. As negotiations to acquire these lands were not successful, Government proposed bringing forward legislation in the matter. The matter had to be sent to the Secretary of State for approval. According to the measures, the present owners of confiscated lands are to be paid the cost they paid for the land plus any expenses incurred in improving the lands, fifteen per cent by way of compensation and four per cent interest on the capital.

The example of Bombay should be followed by all other provinces where lands may have been confiscated for political reasons.

Persecution of Jews in Europe

It is sickening to read of fresh measures of persecution of Jews in Italy, Austria, and Germany. The papers contained news of a fresh pogrom, too, in Russia. In Poland also they are persecuted.

A Christian poet wrote in a different connection, "Alas for the rarity of Christian charity under the sun". But neither 'charity' in the original biblical sense nor any other virtue is a monopoly of any religious community.

References to 'Chatterjee' in the Book "Lenin and Gandhi"

Our attention has been drawn to certain references to 'Chatterjee' in René Fülöp-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi*, pages 290-293. The first of the sentences in which 'Chatterjee' figures is as follows:

"The publicist, B. C. Chatterjee, editor of the *Modern Review*, declares that an independent India would never be able to maintain the hegemony over the Indian Ocean at present exercised by Delhi."

We do not know whether the opinions ascribed to Mr. B. C. Chatterjee on pages 290-293 of *Lenin and Gandhi* are really his. We are concerned here with merely stating that they are not ours and never were, and that the name of the editor of *The Modern Review* is not *B. C.* Chatterjee.

If Mr. B. C. Chatterjee, really holds the opinions ascribed to him by the author of *Lenin and Gandhi*, it is only proper that he should get the whole credit for them.

We do not know whether this Note which we have written on *Lenin and Gandhi* will come to the notice either of the author of the original book or of the publishers of the English translation of the same. But we have written in the hope that the necessary corrections will be made.

Bengal Civil Liberties Union

At the last second annual general meeting of the Bengal Civil Liberties Union an abstract of the honorary secretary's report of its activities during the last two years was adopted. Great credit is due to Srijut Sures Ranjan Chatterji, M.A., B.L., the honorary organising secretary, for his single-minded devotion to the work of the Union. The greater part of the abstract of the report is printed below. The first paragraph relates to the condition of detenus.

On the 22nd December the first statement of the Union was issued regarding the serious condition of several detenus attacked with Tuberculosis, and since then up till now 71 statements have been issued ventilating the grievances of more than a thousand detenus, internees, and persons under other restrictions imposed under lawless laws and also those of people whose Civil Liberties have been wantonly violated by the Executive Government, the Police or other Governmental Agencies in exercise of their powers under ordinary laws especially in connection with labour and peasant movements. The statements have urged for abolition of Repressive Laws and Release of Detenus and Political Prisoners, Modification of Press Laws, Arms Act, Sec. 124A I. P. C. etc. and for Prison Reform in the light of the Reforms that are being introduced in all civilized countries of the world. A special statement containing typical facts and outstanding figures was issued on the 27th Oct. 1937, when the Working Committee of the All-India Congress Committee met at Calcutta and a negotiation was being held between Mahatmaji and the Hon'ble Ministers. Facts and figures were specially prepared and supplied to Mahatmaji for the momentous pourparler between His Excellency the Governor and himself held at Barrackpore on 9-11-37.

A Special Report, containing 132 pages of typed and printed matter, was placed before the London Conference on "Civil Liberties in India" held at the Transport House on October 7 of the last year under the presidency of Lord Listwell. This report contained the following chapters:—

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I. Repressive Laws.
A. Their Scope.
B. Their Operation.
C. Condition of the detenus, etc.—Suicides, Deaths, Insanity, T. B. and other serious diseases, etc.
D. Number of several sets of prisoners under successive persecutions since 1915.
E. Miscellaneous.
F. Condition of Camps and Grievances of Male and Female Detenus.
II. Press Laws.
A. Operation thereof in practice.
B. Books Proscribed.
III. Civil Liberties as they are today: Chronicle of events since the inauguration of the New Constitution.
A. Repression as continued till now.
B. Lady Detenus and Political Prisoners.
IV. Police Methods.
A. Fabrication of cases; Planting of Revolvers, etc.
(*i*). Midnapore Police Spy case.
(*ii*). Sylhet Revolver Planting case.
(*iii*). Revolvers and Explosives find case at Dacca.
(*iv*). Two other cases.
B. Char-Manair Report, 1923.
C. Police atrocities in districts during the Civil Disobedience Movement, 1932.
D. Summary of Chaygaon case.
E. Present Day Instances.
V. Beginning of the struggle for the rights of the people since 1905 in Bengal.
VI. Agonies of individual Detenus, etc.
VII. Tragic wails of families.

The substantial service to the credit of the Union is that

It was able to bring out to the public (*i*) the real condition that had been for a long time prevailing behind the prison-bars and at the domiciles in the forlorn corners of remote villages; (*ii*) that numerous families of Bengal had been disrupted under systematic repression carried or by a reactionary Government; and (*iii*) that police persecution continued still after release, making it almost impossible for our youths to settle down peacefully in life. The cumulative effect of all these may be said to be that a consciousness has been awakened to the magnitude of infringements of Civil Liberties, and the sensitiveness that grew blunt has been a bit keen as to the safeguarding of the rights of the people.

And a greater appreciation by the public of the province manifested itself in the formation of Branch Unions in districts which again gave clear indications of a growing awakening.

As regards repressive laws, it is stated:

Though the detenus have been released and restrictions withdrawn, the administrative policy of the Government remains reactionary as before and a whole series of repressive laws disfigure the Statute Book. There are again clear indications in the passing of the Army Recruiting Bill, that in days not very remote the engine of repression may be in full operation. A vast amount of literature is still under ban and organs of communication and expression of thoughts and opinions are still sought to be gagged. While in countries where there are National Governments Civil Liberties Unions are growing in number and strength, it is the duty of the people of this country to see that a Civil Liberties Union is maintained.

A Civil Liberties Union should certa be maintained in Bengal in fully vigorous wo ing order. It has done very useful necessary work during the last two years.

The following office-bearers were elected the session 1938-39:

President: Sj. Ramananda Chatterjee.
Vice-Presidents: Sj. Syamaprosad Mukherji, M Abul Kalam Azad, Sj. Sarat Chandra Bose, Sj. Hi Nath Datta, Prof. Nripendra Ch. Banerji, Mr. A M. Zakariah and Prof. Mrinal Kanti Bose.
Secretary: Sj. Sures Ranjan Chatterji.
Jt.-Secretary: Prof. Benoyendra Nath Ba
Treasurer: Sj. Sitaram Sakseria.

The American Civil Liberties Union

The United States of America is the grea republic in the world in the old accepted se of the word 'republic.' Its people enjoy g political liberty, and their civic rights, too, enviable. Yet they have a Civil Liber Union, and it has to be very active, too. T is enough to show how greatly the people India, who are not free, require the service Civil Liberties Unions in all province particularly in provinces like Bengal and Panjab, with branches in all districts.

As to the work of the American Ci Liberties Union, *Unity* of Chicago writes:

The American Civil Liberties Union has thr twenty years of impartial, unprejudiced, courag fighting built up for itself the reputation of being foremost champion of civil rights in this country. has never failed to come to the relief of any however humble or even disreputable, who has denied full freedom of speech and press, as se annual report just issued. In the very necessit the case, its clients have frequently been Socia Communists, and other radicals who have of course the first to suffer the worst at the hands of reactio public authorities. It has been this insistence o Union upon defending the liberties of those whom m else would defend which has besmeared it at the han bigoted opponents with the charge of being But the Union has championed quite as vigor individuals and groups of quite a different stam for example, Roman Catholics, Jehovah's Witn Ku Klux Klanners, and now capitalistic employers indictment of the National Labor Relations Act.

This last instance is interesting! Under the of the Wagner Act (as the law is popularly ca especially as administered by the National Labor tions Board, employers are denied the right to sta opposition to or criticism of trade unionism to employees, to distribute circulars among them communicate with them in any way, shape, or m The employer within the area of his factory, and the people on his payroll, must keep absolutely on all matters at issue between them. Recently example, an employer was indicted by the N Board, and will in due course be punished, for heinous offence of distributing among his employ speech by a Congressman attacking the C. I. O.

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isn't a denial of free speech, we should like to w what such denial is.

ncely Sympathy and Munificence

DARJEELING, Sept. 9.

Information has been just received here that on the sion of the seventh anniversary of his accession to Premiership, His Highness General Sir Joodha Shum e Jung Bahadur Rana, Maharaja of Nepal, has nced remission of the entire loan amounting to ty lakhs of rupees, given to sufferers of the 1934 hquake, and also refund of the amounts already

On the news of this announcement reaching eling there was great rejoicing among the local ese residents.—*A. P.*

ustrial Production in India

Commerce writes:

Official statistics available regarding the progress of strial production in India during 1937-38 show factory development. The progress that was noticed e earlier two years, in the wake of general economic ery, was maintained and even augmented in certain ches, particularly in the cotton mill industry. The wing are the available statistics of production in e of the major industries :

Commodity	1936-37	1937-38
Cotton piecegoods (mil. yds.)	.. 3,572	4,084
Iron and Steel (000 tons)		
Pig iron	.. 1,552	1,644
Steel ingots	.. 861	922
Finished steel	.. 692	823
Sugar (000 cwts.) (11 months)	.. 16,213	17,988
Paper (cwts.)	.. 970,625	1,076,222
Coal (000 tons)	.. 20,064	23,479
Jute manufactures (000 tons)	.. 1,252	1,303

yasagar Memorial Hall at dnapur

MIDNAPORE, Sept. 10.

The foundation stone of the Vidyasagar Memorial was laid this morning by Professor Sir S. Radha- nan after Mr. B. R. Sen, I. C. S., had opened the edings and thanked the donors for their liberal tions.

In the course of his speech Sir S. Radhakrishnan red to Vidyasagar as an eminent educationist, social mer and leader of Indian renaissance. "This sance is not the recapture of ancient ideal or val of ancient achievement but a dynamic readjust- of ancient ideals to modern conditions."

Tracing the history of Hinduism, he said that its dual spirit was movement and its dark days were when its champions became advocates of stagnation. great teachers of Hinduism were not the conservative ders of existing outworn ideas but radical innovators w ways of thinking and acting. Vidyasagar was a ous man. We have failed not because we have ved things spiritual but because we have not followed sufficiently. We have created a gulf between spirit ble and rested in a compromise. Religion is not d in routine and ritual. It is not a system of ments and prohibitions based on undefined fears sanctioned by terrific penalties. Bigotry and superstition are mistaken for religion. It is a life of peace and love. Vidyasagar was a friend of women. He was a constructive patriot. His many-sided activities indicate his versatile genius and his passion for India's freedom.—*A. P. I.*

Two Great Jews

Unity of Chicago records the death in July last of two of the world's greatest Jews—one in U. S. A. and the other in England. The former was Supreme Court Justice Cardozo, and the latter, Dr. Claude Goldsmid-Montefiore. The American weekly observes:

> Amid the raging anti-Semitism of this hour, and the snarling prejudice and contempt of Jews, so prevalent even among those who would deny the taint of anti-Semitism, we think of these two men who make ridiculous every charge directed against their brethren. Glorious and indispensable to mankind is any race which can produce such sons.

Doctorate for Ex-Vice-Chancellor

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its meeting on September 10 last conferred *honoris causa* the Degree of Doctor of Literature on Mr. Syama Prasad Mookerji.

Paying his tribute to the services rendered by Mr. Mookerji as Vice-Chancellor of the University, the Vice-Chancellor, Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, said he believed the entire Bengali community would welcome the conferment of this Degree on Mr. Mookerji, who had done so much for the cause of education in the province. Mr. Mookerji had left a mark in the history of education in this province and the Vice-Chancellor felt sure that the policy shaped by Mr. Mookerji would guide the activities of the University for many years to come.

This honorary degree is fully deserved.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Decentralization of Industries

Addressing the students of the Institute of Science at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews dealt lucidly with the subject of over-population and spoke mainly about the way in which industrial and agricultural science might help to solve the problem or at least lessen the evil.

He pointed out that huge centralized industries of western type such as are found in Great Britain, United States and Germany might only increase the present misery.

True, but in certain places and under certain circumstances, they might not increase the present misery, but relieve it.

"What is needed," he said, "is rather some form of decentralization, whereby the villages themselves may become thriving homes of industry. This would increase the earning capacity of the villagers without taking them away from their homes."

This is very much to be desired wherever possible.

Two improved methods of village craftsmanship, said Mr. Andrews, might be aimed at : (1) the construction of

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better machines which could be worked by the hand and foot and (2) the introduction of power through the transference of electricity from power stations.

The first method is practicable everywhere in India with regard to some village industries. The electrification method is practicable in provinces whose Governments have not been fleeced by the Government of India. It can hardly be adopted in Bengal so long as the legalised spoliation of this Province continues. Sir N. N. Sircar writes in his "Speeches and Pamphlets" (published in 1934), pp. 106-107:

The percentages of total Provincial Revenues which are retained in the Provinces are :—

Bengal	30.3
United Provinces ..	78.4
Madras	69.5
Bihar and Orissa ..	92.8
Punjab	85.9
Bombay	40.7
Central Provinces ..	90.1
Assam	85.4

While slight corrections are necessary, as some part of Customs Revenue from maritime provinces is attributable to those inland, and a smaller portion of revenue from taxes is similarly attributable—yet the figures bring out clearly the condition of Bengal due to no shortcomings of her own.

Some further correction is necessary owing to Sir Otto Niemeyer's award. But after making all such corrections, one would find the relative wretched position of Bengal's finances unaltered.

With regard to iron and steel works Mr. Andrews saw little hope of any great decentralization. Everything should be done at such centres by careful town-planning to avoid making new slums. The Tata Steel and Iron Company had succeeded in this at Jamshedpur.

There may be other similar heavy industries, which must either be centralized in India by Indians or left in the hands of foreign manufacturers abroad for the exploitation of India.

On the other hand for lighter industries, there was a perpetual supply of skilled labour in the villages which was only being half-employed in agriculture. Just as in Denmark and Switzerland a new and thriving countryside had recently come into existence, owing to the revival of village industries combined with the use of electric power, so the countryside of India might take this form more and more in the future and thus lead on to a higher standard of living. Increase of spending power was likely in the end to mean a lower birth-rate. At the very least it would provide more food for those who were suffering badly today from malnutrition.—*U. P.*

We agree. Nothing would please us more than the revival of village industries through the use of electric power and improved cottage machinery. And we know that in the course of a few years some provinces will be able to supply electric power even to rural areas for agricultural and industrial purposes. We do not and will not envy them their good luck. But what is to be done in and for the Provinces w owing to no fault or natural poverty of th have no public money for making arrangem for the supply of electric power both in to and villages?

Distress Caused By Flood

Owing to many rivers having overflo their banks in Assam, Bengal, Orissa, Bihar U. P., extensive areas are under water in th provinces, and in consequence there is great tress among the people. Vast multitudes without food and shelter and proper clot It is very difficult to cope with disaster of magnitude. The resources of both the pe and the provincial governments may be to to the utmost, but both parties must try t best to be equal to the occasion.

Perhaps the floods have been the most tensive and destructive in Bengal, half province (13 districts, to be precise) lying trate under the destructive fury of its rivers

It is a proper occasion for the Central G ernment to come to the rescue of the provi affected.

Control of Floods

A Poona message says that the problem flood control is being studied there under o auspices by the officers concerned.

This reminds us that, so far as we aware, Dr. M. N. Saha's informative pape river physics and river training contributi the Sir P. C. Ray Seventieth Birthday Com morative Volume was the first public discu in India of the problem which called attenti its gravity. Since then he has contrib other papers on it to this *Review*. Afte great North Bengal floods some years ago Bengal Government asked Professor Pras Chandra Mahalanobis, its meteorological c to study the question of floods and sub report. He did study the subject in its va aspects, passed in review the rainfall statisti decades and produced a remarkable report unfortunately owing to the Government b fixed a prohibitive price for it, it has be good (or bad ?) as suppressed. Writing memory and not having the report before perhaps no Indian editor got a copy fro Government, we are unable to supply details. But we are positive that any com which may be appointed to study the p of floods will derive great advantage fr study of this report. We believe an

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nister has had talks with Prof. Mahalanobis the subject of floods.

Talking of Orissa, one cannot but recollect at some years ago Mr. C. F. Andrews made a cial study of the Mahanadi floods. Provin- Committees in Orissa, Bihar, U. P., etc., pointed for the purpose, will do well to obtain much help as possible from Mr. Andrews, with advice from Sir M. Vivesvarayya other engineers.

Dr. Nalini Kanta Bose, Ph. D. (Gottingen), also scientifically studied the subject.

In Japan a committee of engineers and other rts have drawn up a scheme for the conser- tion and control of rivers. The physical and graphical conditions in Japan are not the e in all respects as in the Indian provinces cted by floods. Nevertheless there must be larities. The Japanese ideas concerning ning and deepening the river-beds, re-open- covered and silted-up rivers, elevation of way bridges where necessary, widening and pening of culverts, and the like should ve the earnest consideration of our experts authorities.

Many of our large rivers flow through more inces than one. For this reason, the Cen- Government should co-operate with the vincial Governments and co-ordinate the r's endeavours.

Since the above was in type we have seen e September number of *Science and Culture* ter on "Floods and Prediction of Flood ds by River Models" contributed by Dr. ini Kanta Bose of the Irrigation Research oratory of Lahore.

gal Bill to Muzzle Press and blic Opinion

A bill, named the "Bengal Official Records " was published in an extraordinary issue of official *Calcutta Gazette* on September 1 last. is said in the statement of objects and sons:

"A growing tendency has been noticed, both in the and on the platform, to give unauthorised currency the contents of unpublished state documents. This ency has rendered imperative the necessity of taking ative measures to suppress the dissemination in the and on the platform of the contents of unpublished ds of Government unless after due authorisation."

Its penal provisions may be summarized

The provisions of this Bill are calculated to penalise, imprisonment, editors of newspapers which may lish any unpublished official record relating to any ters of State, or any related matter or any comment them, except with the previous permission of the Provincial Government. The keepers of the presses in which such newspapers are printed will be severally liable.

Any person revealing such records or commenting on them on the public platform is also proposed to be similarly dealt with.

Where a newspaper may be the victim of the penal clauses, the Government may either forfeit any security it may have deposited or may even declare the press to be forfeited to the Government.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manœuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Or, let us take another kind of official information which must be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913:

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of only official information of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of any kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public. On the contrary, let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjea in defiance of that order in his *Bengalee*. He thereby promoted public good. *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby serving the public but incurring the wrath of the powers that be. In recent times the *Hindusthan*

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Standard has done quite the right thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental matters. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the two columns, they will still keep the unutilised portions vacant in order to show that these columns have been reserved entirely for Government publications. It is on these conditions we can allow the press to function in our country."

The extracts read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose have not injured either the State or the public. On the contrary, they have warned the public of possible dangers ahead. But if the Bill becomes law, no one will be able to publish such things hereafter without running the risk of being punished.

By the by, Mr. Bose has not told the public whether Mr. Fazlul Haq's note contained any proposal for paying the newspapers for the reservation of two columns and whether Mr. Haq wanted also to lay down the condition that the papers must not criticise what appeared in these columns !

Congress Resolution On Defence Expenditure Carried

SIMLA, Sept. 13.

By 74 votes to 35, the Central Assembly carried the Congress Party's resolution urging immediate constitution of a committee of the Central Legislature with an elected majority to examine the arrangements in force for the control of Defence Expenditure and suggest means of reduction in defence costs.—*U. P.*

Bengal Legislature and Calcutta University

It is welcome news that the Government of India have informed the Government of Bengal that according to the provisions of the Government of India Act, 1935, the Bengal Legislature is not competent to undertake any legislation affecting the Calcutta University. The reason obviously is that the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University extends over two provinces, namely, Bengal and Assam. It is further reported that the Government of India does not at present intend to initiate any legislation in the Central Legislature affecting the Calcutta University. Mr. A. K. Fa Haq, the Prime Minister of Bengal, therefore have to give up for the present intention to rush his reactionary communalism-ridden Secondary Education through the Bengal Legislature.

Ten-Year Journalistic Fame

Browsing through the pages of Ullman's volume entitled "A Portrait Ga of American Editors" Mr. Reginald T. Towns was reminded of John Farrar's remark at luncheon table that the average editor's of greatest usefulness averaged ten years—at most fifteen. That is what Mr. Towns writes in *The Saturday Review of Literat* He proceeds :

Applying John's yardstick to the Editors in Ullman's book, we found it amazingly correct. Of forty-three Editors at the height of their power th years ago but two out of the entire group, in this of grace 1938, are still editing the same or, for the part, any magazine. And of the thirty-nine magaz then published, thirteen had suspended publica entirely and several others had been merged or in case of "Life" had changed their character en Nine of the Editors were dead—two by their hand—two had retired, one was editing the Sc Section of a daily newspaper, and of nine we could no trace. The remaining thirty had quit journa entirely for other and we trust more substantial occu tion. One had become Governor of a New Eng State; another Vice-President of a large Public U Company; several had gone into the more lucrative of advertising or public relations; two or three fortunate than the rest, perhaps, were receiving pen for their years of work, but there were several still among the ranks of the unemployed.

So, now-a-days, when a young man or w suggests taking up editing as a profession, I merely them the book with the summary. Not that it wi any good, for youth is ever (fortunately for the w optimistic.

Dr. N. B. Khare's Affair

The speeches delivered, statements m letters in the press published, and the lea and notes written by editors against and Dr. N. B. Khare, ex-premier of C. P. and Be and the Congress Parliamentary Sub-Comm and Working Committee have attained unc proportions—bidding fair to become a mo Mahabharat, with its Kurukshetra at—(?) Congress President, wishing perhaps to de the *coup de grace*, indited a very long de of the Working Committee's action. But Dr. Khare has come out again with a rejoi

It cannot but be admitted that both gentlemen have super-abundant energy.

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British Paper on Dr. Khare

News Review, "the first British News-magazine" writing on "hairy" Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel (but printing at the same time his bald-headed portrait !), writes:

To prove the complete power he had gathered into his hands, Patel could have found no more redoubtable victim than Premier Khare, first Congressman to head an Indian Cabinet. Wealthy surgeon Khare was an old Lieutenant of the Mahatma's. Of Brahmin family noted for its fighting stock, he won himself an early reputation as a dangerous man to cross.

Beside running his own practice he found time to edit *Tarun Bharat* (Young India), most intransigent of Indian Nationalist news organs. He is an inveterate smoker of expensive English cigarettes, sacrificed an income of 20,000 rupees a year to head the Central Provinces Ministry with an income of a mere Rs. 6,000 and an occasional scolding from Sardar Patel.

"Patel's Broom"

The same British newspaper gives other items either substantial or spicy, about Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, *e.g.*:

Most ruthlessly unorthodox member of India's nationalistic Congress Party is its "shadow" leader, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel. When elected President of the municipality of Ahamadabad, a northern cotton town, he secured a broom and ostentatiously swept the public lavatories and streets. More recently he has devoted much energy to cleaning up graft, slackness and political chicanery in the seven Provinces controlled by Congress.

Last week broom-wielder Patel raised the dust even in the far-away corridors of Whitehall's India Office. There buzzed with reports that he was sweeping Congress on the way to Fascism.

This confirmed the suspicions of British officials that Congress, in opposition to the All-India Federation Plan, was firmly attempting to establish a parallel government in the Raj.

How effectively the organizing has progressed was seen recently when the powerful Congress Working Committee calmly assumed the prerogatives of Central Province Governor Sir Frank Wylles. Kicked out of office with no more ceremony than is required to fire an office boy was recalcitrant Premier Dr. Khare.

REVOLUTION

Dismissal of provincial Premiers is one of the functions reserved under the Constitution Act of 1935 to the Governors. The Congress *coup*, therefore, came as the climax to a series of defiant gestures.

Since its foundation 52 years ago by retired British Indian Civil Servant Octave Hume, National Congress has reached its maximum irritation to Britain under the leadership of pacific Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Socialist Subhas Bose. Ascetic Patel (55) the most powerful man in India today, is responsible for the party's latest tactics.

A barrister of the Middle Temple, Sardar Patel prefers parlour meetings to platform work. In his political armoury he carries three weapons: biting sarcasm, quiet intrigue, organizing genius.

An unwavering believer in the doctrines of Gandhi, he follows his master in every detail. When Gandhi once criticised his moustache he shaved it off—but grew it again later.

In a land of ascetics, he is outstanding for frugality. He breakfasts on a pint of cow's milk and a handful of nuts, for lunch and dinner rarely eats more than a few vegetables, a little home-baked bread, some ghee (clarified butter) and a sip or two of lentil soup. Never will he touch a curry, tea or coffee, alcohol or tobacco.

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit

Similarly it is said of Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, United Provinces Minister :

Dark-haired Minister Lakhshmi has planned to visit France. With her she brought four grey cases, packed with two dozen vari-hued Indian saris, a few cotton bodices and an overcoat.

Did Britishers expect her to have red, golden, or flaxen hair, we wonder !

"Outlawing Anti-recruiting Activity"

The British paper from which we have made extracts in the foregoing notes makes no secret of why Britain maintains an army in India for which India has to pay, nor of how Moslems are played off against non-Moslems.

To keep India safe for the British the Indian Army maintains a strength of 57,045 Britons and 159,200 native-born troops. With every three Indian battalions a British one is quartered.

As for the composition of the Indian troops it is stated:

Steeped in warlike tradition, India's Moslem Sikhs provide the bulk of native recruits; fewer each year come from the less martial Hindu Nationalists.

"Moslem Sikhs" is delicious. Both Moslems and Sikhs will appreciate it. The British critic conceals the fact that the British Government has long stopped recruitment from the "Hindu Nationalists."

About the debate on the army recruiting bill, now an Act, the paper observes:

Last week when Home Minister Reginald Maitland Maxwell's Bill to outlaw anti-recruiting activity was being debated in the Central Legislative Assembly, the Government had good reason to bless this fact.

In the CLA Hindu Nationlists and the Moslem League together control a clear majority of the 145 seats. Only when one group can be played off against the other can Viceroy Linlithgow's 40 nominated members push through their own proposals.

Then comes a description of the playing off.

Taking advantage of the opportunity to flay British foreign policy, Congressman Satya Murthi declared that eventually Indian soldiers would have to be used to bolster it.

While the Chamber still echoed with his taunts, Moslem Leaguer Maulana Zafar Ali rallied to Mr. Maxwell's aid. Two facts prompted his decisions : (1) Congressman Murthi's native province of Madras provides

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the lowest quota of soldiers to the Indian Army; (2) his own Punjab furnishes the highest.

Announcing his party's support for the Bill, even though it meant re-enacting legislation which the Assembly had repealed three years earlier, Maulana Zafar Ali helped to secure its passage by the Assembly.

Moslem Leader Jinnah fully approved Ali's stand. He made clear, however, that Moslem support did not imply permission to use Indian troops against the will or interests of India.

Precious little does Mr. Jinnah care for India's interests ! And he knows as well as the merest tyro in Indian politics that, as things stand, India has no power either to withold or give permission for the use of the Indian army in any way which Britain likes. So what he said was mere eyewash or bluff. It has become quite plain from a subsequent statement of his that he voted as he did (along with his followers) in the economic interest of the Moslem sepoys, recruits and would-be recruits. But thereby he did not promote even the economic interests of the whole or even the bulk of the Muhammadan community. For outside the Panjab & N.-W. F. P. Moslem recruitment is nil or almost nil—Bengali Moslems, who are the largest linguistic group of Indian Mussalmans, not being taken into the army.

Mr. Jinnah is being adversely criticized by many Moslem leaders, including prominent members of the Moslem League.

"Crimial Law Amendment Act, 1938"

What is generally known as the Armv Recruitment Bill is now an Act of the Central Legislature. Clause (3) of Section 1 of the Act runs as follows:—

> It shall come into force in a province on such date as the provincial Government may, by notification in the official Gazette, appoint in this behalf for such province.

As the Act provides "for the punishment of certain acts prejudicial to the recruitment of persons to serve in, and to the discipline of, His Majesties Forces," and as recruitment is practically confined to two or three provinces, it will not be necessary to issue the aforesaid notification in eight or nine provinces. Congress policy now prevails in eight provinces. Hence, the issue of such notification is sure to be resisted by the ministries in eight provinces. It will be discreet for the executive government of those provinces to avoid any deadlock which may result from any attempt to issue such notification.

Section 2 of the Act provides,

> 2. Whoever—
> (*a*) With intent to affect adversely the recruitment of persons to serve in the Military, Naval or Air Forces of His Majesty, wilfully dissuades or attempts to dissuade the public or any person from entering any such Forces or . . . shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to one year, or with fine, or with both.

This is penalising mere dissuasion. Practical prevention is a more serious offence than dissuasion. The authorities in India concerned with its defence practically prevent the inhabitants of the whole of India from joining the naval and air Forces and the inhabitants of by far the largest portion of India from joining the land Forces. This ought to be penalised by some law, national or international.

A Great Journalist's Warning to Journalists

In a considerable number of what are commonly called civilized countries, freedom of the press does not exist. Among those in which it does exist Britain occupies a prominent place and Britain is a really self-ruling country. But even in Britain a distinguished journalist like Mr. J. A. Spender apprehends that the freedom may be taken away or curtailed unless his brother journalists are careful. So he has uttered a note of warning, which is to be found in the subjoined extract from the *Manchester Guardian*. It is far easier for the powers that be to forge fetters for the press in India than in Britain. So we journalists should be careful not to give any handle to the enemies of freedom *unnecessarily*. The *Manchester Guardian* writes:

> 'These are times of very real peril for the freedom of the press,' declared Mr. J. A. Spender in an address on March 7 on 'The journalist and the public' to the Institute of Journalists in London. 'It is almost extinguished in one-half of the world, and in the other half there are enough enemies of liberty who will seize any handle that we may give them. I would say to those who may not have reflected on this matter, bear in mind that a very few false steps may seriously prejudice the liberties which are the common care of the whole profession.'
>
> 'On the question of manners it is useless for any of us to set up our own standards against the social code of good feeling and good taste. The accepted standards will prevail whatever we do. I do urge that we should do our utmost to uphold these standards and to protect our own members from any pressure that may be put upon them to depart from them.'
>
> Referring to the Journalists (Registration) Bill brought forward by the institute, Mr. Spender said the House of Commons had been incensed by some recent incidents and by the defiant claim of the newspapers to do exactly what they chose. They might think itself fortunate if some clever young member did not draft a bill by which the House of Commons would impose its own discipline on the journalistic profession, and pass it through as a private member's

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'We think it to be the far better way,' Mr. Spender went on, 'that we should be given the means of setting our house in order than that public authorities should undertake that task for us. We do not trust officials, who may obtain power to correct our manners, not to use it to stop our voices.'

'In this country the liberties of the press are never likely to be demolished by a frontal attack, but they may be undermined and grabbed away on the plausible excuse of stopping abuses which we ourselves are unable to defend. The French press in the last few months has been threatened with a measure making any writing which may damage the national credit or send capital abroad a penal offence. The necessity of such a measure may be argued in the most persuasive and plausible terms, for there is hardly anything which, in the hands of an arbitrary executive, it could not be made to cover.'

History of Bengali Lexicons

CALCUTTA, Sept. 19.

It is reliably understood that the Griffith prize of the University of Calcutta for 1937 has been awarded to Prof. Kali Kinkar Dutta, Professor of History, Patna College, and to Mr. Jatindra Mohon Bhattacharya for his original theses on Indian History and on the Bengali lexicon respectively.

It is understood that it is for the first time that a comprehensive, systematic and scientific attempt has been made by Mr. Bhattacharya to trace the growth and development of the Bengali lexicon from the year 1743, by several years even before the battle of Plassey. Mr. Bhattacharya has been able to refer in his original thesis to as many as 150 different volumes of Bengali lexicons between 1743 and 1867.

Mr. Bhattacharya has dealt with indices of words given in different volumes, their philological treatment, the unpublished manuscripts of eight different lexicographers, and their lives. The last chapter of the thesis deals with the development of the Bengali language since 1836 and an attempt has been made to demonstrate how the Bengali language was used as the court language of the province. Mr. Bhattacharya also refers to the pioneering attempts made by Rev. Long, that immortal missionary litterateur, who made the cause of the province his own, and also State papers in this direction.

Mr. Bhattacharya hails from the district of Sylhet, which, although Bengali in all respects, belongs politically to the province of Assam. He is the Ramtanu Research Scholar of the Calcutta University and is the author of two volumes published by the University.—*United Press.*

"Making a Fetish of Congress Resolutions"

In the course of a defence of the Madras Premier Mr. C. Rajagopalachari's use of the Criminal Law Amendment Act for suppressing the anti-Hindi agitation in the Tamil-speaking parts of the Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi observes that we must not make a fetish of Congress resolutions. As a general proposition that is correct. They are not sacrosanct. They may and should be done away with if found to be wrong, and they may and should be revoked or amended if changed circumstances so require. But so long as any Congress resolution remains in force, that is to say, so long as it has not been withdrawn, reversed, or altered, Congressmen are bound to act according to it. Therefore, Congressmen should try to put an end to all repressive laws, instead of having recourse to them for their convenience. This the Madras Premier has not done. On the contrary a Madras M.L.A.'s bill for the repeal of the particular repressive law in question has been opposed by the Madras ministry.

It is not to be thought that we either support or justify the persecution to which Mr. C. Rajagopalachari has been subjected. We do not. We think he might have promulgated an ordinance to get rid of the nuisance and later have had recourse to legislation, if necessary. And he ought to have repealed or agreed to the repeal of the repressive law in question, which Mahatmaji speaks of as a monstrosity and which Congressmen opposed and condemned when passed.

While no persecution of anybody should be allowed, the anti-Hindi agitators should be allowed the fullest liberty to carry on their propaganda and agitation along constitutional lines.

Gandhiji's Wrong Analogy

In order to justify the compulsory teaching of Hindustani in Madras Presidency Mahatma Gandhi has brought in the analogy of the compulsory teaching of Latin in schools in England. We do not know whether Latin is still compulsory in English schools. But assuming that it is, the analogy is not correct. Latin may be compulsory in English schools, because a very large number of English words are derived from Latin roots, because many scientific, philosophical and other words have to be coined from Latin roots, because Christian (particularly Roman Catholic) divine services were and still are to some extent performed through the medium of Latin, because the Latin Vulgate is an important translation of the Christian scripture, because knowledge of Latin was and still is a mark of culture in Europe and because the rich Latin literature has to be studied in Europe as a part of the Humanities.

So far at least as the languages prevalent in the Madras Presidency and the people of the Madras Presidency are concerned, Hindustani does not occupy the same position as Latin does in England. It will not be incorrect to state that it does not occupy the same position anywhere in India.

It should also be borne in mind that Latin is not, was not and was never proposed to be made the *lingua franca* of Britain.

If any one proposed to make the study of

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Sanskrit compulsory in any Indian province—in even the Madras Presidency, it would be in some respects like making Latin compulsory in England. It is not necessary to elaborate our observation. In very many respects Sanskrit occupied and occupies in India the place which Latin did and does in Europe. Mrs. Radhabai Subbarayan once made some such proposal. Recently Mr. Sampurnanand, education minister of U. P., has pointed out the desirability of introducing Sanskrit words into Hindi. That can be done only by those who know Sanskrit.

A Congress Daily in U. P.

We are glad that the United Provinces Congress party has again got a properly equipped daily organ. Every distinct party should have its organ. The aims, ideals and opinions of all schools of politics should find expression, and comments on current events in accord with these should be published for the guidance of the public.

We cordially welcome the appearance of *The National Herald* and wish it all success.

A Lesson From the Starting of a Congress "English" Daily

We have never been against India having a *lingua franca*. Our opinion is and has always been that it would have been very convenient if we had a common language. But we have also expressed the opinion that, as circumstances now stand, *it is not necessary for winning Swaraj* that we should have an Indian common language and that we should not make such efforts to have one as to cause dissensions among us standing in the way of a combined struggle for freedom and diverting attention from it. Of course, there is no objection to endeavours free from the element of compulsion. When the Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala delegates demanding separate provinces pressed their demands on the Congress Working Committee, they were told in effect that their wishes would be attended to after Swaraj had been won; and in the meantime they should not do anything which would divert attention from the main endeavour of the Congress. That is exactly our point of view.

All All-India publicity and propaganda work of the Congress is done through the medium of English—at least in the first instance. We do not say that this is a desirable state of things. What we say is that it is a fact. If it be a shameful fact, which we deny, that does not make it less of a reality. Mahatma Gandhi makes his views known through the medium of English in order to gain the ear of all educated people in India and abroad. As for those who do not know English, Congress views and Mahatmaji's views reach them through the medium of different provincial languages, in which Hindi (or Urdu, or Hindustani) is one. So for carrying on the struggle for freedom under the present circumstances English and the different provincial languages are found to be sufficient. That is a fact.

And now, even in the United Provinces, in which Hindi (or Urdu or Hindustani) is the mother-tongue, the Congress party has published its well-equipped daily, *not* in the mother-tongue but in English. It should be borne in mind that our provincial dailies have the largest part of their circulation in the provinces of their publication. So the *National Herald* will circulate mostly in U. P., and to some small extent elsewhere. Hence, for provincial circulation it might have been a Hindustani daily. But if it had been a Hindi paper it would not have been read by pure Urdu-walas, and if it had been an Urdu paper, it would not have been read by pure Hindi-walas. And a bi-lingual or bi-scriptal paper starts with a great handicap. An English paper has no such drawbacks. And undoubtedly if the promoters of this daily had not been convinced that English would suffice for their purpose and serve their purpose better than either Hindi or Urdu or both *in the unilingual province of U. P.*, they would not have decided to conduct it in English.

The U. P. Congress party seem to say, "For the purposes of our province of which the mother-tongue is Hindustani, we prefer to use English rather than Hindustani." But All-India Congress policy says, "The people of Madras and other provinces whose mother-tongue is not Hindustani must learn and use it."

Our opinion stands that *under present circumstances* it is not necessary for carrying on the struggle for freedom to have an Indian language as India's lingua franca.

"Occupation Day" in the Philippines

The American forces occupied Manila, the capital of the Philippine Islands, forty years ago on the 13th August, 1898. That day was celebrated this year by the Filipinos, not with feelings of resentment towards the United States of America but with friendly feelings; for Filipino independence is at hand and both Americans and Filipinos are preparing for the proclamation of Manuel

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Quezon, President of the Philippines, on Occupation Day, began thus:

". . . Whereas that day inaugurated in the world a new conception in the relationship between a sovereign country and a dependency;

"Whereas, during the space of forty years there has been developed in our beloved country a state which is now in its final stages of preparation to take its place among the sovereign nations of the world; and

"Whereas it is deemed just and fitting that the Filipino people render honor to the great democracy of the United States of America for the unparalleled progress and development that have been the fruits of her policy."

His address on the occasion contained the following passage addressed to the United States High Commissioner McNutt:

"Mr. High Commissioner: As a symbol of the endless friendship that binds together our two peoples, I wish to present to you, Sir, for your exalted leader, the President of the United States, these two flags—that of your own country and that of the new country to which you have given birth. The tie that binds us together, which we represent, does not depend on an alliance, nor a declaration, nor a treaty. It consists of those eternal spiritual kinships and relationships which defy all barriers, all oppositions, all aspirations. It is that extraordinary, indefinable longing for the same sort of things. Our aims, our hopes, our appreciations are the same. In the great moral causes, the great causes of consciousness, of liberty, of peace, the great causes which are the perpetuation of the higher and nobler aims and purposes of life, the United States and the Philippines in complete unison, not dominating nor conspiring against each other, but going on in perfect accord, because in the essential things we are in absolute and perfect agreement."

What a contrast to Indo-British relations and attitudes!

We are indebted to the *Philippine Magazine* for the passages quoted in this note.

Burma Riots Enquiry

RANGOON, Sept. 17.

It is understood that the Council of Ministers, at its meeting today, selected the following as the personnel of the Riot Enquiry Tribunal:

Chairman: Mr. Justice Braund.

Members: Dr. M. A. Rauf, Senator A. Rahim, Po Han, and U Khin Maung Dwe.

The Tribunal will begin its enquiry at the end of month.

This Riot Enquiry Tribunal contains two Indian members both of whom are Mussalmans. They will be able, if they care to, to present the Indian point of view and the grievances of Hindus also. We know Dr. M. A. Rauf. He is a highly cultured gentleman of broad nationalistic outlook. Nevertheless, *as the personnel has been* formed *on a communal basis*, it would have been better to include a Hindu member. But perhaps the Burma Government think the quarrel was more between Indian Moslems and Burmese Buddhists than between other Indians and the Burmese.

"Militant" Note in Congress President's Speech

CALCUTTA, Sept. 13.

"Our fight for freedom is not simply against British Imperialism but also against those individuals or groups in our country which function as so many allies of imperialistic power. We must spot out such blacklegs from amongst our kith and kin and at first try to persuade them to join the fighting ranks for national emancipation. Should these endeavours not meet with the desired result, we should not hesitate to take drastic steps to amputate such diseased limbs from our body politic without being deterred by any form of sickly sentimentalism. For traitors, in the garb of friends, deserve to be dealt with more ruthlessly than open and avowed enemies."

This militant note was sounded by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Bose, in the course of a speech on "Our Fight Ahead," at a largely attended public meeting held in North Calcutta this evening.

Continuing, President Bose stressed the imperative need for the cultivation of a spirit of discipline and implicit obedience by the rank and file in the Congress to the direction of veteran generals of the national army. In this connection be referred to the Khare episode, over which, he regretted to find a lot of fuss was being made in certain sections of his countrymen.

In a country like Germany, opined Mr. Bose, an act of indiscipline with which Dr. Khare stood charged, would have been dealt with by the offender concerned being blown off from the mouth of a cannon. But here in India they had let him off with only a resolution of condemnation.—*United Press.*

We are not in favour of using words like some of those used by President Bose. They rouse resentment unnecessarily. Mahatma Gandhi also said that in Germany Dr. Khare would have been shot. Such words may lead people to suspect that in India what stands in the way of political opponents being shot is not *ahimsa* or non-violence, but lack of the political power to shoot.

We venture to think that if Gandhiji and Mr. Bose considered it absolutely necessary to think and say what would have been done to Dr. Khare in a foreign country, they should have said what would have been done to him in U. S. A., Britain or France.

As for discipline and implicit obedience, perhaps the whole of this commodity should not be used up for the benefit of old sinners—a little of it may be reserved for younger persons as well.

India's Claim for Better Representation in League Secretariat

GENEVA, Sept. 19.

Sir Shanmukham Chetty drew the attention of the League-administration to the inadequacy of representation given to the Indian nation in the League Secretariat and I. L. O. in the Fourth (Budgetary) Committee of the Assembly.

After recalling the point stressed on many past occasions, Sir Shanmukham Chetty added that they were

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still dissatisfied with quantitative recruitments and still more with what he might call qualitative recruitments. He declared that "what would satisfy Indian aspirations is the appointment of some competent Indians in higher posts relating to the direction of control in the League."

Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chetty said that he did not suggest that this could be achieved by promoting junior members of the League Secretariat over seniors. What the administration must do was to get a competent Indian from the public services of India. He felt confident that among men occupying posts of responsibility in these services could be selected persons who could be trusted with any post of responsibility in the Secretariat.

He drew the attention of the administration to the need of giving more representation to Indian nationals when posts occupied by nationals of States who had withdrawn from membership of the League had become vacant. If public opinion in India was to be roused in favour of the League, it was essential that early steps be taken in this direction.—*Reuter.*

Readers of our Review since the last quarter of 1926 will remember that we were the first to point out the injustice done to India in the matter of the number and class of appointments made in the League Secretariat and the International Labour Office. It is not merely India's size and population which require to be taken into account, but her annual contribution to the League's expenses also.

Anti-Phooka Bill Passed

It is welcome news that the Central Legislative Assembly has passed the Anti-Phooka Bill. It is to be hoped that it will be properly worked.

Early Publication of the Present October Issue

As owing to the ensuing Durga Puja holidays we have to finish writing the Notes on the 23rd September, we are unable to comment on the deliberations of the Congress Working Committee, the All-India Congress Committee, and the Conference on the Bengali-Bihari question.

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose on Communal Percentages in Public Services

Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, leader of the Congress party in the Bengal Assembly, has made a statement justifying the party's attitude *re* the distribution of jobs in the public services on a communal basis. He claims in effect to have made a "realistic approach" to the question.

The distribution of jobs on a communal basis is an extension of the 'principle' underlying the communal "Award." The "Award" distributed seats in the Legislatures on a communal basis and to a smaller extent on an occupational and racial basis. All nationalists, including Congressmen, condemned it as anti-national and anti-democratic. Congress, howev neither accepted nor rejected it. That in our opinion the first defeat inflicted on it imperialistic strategy. In the case of the tension of the "Award" to the sphere of public services, the Bengal Assembly Congr party, as represented by Mr. Sarat Chan Bose, does not reject the 'principle' underly the "Award." It may be realistic politics in sense that the imperialist British Governm has created a situation to which that party obliged to surrender. But it also is a defeat the hands of the British imperialists.

We do not at all want that Moslems the depressed class Hindus should not have increasing share of the public services. W we want is that they should have it by me of educational advancement and increasing ness. That is no doubt a slower process t giving them a fixed and "weighted" share of jobs, even if that results in injustice to deprivation of fitter candidates among "cas Hindus, Christians, etc. But that is the c equitable way to lasting results. There is question that some Moslems and some depres class Hindus are as fit as "caste" Hindus. a rule that 60 per cent. must be Moslems and scheduled Hindus must inevitably result in t appointment of many unfit and comparative less fit men. That would result in dimini efficiency in the public services. Efficiency already suffered, *e.g.*, in the educational servi Communal outlook has become evident among some members of the magistracy judiciary, affecting their impartiality. The p force has been becoming less efficient and reli in the case of certain classes of crime.

Mr. Bose advises "caste" Hindu y men to take to industries and agriculture. should like some one to introduce and get pa a bill in the Assembly to give them a fixed portion of the land in east and north Be districts, no matter if thereby Moslem pess were deprived of some of their land! Of co every one will say that that would be an rageously unjust proposal. And so it would But if it be just to deprive men who are for the public services in favour of those wh less fit, it would be equally just to de efficient farmers of their land (which acco to Congress ideology belongs to the Natio favour of less efficient farmers. We shoul Mr. Bose also to try to give a fixed prop of the steamer services jobs to the Hindus monopolized by the Mussalmans, and als distribute occupations and crafts on a com basis. We know this cannot be done. A

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now it is easier to deprive Hindus of occupations for which they have fitted themselves, without giving them any compensating advantage in occupations for which others have fitted themselves. Mr. Bose will also do well to persuade the Government to give scholarships to caste Hindus for industrial education, as Moslems and scheduled Hindus are being given many scholarships for medical and general education.

That the public services maintain a very small percentage of the population is true. So is most other occupations, including the law. And, therefore, following Mr. Bose's line of argument, one might say to caste Hindus: "This occupation maintains 1 per cent., the second occupation maintains .5 per cent., a third .5 per cent., and so on; and therefore you should deprive yourselves of the opportunity of making a living by them. They are trifles. Take to agriculture." But unfortunately very many millions are already there living upon the land, and they cannot be taught the lesson of self-sacrifice.

Mr. Bose tries to clinch his argument by means of the following illustration:

> There is nothing which rankles more bitterly in the mind of the educated Bengali Hindu than the stigma of supposed military inferiority and incompetence. Yet the fact is unassailable that for the last hundred and odd years at any rate, whatever may have been the case in earlier times, the people of Bengal as a class have not served in the Army and have not been noted for their military capacity. What would a Bengali Hindu feel if these were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army? It is surely permitted to others to feel likewise under comparable disabilities.

Mr. Bose speaks of "comparable disabilities". Does he really mean that the exclusion of Bengalis from the Army is comparable with the *alleged* disabilities of the Bengali Moslems in the public services of Bengal? Even before the Government had laid down that 45 per cent. of the jobs must be given to them, there were many Moslems in these services. And now some branches, e.g., the inspecting branch of the education department, contains more Mussalmans than Hindus. Bengali Mussalmans in Bengal were never *excluded* from the public services for being Bengali Mussalmans as Bengalis have been *excluded* from the Army for being Bengalis. Therefore the cases of the two groups are not in the least comparable. Bengali Mussalmans do not get as many posts as they want, it is not because they are Mussalmans, but because they are educationally unqualified.

It is unnecessary to discuss the past or present fitness or unfitness of the Bengalis for the Army.

Mr. Bose has asked:

> "What would a Bengali Hindu feel if that (namely, Bengalis not having served in the Army and not being noted for their military capacity) were put forward as a justification for the exclusion of Bengali Hindus from the Army?"

He will perhaps allow us to ask a different kind of question, namely, "What would a Sikh, or a Gurkha, or a Pathan feel if, in order to enable Bengalis to make up leeway in the Army, 80 per cent. of the jobs in the Army were reserved for Bengalis, and 20 for the aforesaid 'martial' people?" They would feel and say that fitter men were being excluded and deprived in favour of the less fit.

Similarly the "caste" Hindus of Bengal feel and say that some men among them who are fitter for the public services are being excluded and deprived in favour of those who are less fit. If it be assumed that "caste" Hindus are unfit for fighting work and therefore it is right to exclude them from the Army, is it also to be assumed that, in spite of their being fit for soft jobs, some of the fittest among them can be justly deprived of soft jobs also? Then how are they to live? Even if the public services maintain a very small number of them, why should even this small number be deprived of their means of living?

And it is not merely or mainly a question of giving jobs to this group or that. As pointed out already, the apportionment of jobs on a communal basis is sure to affect the efficiency of the services for the worse.

As for the Army, as the question has been raised by way of illustration, we may say that Bengalis do not want any reservation. They do not want a reservation of even one per cent. What is wanted is that privates should be recruited from all provinces according to some physical and other tests, irrespective of the class or community to which candidates may belong.

About Gandhiji's Non-Violent Militia Plan

New Delhi, Sept. 21.

Mahatma Gandhi informally met the members of the Congress Working Committee who have so far arrived here, at his cot in Harijan Colony this afternoon when in the course of conversations he expressed his views about some aspects of the activities of persons who style themselves as Congress workers and are in several instances holders of responsible positions in Congress organizations.

It is understood that Gandhiji expressed grave concern at some recent developments in different parts of the country which, in his opinion, were in complete negation of the fundamental principles and ideals of the Congress.

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There were clear indications, Gandhiji is reported to have remarked, that certain sections of so-called Congress workers had begun to make light of the imperative need for observing truth and non-violence as the sheet-anchor of all Congress activities.

This, he thought, was all the more deplorable at a time when the responsibility of administering several provinces has devolved on the Congress. Congress Governments, he is further reported to have observed, stand the risk of being discredited before the world if the rank and file of Congress workers give a go-by to discipline and non-violence.

Dwelling on this topic, Gandhiji is understood to have referred to some of his recent articles in the "Harijan" which, he opined, were the outcome of his lacerated heart.

As has been his usual practice for some times past, Gandhiji did not talk much, but expressed his views in writing, which was read out.

Interviewed by the "United Press" after these talks were over, a prominent member of the Working Committee said that today's talk was meant to serve as the background of Gandhiji's plan for reorganization of the Congress movement all over the country on the basis of strictest adherence to truth and non-violence which is likely to be unfolded at tomorrow's sitting of the Working Committee.—*U. P.*

Gandhiji has been for some time thinking on this subject and has written several times in the "Harijan" on the subject emphasizing the need for maintaining complete non-violence. It is understood that this afternoon he will expound to the members of the Congress Working Committee the scheme for the creation of a Non-violent National Militia.

Mahatma Gandhi's address, according to authoritative circles, will mark a new phase in the Congress history of non-violence. Those in intimate touch with Mahatma Gandhi point out that during the last several weeks Mahatma Gandhi has been contemplating over the question and has fully utilised his recent vow of silence to evolve a scheme. He has thought and thought over the subject in silent meditation and has frequently hinted at what is coming by referring to this subject in his articles in the "Harijan."

Mahatma Gandhi is understood to be feeling that a definite stage in the history of the Congress in India has now been reached when the Congress must clearly define what its creed of non-violence means and adhere to it at all costs. He seems to ask that if in the near future the majority of the people in India express a desire to arm themselves what should be the attitude of the Congress?

This problem, it is further pointed out, has become all the more difficult and important in view of the fact that the Congress is today controlling Governments of eight provinces and may soon capture power at the centre, even if it be to only a limited extent. A talk of war and consequent armament was in the air and in the midst of all this welter of chaos and confusion it was necessary to define the attitude of the Congress.

The argument appears to be, how could the Congress, consistent with its creed of non-violence, subscribe to a policy of armament.

His contention, it is stated, is that Ethiopia, China and even Czechoslovakia, which were fully armed, had not succeeded but had to succumb to greater armed forces. This clearly indicated that mere arms would not solve the problem of retaining a country's independence and autonomy.

Arms and violence thus having proved useless weapons for the retention of the independence of country, it is asked why should non-violence be not a fair trial. Moreover, if a country like India, think of attaining freedom through non-violence, should it not also think of retaining that freedom non-violence.—*A. P.*

Our heart is entirely for non-violence, on the biggest collective scale. Without ing to criticise Gandhiji's ideal, we may out that China has not yet succumbed and yet be able to retain her independence by ing. In past history, too, it was generally fighting that nations retained or gained independence.

Czechoslovakian Situation

PRAGUE, Sept. 2

The reply of the Czech Government has been to the British and French Ministers.

"Reuter" learns from official sources that complete acceptance of British and French recom tions with no reservations or stipulations.

The reply, however, concludes with an appeal if Czechoslovakia should be attacked, the Govern trusts that Britain and France will come to her

POLISH AND HUNGARIAN DEMANDS

It is learned that the Polish Ambassador in in the course of recent visits to the Foreign presented the view of the Polish Government cession of Sudeten territory to Germany was in the Anglo-French proposals, a similar attitude be adopted vis-a-vis Polish claims regarding Karvina.

It is understood that the Hungarian Minister London has acquainted Lord Halifax with the the Hungarian Government that all minorities in slovakia should be accorded equal treatment with Germans.

In Warsaw thirty thousand attended a mass demanding the return to Poland of the Polish-sp parts of Czechoslovakia.—*Reuter.*

What ground is there for the hope Britain and France will help Czechoslovak attacked by a strengthened Germany?

Mussolini on the Czechoslovakian Situation

ROME, Sept. 2

Signor Mussolini in a speech at Trevisio Czechoslovakia's delicate position was due to that it was not only the Czech State, but also the German-Polish-Hungarian-Ruthenian-Rumanian State.

Exactly. And for this composite of Czechoslovakia Britain and France mainly responsible, though they have backed out.

Il Duce paid a tribute to Mr. Chamberlain the political initiative and leading the ship harbour of peace.

He declared that now that the Czech being faced, it must be settled in an integral —*Reuter.*

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Litvinoff on the Same

M. Litvinoff, addressing the League Assembly at Geneva declared, "Czechoslovakia may decide today or tomorrow to take up arms in defence of its independence. The sympathies, if not of all Governments, at any rate, of all peoples represented in the Assembly go out to the Czech people at this terrible hour of their trial."

The remark was greeted with cheers mainly from the public galleries.

M. Litvinoff told the Assembly that Russia had two days ago replied to Prague that she was prepared to render "immediate and effective assistance" under the Franco-Soviet pacts.

That the cheers came mainly from the public galleries, not from the Assembly members, is very significant.

America's Resentment At Betrayal of Czechs

New York newspapers are very angry on account of the proposed carve-up of Czechoslovakia. The *New York Times* sees in it the end of the whole system of security built up by post-war treaties and adds: "It is the end because a demonstration is being given that force alone is the determining factor in the relationship between states."

The *Chicago Herald Tribune* says that two Western democracies not only laid Czechoslovakia on the alter of sacrifice but they have commanded her to commit suicide so that they may be spared the embarrassment of denying their commitments to defend her.

The *New York Post* says: "The agreement sounds like the world's greatest destroyers."—*Amrita Bazar Patrika.*

Coalition Ministry in Assam

A coalition ministry, Congress predominating, has been formed in Assam. The European and Muslim *blocs* have combined to form the opposition. But it is hoped that, notwithstanding such opposition, the ministry will be able to carry on. It will be good for Assam and for India if the hope is fulfilled.

It is only in three provinces that the Congress is not carrying on the administration, and all the three are Muslim majority provinces. It would be good if there were emulation between the two groups of provinces in bringing India nearer to the goal of freedom.

Proposed National Art Gallery for India

The scheme for a National Art Gallery for India which Mr. B. Ukil of New Delhi has put before the public deserves full support. As New Delhi is now the capital of India, such an institution located there is likely to receive more support from the Princes and many distinguished men of India than if located elsewhere.

Students' Strikes Called Off

We are glad the Dacca University students' and Dacca Jagannath College students' strikes have been called off. The strike of the St. Xavier's College students and other sympathetic strikes declared in consequence are also now at an end. Now is the time for the students to calmly consider whether they could not have got by patient negotiation what they have now got by striking after giving an ultimatum. The authorities of the educational institutions concerned should also consider whether they could not have conceded before their students went on strike what they have conceded after the strike—assuming that they have made any substantial concessions. It is very greatly to be regretted that the relations which ought to exist between teachers and students have received rude shocks.

According to newspaper reports—we do not want to use any information received from any other source—the St. Xavier's College students have had to part with two of their leading fellow-collegians by transfer to another college, have had to sustain a lathi large by the police and a drenching with street hose water. There has also been much anxiety, loss of college lectures, etc. All these have to be taken into account in considering the gains, if any. The students may, after all, have gained only a Pyrrhic victory.

Unrest and Repression in Many Indian States

For some time past every issue of the dailies has contained news of unrest and repression in several Indian States. In some, troops have had to be called out and ordered to fire on crowds, with fatal results. In some other states, *e.g.*, Hyderabad, arrangements continued to be made for repression.

In all these the Princes and their Ministers are ill advised. Their people can never be satisfied with anything less than the rights which the inhabitants of the Congress-governed Provinces in British India actually enjoy. That is the minimum. The sooner all the ruling Princes decide to concede these rights to their subjects the better it would be for all concerned. Let them make a beginning at once and definitely fix the stages according to which other rights will be given. Whatever the dictators in Europe may think, autocracy cannot last. And the power of the Indian princes is but borrowed power. They shine by reflected light as it were.

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The National Council of Women in India

The sixth biennial report (for 1936-1937) of the National Council of Women in India contains much useful and interesting information relating to Indian women's activities.. Full page portraits of H.H. Maharani Setu Parvati Bayi of Travancore, President of the Council, and of Mrs. Brijlal Nehru, President of the 6th biennial conference of the Council, adorn the report. Besides condolence resolutions the conference passed resolutions on legislation relating to Hindu Women's Rights and the Child Marriage Restraint Act, on the means of advancing the cause of women's education. on sex education, on child welfare, on medical inspection in all aided and government schools, on health and nutrition, on the promotion of peace in the world, on the registration of nurses, and on traffic in women and children.

One misses a resolution on the abduction and ravishment of women, which not unoften takes the form of 'gang-rape'.

The Most Important Work Before Women

The work which ought to receive the greatest attention of all women workers, whether they are members of the Congress or of any other organization, is the education of girls and women. In India the education of boys and men is in a very backward condition and that of girls and women is in a still more deplorable condition. In whatever direction we wish to make progress, education is the foundation on which we can build. There is nothing showy or sensational about education. That is perhaps why it has little attraction for many workers. But it is one of the most substantial kinds of service to India that one can render.

Sir Pheroze Sethna

Sir Pheroze Sethna who died on the 17th of September last was a very successful man of business. He was connected with many companies doing insurance and banking business. He succeeded Sir Sorabji Pochkhanawala as chairman of the Central Bank of India Limited. He took keen interest in politics and was connected with the Liberal party from the time of its inception. He presided over a session of the National Liberal Federation of India. His speeches were marked by accurate knowledge and felicity of expression. He took a prominent part in the deliberations of the Round Table Conference both in its committees and in discussions outside. He was specially interested in the questions of defence, commerce, safeguards and the minorities. He laboured earnestly for improving the position of overseas Indians and the position of India in the League of Nations. He was connected with many public institutions in Bombay.

C. W. C. Approves of Action Against Dr. Khare

On the 22nd September the Congress Working Committee passed at New Delhi the following draft of a resolution on the Central Provinces ministerial affairs and the Khare episode for submission to the All-India Congress Committee:

"The A. I. C. C. approves of the prompt and decisive action taken by the Working Committee in the matter of the C. P. Ministerial crisis and fully endorses the views expressed by the Working Committee regarding the conduct of Dr. Khare and that of the Governor of the Central Prvoinces in the unfortunate episode.

"The A. I. C. C. is further clearly of the opinion that the conduct of Dr. Khare since his resignation from the C. P. Ministry deserves the severest condemnation."

This was expected.

Lala Hardayal Allowed to Return

BOMBAY, Sept. 22.

The Times of India publishes a report from its special correspondent at Simla that after 27 years of exile, Hardayal will be returning to India. The Government of India have decided to permit him to return to his homeland. This permission has been granted, it is stated, in view of Hardayal having given an undertaking not to participate directly or indirectly in any unconstitutional movement.

Hardayal left India in 1911 and organized the Ghadar party in America, aimed, it is stated, at overthrowing the State by revolutionary and violent methods . . .

Since 1927 he had been making occasional attempts to obtain from the Government of India an assurance of an amnesty. Recently, however he gave an undertaking, and the Government of India have therefore permitted his return.—*A. P.*

Lala Hardayal is a man of culture and extensive scholarship, and of ascetic habits. Years ago he used occasionally to contribute articles to *The Modern Review*. The articles which roused the greatest interest was one on "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race." It was proscribed by the Government in the Punjab when published in its Urdu form. It was not proscribed in its English garb as published in our Review.

Dr. Moonje Declares Hindu Mahasabha A Nationalistic Movement

Addressing a crowded public meeting in Albert Hall, Calcutta, on the 22nd Sept-

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last, Dr. B. S. Moonje showed that the Hindu Mahasabha was an entirely nationalistic movement. It is not at all a communalistic movement in the sense in which the Muslim League and other Muslim organizations are communalistic.

In rising to speak amidst cheers Dr. Moonje pointed out that

there were three aspects of the Hindu Mahasabha movement,—political, sociological and socio-religious. In the political aspect the Hindu Mahasabha movement was entirely a nationalistic movement. It preached unalloyed nationalism. If there was any institution, any political institution in India—the Indian National Congress not excluded—which preached completely unalloyed nationalism, it was the Hindu Mahasabha. (Cheers.)

Explaining that the Hindu Mahasabha was not a communal organisation Dr. Moonje said:

"Let us first understand what communalism is. Unless we know what is communalism, how can we know what is nationalism? Communalism means a state of mind when one looks entirely to the interests of one's own community without caring to know how it can affect the progress of the masses of the country as a whole. There are three main divisions of our people, Hindus, Muslims and Christians. I have absolutely no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side and the Christians on the other side. If there is one side with which we have quarrel it is the British Government (cheers), because British Government has been exploiting and taking advantage of these three divisions in the country. And unfortunately some of the Muslims, some of the Christians and also some of the Hindus are falling a prey to this 'divide and rule' policy of the British Administration. But I can clearly tell you and assure you that the Hindu Mahasabha has no quarrel with the Muslims on the one side or the Christians on the other. That state of mentality which says that political powers and political rights have to be divided in certain proportions among so many divisions, that state of mentality is communalism.

Compare this state of mind with that of those taking part in the Hindu Mahasabha movement. Has the Hindu Mahasabha ever said that because the Hindus are in a majority in certain provinces therefore they should be given powers, privileges and rights in greater proportion and that because the Hindus are in a minority in certain other provinces therefore there should be reservation of powers for them or that they needed protection? The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that. You can study its history from beginning to end. The Hindu Mahasabha has never said that political powers are to be distributed between people on the ground that they belong to this religion or that. This is a fact which is incontrovertible. Then why should anybody call the Hindu Mahasabha movement a communal movement? Neither the Muslims nor the Christians nor the British Government can say that, much less the Hindus. But unfortunately, the Hindus have been the loudest in accusing the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being a communal movement. Nobody should on its merit accuse the Hindu Mahasabha movement of being communal.

Dr. Moonje admitted that Congress was the premier political organization in the country out to fight British imperialism, and observed:

The Congress from the very beginning has been a national body. Practically my whole youth, my whole life has been spent in the Congress. Though I may not be a four-anna Congressman at the present moment yet I hope that I have lived as a Congressman and I shall die as a Congressman (applause). But unfortunately, the Congress in spite of being a national body rather connives at or instigates or encourages communalism.

Dr. Moonje did not like the way in which the Congress attempted to placate the Muslims and did not believe in the proposition that thirty crores of Hindus of India could not achieve independence of the country unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operated with them.

He could understand Muslims and Christians joining the Hindus in the common struggle for Swaraj but he failed to understand why thirty crores of Hindus would not be able to achieve independence without the co-operation of the Muslims. If that was the attitude of the Congress then the Britishers would say, "We would never go out of India and our imperialism will stay."

We have always held that the Hindus should strive for Swaraj, irrespective of the co-operation or non-co-operation of others, but that they should invite and welcome the co-operation of others. Such co-operation would make the attainment of Swaraj easier. But such co-operation is not indispensable for its achievement.

Then again it was said that Hindu-Muslim unity must be established and untouchability must be removed. "But untouchability," remarked Dr. Moonje, "has now been given a statutory existence and Hindu-Muslim unity cannot be established so long as the Communal Award stands (cheers)."

Dr. Moonje recalled how Bengal had expressed its sense of indignation at the Communal Award and its determination to fight it some time ago;

but he deplored that that spirit of opposition to the Communal Award has now "evaporated." The Communal Award, Dr. Moonje emphasized, gave a statutory place to communalism because it created a division between Hindus and Muslims, because it prevented India from having unalloyed nationalism.

Continuing Dr. Moonje said:

If a man were to come and say that you, Hindus, cannot have Swaraj unless the seven crores of Muslims co-operate with you or two crores of Christians co-operate with you, I do not know how it would appeal to you. But it appeals to me in a most shameful manner that these thirty crores of Hindus who are like so many sheep cannot establish their own kingdom, their own rule in India as Afghans have established their rule in Afghanisthan, as Arabs have established their rule in Arabia and the Irish have established their rule in Ireland and as at the present moment the Czechoslovakian Germans are trying to do. What was the Hindu Mahasabha doing? Where was the harm if they preached that Hindus should

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stand on their own legs, that Hindus should make up their own mind as to how to maintain their identity, their religion and their culture ?

Explaining how the minority problem was created in India, Dr. Moonje pointed out that

the minority problem was created in India by Lord Minto in 1904-1905 when the Aga Khan was sent on a deputation to him *at the secret suggestion of his lordship's government itself*. The speaker condemned the Congress for placating the Muslims and recalled in this connection that the first thing that Mahatma Gandhi had uttered when he went to England during the Round Table Conference was that he was prepared to give a blank cheque to the Muslims. The Muslims took advantage of it and made certain demands. How could they oppose the Communal Award if on their behalf Mahatmaji had been prepared to give them a blank cheque ? The minority problem had got to be created, the speaker emphasised, with a certain motive—and that was that the Britishers wanted to perpetuate imperialism.

Dr. Moonje would like to ask the Hindus to remember that

the whole of Afganisthan was Muslim in religion, the whole of Persia was Muslim in religion. "Suppose by any chance the central authority in India becomes weak, do you know to which extent this minority problem will go ? It will go to the very extent to which the Sudeten German problem has gone."

Dr. Moonje would like to present one problem before the Hindus of Bengal and would ask them to seriously ponder over it.

"Take the whole geography of India. There is Sind, there is the Punjab, there is Afganisthan, there is Kashmere, there is East and West Bengal. Sind was invaded by Md. Bin Kasim and practically the whole of Sind became Muslim and one invasion by Mahmud of Ghuzni made the whole of Afganisthan, once a centre of Hindu culture and learning, become Muslim. The whole of Kashmere was now practically Muslim. Ninety per cent. of East Bengal became Muslim because Shaista Khan happened to go there from Poona. What was it that enabled the Hindus round about Delhi to stand aggression and made the Hindus of East Bengal and Kashmere surrender immediately ?

That was a problem which the Bengali Hindus should seriously consider.

Dealing with the sociological aspect of the Hindu Mahasabha movement Dr. Moonje emphasised that

there was no community on the face of the earth which did not want to exist. What the Hindu Mahasabha did was to ask the Hindus to maintain their identity, their culture and their religion. If they wanted to survive they must try to bring out from among them men like Rana Pratap, Guru Govind Singh and women like the Rani of Jhansi. So long as the Congress did not give up its want of self-confidence which it has developed in itself there was no politics, there could be no movement except the Hindu Mahasabha movement.

Spanish Government Orders Withdrawal of Volunteers

GENEVA, Sept. 21.

Senor Negrin announced that the Spanish Government had decided to order immediate withdrawal of all non-Spanish combatants fighting on the Government side.

The withdrawal will apply to all foreigners including those who have assumed Spanish nationality since the outbreak of the war.

Senor Negrin asked for the appointment of an international commission to supervise the withdrawal.

He described the decision as a contribution towards general appeasement.

Senor Negrin, in a speech, explained that the Government resolved to remove the possibility of people casting doubt upon the purely national character of the Republican cause.—*Reuter.*

Will General Franco also order the withdrawal of the German and Italian volunteers from his army ?

Non-violence as an Antidote to War

Addressing the students of the National High School at Bangalore on Mahatma Gandhi's birthday Mr. C. F. Andrews said, in part :

Mahatma Gandhi regarded the strict observance of truth and non-violence as an antidote to war. Hitherto in human history this antidote had been confined to individual martyrdom and sacrifice. But Mahatma Gandhi, beginning in South Africa, and continuing in India itself, had been working out the same principle on a corporate scale. Undoubtedly this corporate non-resistance was far harder to achieve without the semblance of violence than individual acts of martyrdom such as the past history of the human race disclosed.

The greatness of Mahatmaji was not that he had solved this tremendous issue on which the whole future of humanity depended but that he had already shown in practice on a small scale that such a solution of the war problem was possible. In South Africa, where Mr. Andrews said he was in his company, Mahatma Gandhi had proved completely victorious in what was called passive resistance struggle. There non-violence and truth had been quite unadulterated. On the other hand, hitherto in the larger movements of non-co-operation in India itself, the purity of the struggle had not remained throughout at this highest level. Possibly concluded Mr. C. F. Andrews, before Mahatma Gandhi finished his work he might be able to show to the world once more this ideal of corporate moral resistance in the purest manner not only in overcoming racial conduct in the great cities owing to Hindu-Muslim tension, but also in bringing to an end war itself.—*A.*

Picketing

Mahtama Gandhi has, quite naturally and reasonably, condemned that kind of picketing which consists in lying stretched at full length across the gates or other entrances, or otherwise blocking passages. That is construed as use of force or violence. Yet the professional followers of Mahatma Gandhi in the press and on the platform are not known to have condemned this form of picketing by students during their strikes.

Bengal Jute Ordinance

The Bengal Jute ordinance will benefit big jute mills, almost all of which are Bri-

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oncerns. The predominantly Moslem ministry of Bengal would have been thrown out of office but for the support of the British *bloc* 35 strong. So, on the principle of "you scratch my back and I scratch yours," the ministry had to do something to show its gratitude. The ministry may profess to have acted in the interest of all who have anything to do with jute. But it has not been and cannot be shown that the ordinance will secure higher prices to the jute-growers for raw jute, or will benefit the jute-dealers and the smaller jute mills.

Reservation of Majority of Jobs for the Majority

The Government of India Act of 1935 has entrusted the Governors of the provinces with the responsibility for safeguarding the interests of the minorities and given them the necessary power to discharge that responsibility. If the Governor of Bengal allows the resolution reserving 60 per cent. of jobs for the majority community of Bengal to be enforced in practice, it should be accepted as the governmental method of safeguarding minority rights! As the Indian National Congress also advocates the safeguarding of minority rights in the same way, the attitude of the Bengal Congress party in the Assembly towards the aforesaid resolution shows, the Congress should instruct all Congress-controlled ministries, which are functioning in the Hindu majority provinces, to reserve 95 per cent. of the jobs in their provinces for the majority community—namely, the Hindus!

Mr. Premier Haq and his supporters and all members of the Muslim League will undoubtedly support this suggestion!

Is the Communal Apportionment of Jobs Legal?

The Government of India Act lays down that no one can be deprived of the right to be a Government servant, to follow a profession, and so on, merely on the ground of his race, religion, etc. But the communal apportionment of jobs does deprive many Hindus, Indian Christians, who may be the fittest for some such jobs, simply because they are not Mussalmans. Is such apportionment an infringement of the Govrnment of India Act, or is it not? Not being lawyers, we are unable to answer the question.

But if the point raised be arguable, should it not be taken to the Federal Court for its decision?

Lord Cecil on British Policy "re" Czechoslovakia

Lord Cecil has condemned the British policy in relation to Czechoslovakia in very strong language in a letter to *The Daily Telegraph*. He observes:

> "Submission to Hitler means extinction of Czechoslovak independence, it means breach of our treaty pledges; it means a great increase of the prestige of the Nazi Government and corresponding diminution of the prestige of Britain; it means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force and that the hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

Some other prominent citizens of Britain have also condemned the Chamberlain Cabinet's policy. But that has not prevented the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. And possibly it may not prevent the extinction of the independent existence of the Czechs. Even if the self-assertion of British public opinion leads ultimately to the overthrow of the Chamberlain ministry, it will perhaps be too late to be of any advantage to the Czechs.

Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia

Under irresistible pressure the Government of Czechoslovakia had to agree to evacuate that part of the republic which is inhabited mainly by Germans. So all troops of the republic has left Sudeten territory, which has been annexed by Germany. [Fighting has broken out and some of this territory has been re-occupied by the Czechs.] The Czech government have said:

> "We are not vanquished. We submitted in order to avoid misery and bloodshed. We are sacrificing ourselves to save peace as Christ sacrificed himself to save humanity. We shall not attempt to throw the blame where it belongs, but leave it to the judgment of history. We stand alone, but shall be Czechs together. A new life is now before us."

Poland and Hungary have demanded those parts of Czechoslovakia which are inhabited by Poles and Hungarians. Hitler may not be satisfied with merely having the Sudeten territory, as the following *Reuter's* telegram indicates:

> LONDON, Sept. 22.
>
> "The Daily Telegraph" correspondent from Godesberg says there can be little doubt that German troops will enter Czechoslovakia.
>
> The correspondent adds that Herr Hitler probably will propose to Mr. Chamberlain the disappearance of Czechoslovakia as a Sovereign State, establishment of German control and removal of Dr. Benes from office.

Why Czechoslovakia Suffers

Britain and France were the principal European allies which vanquished Germany in

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the last great war with the help of America. In order to weaken Germany and Austria they constituted Czechoslovakia, bringing together in that republic areas inhabited by Germans, Hungarians, Poles, Rumenians and Ruthenians along with Czechs, and they promised to defend the new republic if it were attacked or sought to be injured. This promise they ought to have kept, but instead of keeping it, they have put pressure upon the Czech government to surrender territory to Hitler. Herein lies their treachery. They have acted as they have done in order to save themselves from the risks incident to a war with Germany. But if in spite of their selfish policy, Hitler fights, he will fight with fresh accession of strength.

As for the Sudeten Germans, they cannot be blamed. We do not know whether, when their home-land was included in Czechoslovakia, they were consulted and their consent obtained. In any case, it is natural for people belonging to the same race, speaking the same language and living in one another's vicinity to like to form one nation and State.

The Muslim League and the Army Recruitment Bill

Maulana Mohd. Sahib, President, Frontier Provincial Muslim League, has issued the following statement to the Press on the question of the Muslim League's support to the Army Bill in the Central Legislature:

"The support given by the members of the Muslim League to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Central Legislature was absolutely based on the policy of vindictiveness displayed against the Congress. It was certainly due to that impulse that the Muslim League leaders did not pay any heed to the wishes of the Muslim community. Every patriotic Muslim cannot but express his sincere regret for the way in which these leaders who, in season and out of season, are raising the cry of 'Islam in danger,' have behaved in this particular matter and played a traitor to their community and country, as the Bill in question is a death-blow to the interest of Islam. It would be indeed difficult to cure this wound, which is nothing but to perpetuate the bondage of India and to ruin the Muslims outside India. In veiw of the events that are being foreshadowed in the near future I cannot refrain from saying that those who have voted for this Bill have dug their own graves and have sacrificed the interests of the Muslim community and it will further the ends of the British Imperialism. The supporters of the Bill will surely one day repent of their action.

"In conclusion I unequivocally condemn the Army Bill and appeal to every son of this country in general and the Muslims in particular to raise their voice of emphatic protest against this measure."

The Bengali-Bihari Question

As to-day (September 23) we have not got before us Dr. Rajendra Prasad's report on the Bengali-Bihari problem and the Congress Working Committee's decision thereupon, we will not make any observations on the subject. We write this note mainly to obtain information.

We find it stated in the papers that Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay had stated on behalf of the Bihar Government that provincial governments other than that of Bihar had dropped their domicile certificate system and rules in that connection. If it be true that he has made such a statement, it is only fair and proper that all such provincial domicile systems and rules should be made available to the public by the Bihar Government. If that is not done the public will be entitled to consider Mr. Krishna-ballabh Sahay's assertion unfounded.

Further, the Bihar Government should publish circulars like the Brett, the Owden and other similar circulars, *if any,* of other provincial governments, in order that the Indian public in general may be able to judge of the justice and legal validity of such circulars.

Supposing that all provincial governments have inherited or issued domicile rules and linguistic group circulars, the question arises whether a National organization like the Congress will tolerate them. If it does, then there may or will be mutually exclusive domicile rules and linguistic-group circulars among Tamils, Andhras, Karnatakas and Keralas, among Maharashtrians, Gujaratis and Karnatakas, among Maharashtrians and Mahakosalians, among Panjabis and non-Panjabis, among Sindhis and non-Sindhis, and so on.

Then will Indian National unity be at its height !

A Correction

On pages 128-9 of our last August number there appeared a short note regarding a fruit said to have been produced by grafting a mango on to a citron tree. We were misinformed. The fruit was from a seedling mango tree, a sport of sorts which looked like a citron.

Puja Holidays

The office of *The Modern Review* will remain closed for the Puja holidays from the 29th September to the 12th October, 1938, both days inclusive. All letters, orders, complaints and remittances received during this period will be dealt with after the holidays.

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RUSSIAN SILHOUETTES

By NICHOLAS ROERICH

I

FRIENDS,

I was very glad to hear of your interest in the Literature and Art of Russia. In this connection I remember with what enthusiasm already in pre-war times we were reading translations of the Bhagavad Gita, Gitanjali and the works of Kali Das, which my friend, the poet Baltrushaitis had beautifully rendered into Russian. And now the tribute which Indian writers give to Russian literature especially touches me. Friendship and mutual understanding are the basis of evolution, the more so when fundamental traits of the character are so near.

I have had opportunity to meet Russian writers of the last and present generation, and many of them were my close friends. Amongst them Maxim Gorky, Leonid Andreyev, Alexey Remizoff, Kuprin, Alexander Block were in specially close contact. I had also cordial meetings with Leo Tolstoy, Chekhov, Merejkovski and with Grigorovitch. I fully understand why India is interested in all these authors not only as representatives of world literature, but also feels drawn to their personalities. Fortunately, Russian literature at present is spreading in translations in many languages widely all over the world and thus correct understanding of the Russian people is reached. Till recently even in so-called educated circles there were the wildest notions about this vast country. Let us not forget that in French literature there were descriptions of heroes of Russian stories, sitting in the shade of huge branchy 'klukva'—apparently the author did not know that 'klukva' are the berries of a tiny three-inch shrub. Let us further remember German stories about Cossacks eating children, candles and soap; that a samovar is carried on the head and that bears dance in the streets of Russian cities. All these absurdities are now vanishing with the spreading of the glorious Russian literature abroad.

When we add to the abovementioned Russian authors Dostoyevsky, Turgenev, Nekrasov, Gogol and do not forget the great Russian poets Pushkin and Lermontov and go further the father of Russian poetry Derzhavin (end of XVIIIth century) and Lomonosov, the scientist and writer of the middle of XVIIIth century, we have a fairly complete outline of the leaders of our literature. Of course I mention above the literature of the last two centuries, but let us not forget that already since the XIIth century Russia had excellent literary gems like the famous "Discourse (Slovo) on the Campaign of Igor," which just celebrated its 750th anniversary.

Derzhavin's famous Ode "To God" written 150 years ago is one of the best poems of the Russian language. This poem has been translated into scores of foreign languages. I cannot refrain from quoting the first verse of this Ode, because it so beautifully represents the spirit of the poet:

> "O Thou eternal One! whose presence bright
> All space doth occupy, all motion guide;
> Unchanged through time's all-devastating flight;
> Thou only God! There is no God beside!
> Being above all being! Mighty One!
> Whom none can comprehend, and none explore."

When we speak of Theodore Dostoyevsky he often is represented as a stern psychologist of suffering humanity. The very names of his works *Crime and Punishment, The Idiot, The House of Death* already seem to point in this direction. But let us not forget that precisely Dostoyevsky proclaimed that 'Beauty will save the world.' Besides this, in his *An Author's Diary* he gave many prophetic pre-visions.

Ivan Turgenev gave an entire epopee of Russian country life and Dmitri Grigorovitch was one of the first to describe Russian peasantry. For me Grigorovitch is like the godfather of literature because he blessed me and introduced me into this domain. My first meeting with him dates 1897. The sufferings and aspirations of the Russian people are expressed also in the poetry of Nicholas Nekrasov, culminating in his poem: "Who can live happily and freely in Russia?"

Leo Tolstoy, more than any other Russian writer has been translated into many languages. His famous *War and Peace, Anna Karenina*—let us not repeat the whole suite of his remarkable works—show that amidst moralizing writings he dreamt about a wonderful country, which would bring real happiness to the people.

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Anton Chekhov, whom I now and then met in Moscow, was an unusually striking personality. Whereas he himself was extremely modest, his sweeping scope of writings covered the entire period of his time in Russia. In his sad smile at certain manifestations of life, he expressed his sensitiveness and love to his Motherland.

In 1934 the Nobel Committee intending to give a prize to Russian literature, had four candidates: Gorky, Merezhkovsky, Bunin and Remizoff. The committee decided in favour of Bunin. But public opinion was surprised that the palm was not bestowed upon Gorky or Merezhkovsky. As regards Remizoff, he is very highly revered in the circles of the intelligentsia because of his genuine old Russian style of writing.

Gorky worked at the same time as Leonid Andreyev, and they were often regarded as rivals although essentially they are quite different. Gorky was a psychologist of the masses, whereas Andreyev in his profound writings evinced the qualities of a prophet. Let us remember his *Man's Life, King Hunger, Red Laughter* and *Anathema.*

We all remember and cherish that the recent Centenary Celebrations of Alexander Pushkin turned into a world event. On February 10, 1837, the greatest Russian poet died after receiving a fatal wound in a duel. The name of Pushkin is known all over the world. The sad centenary of his violent death was reverenced in the whole world by all true lovers of literature. Not only in the immense vastness of Russia, but in all countries there were held solemn celebrations, exhibitions dedicated to the poet were opened and many new editions of his famous works were published. In Russian and foreign theatres his immortal dramas were produced, in the musical interpretation of the best Russian composers.

The commemorative event resulted in a great Day of Russian, or rather world Culture. The immortal creations of Pushkin, equal to Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Balzac will forever remain a vital inexhaustible source of spiritual enrichment of the present and future generations of humanity. *Eugen Onegin, Poltava, The Bronze Rider, The Captain's Daughter, Ruslan and Ludmila, The Queen of Spades,* and hundreds of other works of Pushkin will live as precious evidence of radiant thought, as expressions of the feelings of true noble inspiration.

Pushkin's poems, written over a hundred years ago, move the hearts of mankind as deeply now, as they did at the time of his contemporaries. Only now has the glory of Pushkin become a truly universal glory. He has expressed the inner life of the country in an unprecedented way calling up artistic images. For Pushkin the poet, there were no geographical nor historical boundaries. Ancient Hellas, Rome, Italy, Spain, and the ancient and the East, all Slavonic thoughts, were reflected in him with the same deep comprehension.

No one has before or after Pushkin enriched Russian culture to such an extent as the greatest poet of his Motherland. He was the true creator of the Russian literary language. He has conquered for Russian literature a place of honour in world classics. The poems, stories and essays of Pushkin prove the inexhaustible wealth of human expressions. Pushkin was the creator of a magnificent, flexible, expressive Russian literary language. He imbued Russian literature with the spirit of the people, he magnified the language with innumerable words taken from the very depths of folklore treasury. He introduced real poetic gems of national bards. Pushkin's contemporaries used to say about him that he was so restless, that his spirit was rebellious and such he died.

The great Russian critic Belinsky thus defined Pushkin's poetry:

"What a style! Antique plasticity and stern simplicity were combined in him with the charming plastic romantic rhythm. The entire acoustic wealth, the music of the Russian language were revealed in him in an extraordinary perfection; he is delicate, sweet, tender, with murmur of the waves; he is rich as soil, brilliant as lightning, transparent and pure as crystal, aromatic and fragrant as spring, strong and mighty as the sword in the hand of a hero. Should we want to describe the verse of Pushkin in one word, we would say that it is *par excellence*, a truly poetic, artful and artistic verse and this would solve the mystery of the majestic power of the entire poetry of Pushkin."

Gorky, usually severe in his judgment says of Pushkin:

"Pushkin is for Russian literature, what Leonardo da Vinci was for European art. We have before us the great Russian national poet, the creator of poetical works which charm with their beauty and wit, the author of the first realistic novel *Eugen Onegin*, the author of the best historical drama *Boris Godunov*, a poet, who even now is unsurpassed in the beauty of his verse and in the mighty expressions of emotions and thoughts, a man —the father of the great Russian literature. In the person of Pushkin we have the example of a writer, who being imbued with impressions of life, was striving to reflect them in verse and prose, with greatest truth, with utmost realism, and in this he succeeded as a true genius. His creations are the most valuable testimony of a clever, wise, truthful person about customs, habits, conceptions of a certain period—indeed they are the records of Russian history by a genius."

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As befits every great man, Pushkin suffered great injustice from his contemporaries. The great poet was exiled and for a long time there hung upon him the threat of evil suspicions. This cannot be avoided—without these torches it savages no great achievement is possible. Thanks to his all-containing heart, Pushkin loved all advanced movements and was a friend of free thought. We find him amongst the *Dekabrists*. We see Pushkin as a mason and to his society belonged all the foremost thinkers of Russia. The poet was seeking everywhere for Truth and listening to the fairy tales of his old nurse, he was enchanted from his very childhood by the beauty of Russian folklore.

During the short span of his life 1799-1837 he, whilst studying historical chronicles, yet remained ever in the defence of the new, carrying in his heart the vision of Russia's great future. When still in the Lyceum, Pushkin already astonished everyone with his sonorous verse and the great Derzhavin blessed him and foretold his glory. Seldom can one heart embrace simultaneously both the East and the West. Every reader in the Orient will understand Pushkin's *Ruslan and Ludmila, The Captive of the Caucasus*, or the *Fountain of Bakhchisarai*. Whereas *Eugen Onegin, The Queen of Spades* or *Dubrovskyi* will resound in the western hearts.

Boris Godunov, the drama, in which Pushkin with astounding depth unfolds the tragedy of a ruler, 'who has attained the highest power,' attracts now the attention of the whole world. Recently *Boris Godunov* was staged in Berlin; in Praha—*Eugen Onegin;* thus in the most diverse and even contradictory audiences the splendour of Pushkin's creations calls forth universal admiration.

As we see, Pushkin simultaneously proceeded by all creative paths. During the twenty-seven years of his literary career, Pushkin became a great poet, a great prosaist, a great dramatist. In his works we have examples of all literary styles. Every new creation of Pushkin was not only a real *chef d'oeuvre* but became a new chapter in the history of Russian literature. In his immeasurable artistic might, in his extraordinary multifacetness, in his unusual alacrity of mind are expressed the essentiality and genius of the great nation, in which he was born. Let us remember his self-characteristic poems "Echo" and "The Prophet," which are significant as describing the view of the poet upon his mission in life. Let us not attempt to translate them into poetical verse, but try to render the poet's thought:

ECHO

Whether beasts roar in forests deep—
Whether the horn sounds, or thunder storm,
Whether a maiden sings on hillocks far—
To every voice
An echo in the empty air
Resounds at once.
Thou heedest to the thunder's roar,
The calls of storm and waves,
To shouts of shepherds
You an answer send,
But you get no response . . . .
This, poet, is your fate !

In the other poem "Prophet" a six-winged Seraphim appears on the crossroad to a wanderer and, touching his lips and ears, opens to him his prophetic vision. The tremors of heaven and mysteries of earth and sea are revealed to him. The Seraphim tears out his tongue and replaces it with the wisdom of the serpent; for his heart he substitutes a piece of glowing coal. The poem concludes as follows:

"Alone as lifeless corpse in deserts I remained,
And God's voice called :
Arise, thou prohet, behold and hearken !
Be filled with My glory.
And, faring seas and distant lands,
By word the hearts of men thou set aflame !

Thus the poet foresaw his glorious mission.

II

Let us record for our friends in India the names of three Russian scholars, who are for ever connected with the East. As always, everyone who loves the East, loves also art. He will revere also the cradle of humanity—India.

I remember old meetings of the Russian Archaeological Society, in which Turayev took part, that remarkable investigator of Egypt and the ancient East. His external appearance, all his unassuming sincerity and heartiness, his naturally great soul, immediately attracted people to him. The first time, not yet knowing him, I asked my companion Veselovsky : "Who is that man there, still young, who smiles so gloriously ?" He explained to me that this was Turayev. And then in some connection it was pointed out to me that he was a remarkable Egyptologist, a profound expert in the religion of Egypt, a deeply religious man himself who had a beautiful family life. Thus was given the complete character of Turayev.

A remarkable scholar, a highly religious and excellent participant in social and family life. Then there was gathered around Turayev a whole group of outstanding young scholars,

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and one can imagine with what enthusiasm he guided those aspirants for knowledge.

Now it is already eighteen years since Turayev departed from this world.

The introduction to his work, *The Classical East*, says :

"On July 23, 1920 death snatched Turayev from the ranks of the living and left to life the memory of this great personality, to science his numerous works and the school created by him. To this school, the ranks of which after the death of B. T. continued to thin out, has been entrusted the responsible task of preserving and introducing into scientific usage the literary bequest of this teacher. His students, both in Petersburg and Moscow, have carefully looked after the works which B. T. left in the press. In Petersburg soon after his death there were withdrawn from publication several studies devoted to the memorials of the Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, and to the great papyrus of the collection of Prakhov in the Reports of the Russian Academy of the History of Material Culture."

Then Struve goes on to give the following just statement about Turayev :

"Carrying out his colossal task, B. T. displayed enormous erudition in the almost boundless literature about the ancient East, yet this literature did not dominate his thinking; he decided all problems on the basis of study of the sources themselves. A broad acquaintance with almost all the languages of the cultures studied by him gave B. T. the opportunity of making manifold use of the countless epigraphic memorials presnted to science by the inexhaustible soil of the East. In dealing with this material B. T. displayed with identical mastery the deep analysis of the philologist and the broad synthesis of the historian."

"Together with epigraphic material he made use with equal success of material evidence. In his deductions B. T. was always exceedingly cautious, and,drawing out from the sources all they had to give, he never had recourse to artificial and hazardous interpretations for the sake of a larger attainment, he never obtruded upon the source his own cogitation. All these merits of the work of B. T. his remarkable objectivity and many-sidedness, enormous erudition, universal knowledge of all the materials accessible to him, epigraphic as well as objective, and the carefulness of his deductions on the basis of this material, make *The Classical East* the cornerstone of the most remote labours devoted to this period of universal history."

This is a just appraisal to which one would still wish to add something about the most attractive personality of Turayev. It is characteristic to observe the fact that no one was surprised that in him lived both a religiousness of his own and a great respect for the religions which he studied. One would not wish to forget that Turayev, being himself not of strong health, was always remarkably responsive in allotting time to those who came to him.

As with many scholars, Turayev did not live in ease, but these difficulties were swamped in an ocean of scientific enthusiasm. Indeed, the enthusiasm for knowledge kept Turayev on the unquestionably lofty pathway of investigator—his path of life, all perplexi remained in him, not disturbing in him basic meaning of forward movement. worked unusually assiduously and always gressively. Likewise he did not belong to order of scholars, who, in order to avoid ponsibilities, chose for themselves a compl limited problem, within the limits of which risk no criticism.

Turayev, on the contrary was not afraid responsible tasks, summing up his investi tions in well-ground deductions. The lar problems fascinated him, as a result of w partial investigations flowed together rema ably harmoniously in his basic structu Nothing obscured his horizon and at the s time the paths of his research were fir enclosed. Now-a-days, when there is parti larly required a realization of basic synth the memory of such great scholars as Tura must be preserved as a guiding example many.

The recently departed Vladimirtsev the same aspirations. Coeval with them is great and esteemed Rostovstev, an outstan figure among scholars. Vladimirtsev's numer works (like *The Life of Chingiz-Khan*, *Social Structure of Mongol Life*, etc.) are well-founded and attractive to read. T three circumstances are rarely encountered combination. It occurs so many times to readers to regret the fact that very ne treatises are set forth in such clumsy lang that their meaning is obscured by artif accumulations of words. But the books Vladimirtsev and Rostovtsev are manifested parts of their enormous knowledge of Orient. Moreover as true scholars, they ide cally understand and respond both to the and the newest.

Being deeply acquainted with objec evidence, Rostovtsev is also a just appraiser contemporary art. Archaeologist, histori judge of art, he is always renewing his learning with excavations and with trav His word sounds clearly, both about the ancient periods of history and about our times. He absorbs everything. He is now ju recognized as an authority in America all the European countries. His books ma seen in university libraries and in the unexpected book-collections, and everyw they show signs of frequent reading. The has need of such scholars ! They are needed us, by his countrymen, and by the whole w

I rejoice that the works of Rostovtsev are

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lished in different languages and thus are accessible to an enormous number of readers.

During last winter Professor Rostovtsev visited India. It will be especially interesting to recall how this eminent Russian scholar speaks about India in the last issue of *Russkiye Annaly* (Russian Annals) published in Paris:

"In my old age God gave me the chance to visit India, this fairy-tale country... In India I saw that, what interested me... My chief interest in India was the interest of a historian, a specialist in the field of the ancient classical world,—of a historian, who already for many years studied the relationship of India with the classic epochs, and their (of India and this world) mutual influence on each other which is most of all understood through architecture, painting and applied crafts.

"I will say a few words about India in general, which will be of interest to my Russian readers. As a Russian I was struck by the similarity of India and Russia. One should not exaggerate this, but one cannot ignore the resemblance. A colossal country with a population of hundreds of millions, speaking hundreds of languages. A country of thousands of tribes, tongues and dialects. A country of many religions and acute religious oppositions. A country of endless fertile plains and mighty rivers. A country of millions of peasants, thousands of villages and a few cities most of which are but large villages. The country of creaking ox-carts, country roads, endless savans, immense vastnesses. A country of deep differences in all respects: climatic, social, economic, religious. On the one side hungry poverty, on the other—palaces, sparkling in gold and silver, wealthy rajas decorated with precious gems. Temples, the treasuries of which are filled with gold and silver and jewellery, which nobody has ever seen except the priests—brahmen. A small well-wishing intelligentsia and mud huts of millions of peasants and off the soil and millions of illiterate and illiterate people. A country of unlimited possibilities, hidden in the soul of the people. A country which surprises with its deep religiosity, with thousands of temples and hundreds of thousands of priests, with millions of pilgrims, with luxurious religious ceremonies and processions. A country of asceticism and mortification of flesh. A country of mysticism and religious upliftment . . . .

"But in order to understand, I, at least, have to see. But to see the dead is impossible. Of the dead one can only guess and reconstruct it in one's imagination. In India the classical polytheism with its theory, philosophy and praxis is alive. One can see it, see it daily, in thousands of large and small temples, scattered all over India, where the cult of thousands of gods never ceases even for a minute, where traditional religion is living and is not likely to die.

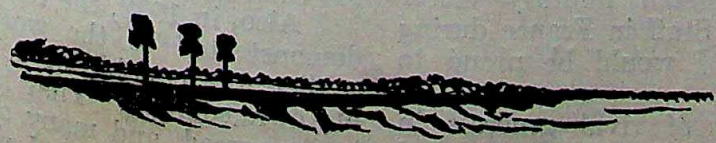
"The traditional polytheism of India is indeed alive and it is very instructive for the research worker of the classical world to see its everyday manifestation... The similarity is striking. Polytheism is of course existent also in other parts of the world, but that is either a primitive, barbarian, shamanistic polytheism or that of another race,—not of ours. In india the brahmanistic polytheism has been retained amidst the people, who attained a high form of civilization, the same as in the classical world. It has survived in India a hard struggle.

"In galleries, in temple yards and bazaars, in streets inhabited by priests of Hindu temples, I felt exactly as in the classical world. It seemed to me that I saw not the life of a Madura or Bhuvaneswar Temple of India or the thousands of temples of Bali of the twentieth century, but the life of large and small temples not so much of Greece, Rome or Egypt, but rather of Syria, Mesopotamia of the Hellenistic and Roman period."

Of course when one studies India longer, one no more thinks of the Hellenistic or Roman period but of something much more ancient and much more lofty and essential. But for a brief visit like that of Professor Rostovtsev, who is a specialist of the classical world, such a vivid comparison of life in India with ancient classical countries, is very interesting.

We sketch Russian silhouettes and in them one can realize those friendly ties which mark two countries of the same race.

Himalayas, 1938



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THE CHINESE SOLDIER

By AGNES SMEDLEY

Since time immemorial the Chinese have regarded the soldier as the lowest of the earth's human creatures, while the man who could read and write characters was given first honor and a privileged position in society. Today, much of this fallacious attitude continues to exist and is, in some degree, responsible for the weaknesses in the Army Medical Service and the inadequate care of the wounded. This fallacious attitude is also seen in recent Government decisions exempting the student class from conscripted military service at the front and for the fact that modern-trained Chinese physicians have not yet been conscripted by the Government for the Army Medical Service.

While large numbers of students have voluntarily entered some branch of military service, such as guerilla units, the air force, or as officers, still they are chiefly confined to political work in the army and in the rear, while thousands of students calmly move to the rear and continue to study in universities in the same way as before the war began. This is their loss, for the difference between students who have seen hard service at the front, and those in the rear, is most striking. Those in the rear are soft, indecisive, often effeminate, not knowing what life is all about; those at the front become sharp, quick, determined, capable.

Yet it can be said that almost the entire Chinese Army is made up of workers and peasants, the majority of them illiterate, most of them with the most miserable economic background. With the social heritage of outcasts, these soldiers nevertheless arouse in all foreign observers who see them in action almost nothing but unstinted praise and admiration. Foreign military men of long service in western armies have repeatedly remarked that while high Chinese officers are very bad stuff, still the courage, endurance, stubbornness and initiative of the common soldiers and of the lower officers is unsurpassed. One foreign military officer who was on the General Staff in France during the world war said: "I would be proud to command such men."

True, in past wars of rival generals in China, the Chinese soldier received—and deserved—a bad name. However, that was not his fault. He had no principle worth fig for, but was a tool of this or that General the path to glory and riches. But what he really made of was shown repeatedly whe was once given something worth fighting Given an idea worth living for, and he willing to fight and die for it.

To understand this characteristic of Chinese soldier you have but to know economic and social conditions of the wor and peasants, from which the soldier spri The common people stand always before hun completely unprotected from the ravages nature and the more merciless ravages of t fellow-man. Without the simplest elemen rights of man, they have in addition been in the darkness of illiteracy. The soldier fou only for his bowl of rice in the past and natu ly enough it did not matter to him for wh he fought.

Yet this very virgin mental and econ state, combined with the native intellig which characterizes the common man of Ch makes the Chinese soldier the most fertile in the world for ideas. This was demonstr in the revolutionary wave of 1925-27 in Ch but it was above all shown in the develop of the Chinese Red Army of workers peasants. That Army sprang from the soil of destitution and subjection and, begi with some few rifles, grew until it stood army of a million men armed with weapo superior to them that the comparison be the present Japanese Army and the Ch may be made. Yet the once half-naked Army of poor men is today meeting the pow Japanese Army, throughout north and nor China. As in the past, so today, the powerful weapon of this Army, now calle 8th Route Army, is the knowledge it brin common people. No people on earth are willing to die for an idea of a new and life than are the common men of China.

Also, in 1932, the famous 19th Route demonstrated to the world what the Ch soldier was capable of doing when fighti his own country. That army was ragg badly armed, and many of them mere k When the present Japanese invasion

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he Chinese soldier again showed his mettle, oth in the north and in the Yangtze Valley. nferior by a thousand-fold to the well-armed nd well-organized Japanese army with its eets of war vessels, airplanes, tanks, artillery nd intelligence service, still most units of the hinese Army stood up and continued to fight ainst colossal odds. As one foreign diplomat pressed it, "Around Shanghai the Japanese rled everything at them except the kitchen nk." The courage of the common soldier, s endurance, stubbornness, initiative, and ility to bear hardship when fighting for his n homeland, has aroused the unstinted ad- ration of every unbiased foreigner and the e of every Chinese who is a sincere patriot. foreign military observer who recently turned after three months with the Eighth ute Army, expressed his opinion of the aracter of the Chinese soldier in these words:

"The Chinese soldier stands at the very top of the e as a fighting man. Given decent treatment, a imum of food to sustain life in him, and a spiritual pose to fight for, the Chinese soldier has no superior. can endure more hardship than any soldier on earth."

In the Yangtze Valley today one has more n ample opportunity to observe the ordinary inese soldier. Here are over a million men m every section of the country. Provincial geographical differences make themselves , but beyond this, the fighting man at the it has no differences. In the rear, among icians, there is unrelenting struggle over the ation of the mobilization and arming of the ian population, against corruption and eaucracy, and against political reaction. But the front all this vanishes and men are hers fighting for one common, holy purpose. ny of the Provincial troops are boys, little e than children, their loose faded cotton forms flapping about their thin adolescent es. Their equipment is miserable and many w little more than the Japanese have troyed their homes and families and threaten destroy all China.

Other troops are older, seasoned, more scious men. Many come from the North, r homes already in occupied territory. In fighting in western Shantung down to June, e northern troops—formerly without high tation—suddenly began to stand the full st of the fighting. The 26th Route Army manded by General Sun Lien-chung, stood ground to the very last—and lost three- ths of its force. The Manchurian troops of eral Yu Hsueh-chung did the same. I have ently visited Army hospitals filled with these northern men wounded months ago in Shantung. They are big and strong, slow and stubborn, between the ages of twenty and thirty as a rule, and fully conscious of the meaning of this war.

Then, here in the Yangtze Valley today are also the shorter, wiry, temperamental Kwangtung Army, and the well-trained, politically, Kwangsi Army. The crack troops of the Central Government are also highly trained, politically, in so far as the Japanese problem is concerned. As the best-armed forces of the country, they stood much of the brunt of fighting in the Yangtze Valley around Shanghai and Nanking, suffering heavy losses.

The army with the highest political and social training is the famous Eighth Route, or Communist Army. All its men have been taught to read and write in the Army, while military and political training is about equally divided. Its morale is perhaps the highest of all Chinese armies, and it is the only Army so far able to exist, grow, and operate successfully in the rear of the enemy, to reconquer Chinese territory and re-establish Chinese authority. The rank and file of its men believe that this is a holy war. I have talked with the wounded of this Army as they were carried from the battlefield. Some knew they were dying, but did not complain, and one dying man tried to comfort me by telling me that it did not really matter if he died because China would be victorious.

The wounded Chinese soldier, generally speaking, is perhaps the most stoical of any on earth. This is a tragic necessity also, for the Chinese Army Medical Service has not gone in advance of the backward nature of the country in general. It is, therefore, badly organized and most imperfectly equipped and trained. At the front in the Yangtze Valley today one can see long lines of lightly wounded men making their painful way for days and days to some receiving station or field hospital in the rear. Men severely wounded lie dying in some peasant hut or wayside station, or under some isolated tree. Generally the wounded man dies in silence, uncomplaining, his eyes often filled with hopelessness. It is a terrible thing to see them die, for it is clear to those who know them that they are the material from which true greatness is made, and that the loss of such courage and consciousness is a loss to China and to the world.

In recent air raids in the Wu-Han cities, I have again had the opportunity to watch the Chinese soldier in action and to care for some of their wounded. With mangled bodies, they

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patiently watch doctors and nurses care for other wounded men, most of whom are civilians. They do not moan or groan, but wait in white-lipped silence until their turn comes. For every little thing done for them they are eternally grateful,—as if they expect nothing from life. It is a sad truth that, though they are tender to each other when wounded, care for each other, still is seems to come surprise to many of them when others to their aid. This sad fact, with all its notations, will perhaps be destroyed the present Sino-Japanese war comes to end.

IMPRESSIONS OF BOHEMIA

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D. SC. POL. (Rome).

On a warm and bright afternoon early in last June, when the spark of an ominous incident on the Czech-German frontier near Cheb had hardly died out, I was approaching the home of the Sudeten Germans who have recently created so much noise and scandal in European politics, by the Paris-Prague express. The train was speeding across the green slopes and exuberant spring verdure of the German woodlands.

On the 20th May and during the following days, Europe was almost on the brink of a war. Two Sudeten Germans were shot at by the Czech police near Eger and were incidentally killed. There was anxiety in all the capitals of Europe as to the possibility of a German intervention in Czechoslovakia. The memory of the *anaschluss* was too fresh to allow European statesmen to dismiss lightly the provocation that this incident might have offered to the fulfilment of Nazi plans in regard to Czechoslovakia. Two weeks had passed since the incident, still there was a lot of tension in the air.

The only other passenger in my compartment, with whom I had been travelling from Nuremberg, did not speak a single word until we crossed the German frontier and arrived at Eger. He was a Czech businessman from Paris coming home for the Whitsun holidays. After we had left Eger he became very friendly with me and told me without reserve all he knew and all he felt about the present situation in regard to Czech-German relations. I guessed the widom of his taciturn attitude during the German part of the journey.

Except for the small movement of customs and passport officers, this frontier station which might have proved a new Serajevo about two weeks ago appeared to be unusually calm and peaceful. At eight o'clock in the evening streets were deserted and there was practi no traffic even near the railway station. naturally suggested to me the strong hand Prague had taken in regard to the inci that became so chronic in the Sudeten Ger districts of Czechoslovakia. This guess later on confirmed by the general belief I found among the important officers of State and members of the Press in Prague there is only one method of dealing with Germans, that is, "to show the red eye." Germans, it is believed in Prague, persuasion as weakness. So Czechoslov had prepared herself for the worst. matter of fact, the entire country seem be in the midst of a general mobili From the frontier to Prague we notice least three lines of fortification, and bridge was guarded by soldiers. In places on our way, on high promontori found those military pickets, dressed in gre woollen khaki, in very cheerful and opti mood, guarding the outskirts of their motherland. The Czecks made no sec their preparedness for war, although the might prove to be infinitely stronger themselves. There was a touch of desper in the determination of young Czechs to their newly acquired independence centuries of subjection and torture. young man whom I had the opportun meet in Czechoslovakia gave me the impr of this desperation and of an instinctive to the Teutonic menace.

The present quarrel between the G and Czechs can never be understood proper historic significance until one the fundamental difference between th and Teutonic temperaments that hav

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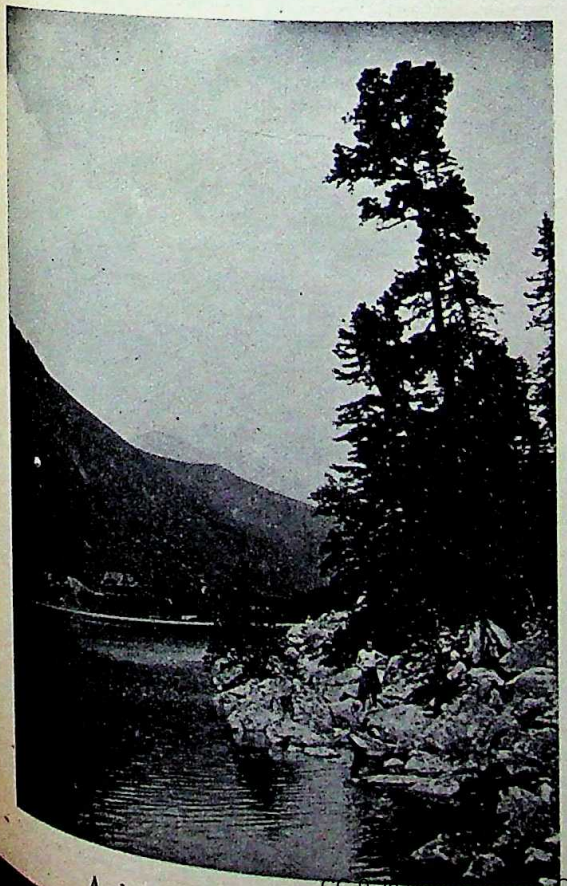
Young girls in their national costumes from a village of Carpathian Ruthenia

Beautiful wedding costumes from South-eastern Moravia



A charming lake in the High Tatras

The War Memorial, Prague

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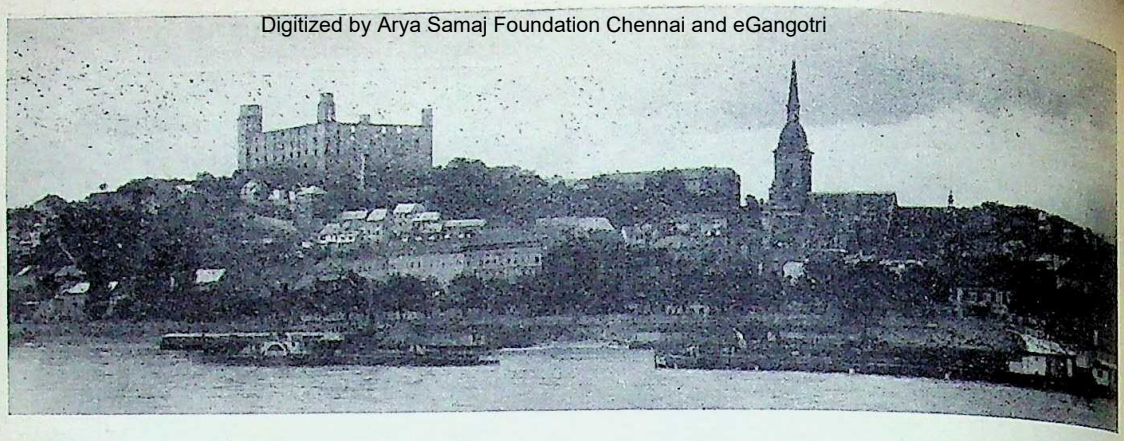
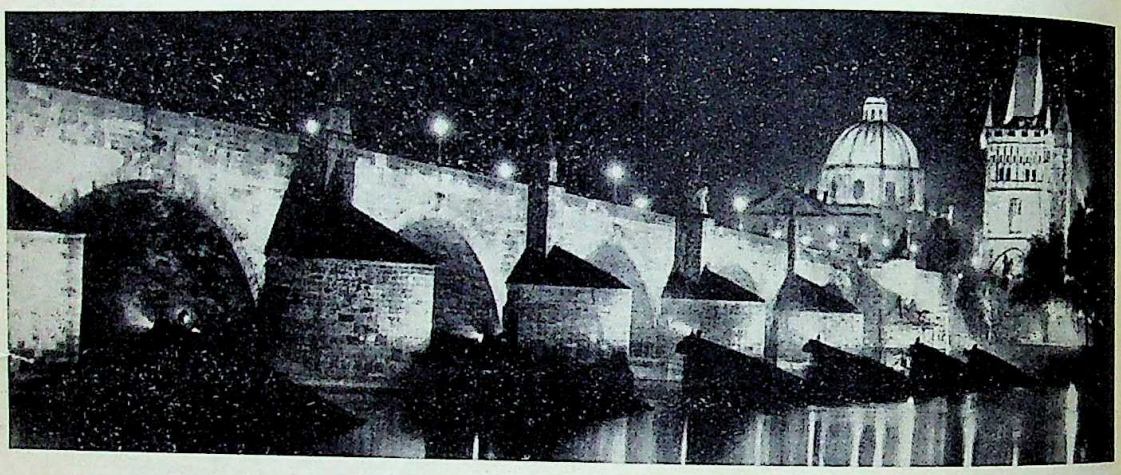
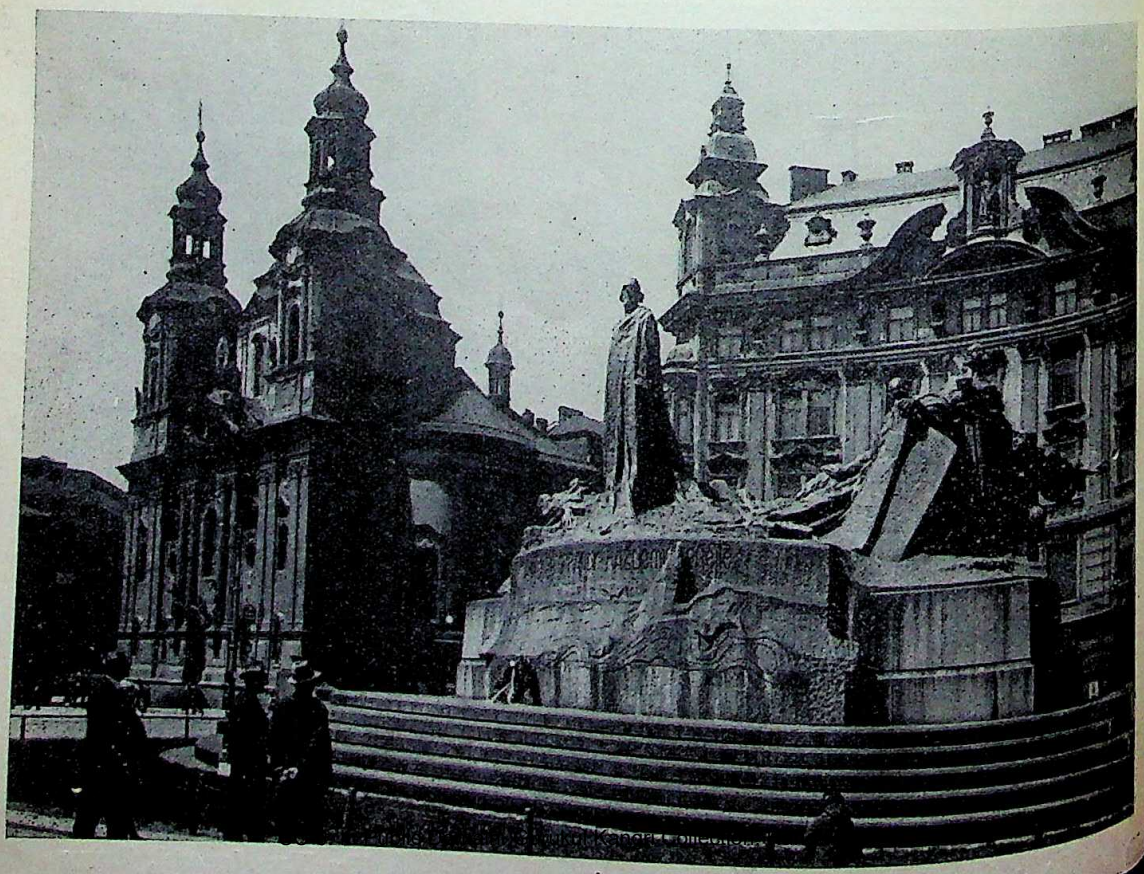


General view of Bratislava, the Capital of Slovakia



Reflections of the illuminated Charles Bridge on the Moldava, Prague



The Monument to John Hus, Prague

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Europe some of its most decisive wars and still constitutes the most potential danger for peace in Central Europe. The religious revolt itself, led by the Prague Professor John Hus, which partly inspired the Reformation and led to the religious wars involving the political

A delightful *ensemble* of embroideries and laces: Costumes from middle Moravia

destiny of Bohemia in a series of unending vicissitudes, was not merely an anticlerical movement but was characterized by a deep-rooted racial animosity. According to an eminent English historian,

"Bohemian puritanism, while full of religious fervour and vigour, was closely bound up with national pride, and with the ambition for political independence. It was a movement partly for the reform of a profligate, and ignorant clergy, but partly, also, for a Bohemian church on a national basis, and for the expulsion or subordination of the Germans. A light is thrown upon the last aspect of the struggle by a decree of King Wenzel in 1409, which transferred the control of the University of Prague from the Germans to the Bohemians. Passionate was the pride of the German masters and students that, rather than submit to the dominion of the Czechs, they emigrated in a body, founded the University of Leipzig, and spread far and wide through Germany the violent abhorrence of the Bohemian cause. The bitterness of the religious war was deepened by that intense racial animosity which is found when two mutually antipathetic races are intermingled in the same geographical area, and maddened by the jars of daily intercourse." (H. A. L. Fisher: *A History of Europe*, page 356).

The political subjection of Bohemia under the Austrian Empire did not wipe out this instinctive aversion of the Bohemians towards their neighbouring Teutonic races. The great War again set at liberty the tides of Slavonic nationalism which had continued to aspire, even during its darkest periods, after self-determination. The following passage from Prof. Fisher's book illustrates this point of view:

"The Hussite wars, while they should primarily be regarded as the prelude to the Protestant Reformation, are also important as marking the reaction of a Slavonic race against the onward pressure and dominating influence of the Germans. The quarrel of Bohemia will not be understood unless we can enter into the emotions of a small people struggling to preserve its soul against a race more numerous and more advanced than itself. Passionate discipline and willing sacrifice made the Bohemians masters of their destiny; but the fruits of victory were snatched by a greedy nobility, and lost in 1620 at the battle of the White Hill, when the Protestant cause was overwhelmed, and the little country with its gridle of mountains was caught in the Austrian and Catholic net, from which it was only delivered after much fretting and uneasiness by the flashing scimitar of the great war." (*Op. Cit., page* 359).

It would be appropriate in this connection to refer to the two living cults in modern Czechoslovakia which bear testimony to the fact that although the present constitution of the Republic of Czechovakia came into being after the great war, its foundation had been laid more than a thousand years ago. They are the cult of Venceslas,* and the Sokol movement. Czechoslovakia celebrated the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic in 1928, but at the same time she celebrated with greater grandeur the millenial anniversary of the death of Saint Venceslas on the 28th September, 1929. Saint Venceslas, whose statue stands today in front of the National Museum in Prague at one end of the principal thoroughfare and main artery of metropolitan traffic which bears his name, was not only the first Saint of Bohemia whom the Czechoslovak people have honoured as their patron and protector but also became the symbol of her independence and of the part she has taken in the march of European civilization. All the history of Czechoslovakia from the 10th to the 20th century is permeated by the cult of St. Venceslas. Although an independent Czech State was organized by the Premyslides about a hundred years before the advent of Venceslas, it was during the reign of the Saint that the solid nucleus of the Czech

* This name is sometimes written also as Wenceslas and Vaclav.

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State was formed for the first time under the aegis of a national dynasty by the union of several tribes of occidental Slavs inhabiting the actual territory of Czechoslovakia. It is St. Venceslas who is credited with the wisdom, at the moment of the breakdown of the liaison between the tribes of the occidental Slavs and the millenary celebrations. The tradition of Venceslas has been allocated a position of first importance in Czech history. Subsequent generations made of him the national patron saint, an advocate before God, the protector of the Czech cause, his country's most perfect representative in the eyes of his people and foreigners. It is certain that the martyrdom which brought an early end to his reign greatly contributed to this. On the 28th September, 929, he was assassinated by the order of the partisans of his brother, Boleslav, on the threshold of St. Boleslav Church. Although the frenzied ambition of his brother was the true motive for the murder, Venceslas was referred to from the death as a martyr to the Christian cause to which he had consecrated his life. Poems were composed in his honour in Latin and Slavonic, his reputation travelled through Europe. His mortal remains transported by the remorseful brother from St. Boleslav to the Church of St. Vitus at Prague Castle are regarded as a national palladium; his boar-spear, borne in combat assures victory; his likeness was engraved on the coins and the seals of the rulers of Bohemia; since the tenth century, the anniversary of his death has been celebrated as a national fete and his sword has served as a for the knights of the State.

President and Madame Benes plucking fruits

the Byzantine civilization owing to the inroads of the Hungarians into the Danube basin, of turning towards the civilization of western Europe, and of employing all his power to spread among the masses of the Czech people the sole form of that civilization, the Christian religion of the Latin Church. He surrounded himself by enlightened priests, and, with their aid, he propagated the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures, routed pagan superstitions, and introduced Christian customs. He maintained active relations with the West and implanted the art of Roman architecture and *belles lettres* in Bohemia. Filled in his youth by the ideal of a Christian ruler, his wise government made a civilized country of Bohemia, enabling her, by the degree of her culture, to rank among the most advanced nations of the West. The monuments of the period of this saintly Prince which have survived the subsequent wars bear eloquent testimony to the work of civilization carried on by the Czechoslovak nation. The most important of these is the Church of St. Vitus, the first foundations of which were laid by the Prince himself in the precincts of the Prague Castle, and which was completed during

St. Venceslas is for Bohemia what St. Stephen is for Hungary. This cult of Venceslas achieved its apogee at the time of the most celebrated of the rulers of Bohemia, Charles IV, who was himself a fervent admirer of the Saint. He had built over the tomb of the Saint a chapel and undertook the construction of the Cathedral of St. Vitus, the foundations of which had been laid by the Saint himself. The University of Prague which he founded in 1348 bears in its coat of arms the figure of the Saint. The crown of Bohemia, refashioned by Charles, was placed on the skull of the patron of the country and called the Crown of St. Venceslas. It was for this reason that the Czech territories were afterwards known as the lands of the Crown of St. Venceslas. During the Hussite period the cult of Venceslas did not disappear but merged

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the Hussite tradition. Hus himself was admirer of the princely Saint, and the autiful hymn in honour of the Saint which peared at the end of the 13th century was gmented by new verses during the Hussite riod and was sung by the "soldiers of God" a war song and as a national hymn on the ssion of great events. The plastic arts as ll as the folk arts of Bohemia have been ntly influenced by the Venceslas tradition. is tradition has been revived with renewed our after the foundation of independent Republic. Imsing manifestations have been de before his statue, and the gold pieces of the Republic his effigy as did the coins the ancient princes and kings Bohemia.

The Sokol Movement which typically Slav organization a characteristically Slav ribution to the culture of ope owes its origin in choslovakia after the downof the post-Metternich olutism in 1860, when the dawn of constitutional dom raised in the Czechs hope of political independwhich they never again ndoned. They determined fit themselves for the part might some day have to in Europe, and devoted spare hours of a hard life to a of gymnastic exercise which demands tal alertness, binds its exponents in equal herhood, and requires of them a high moral dard. The artistic talent of the Czech ple made music an integral part of the vement, and the kaleidoscopic changes of nde and formation are rendered without words of command, but only in accordance the notes of the music and an occasional al. The name "Sokol" (Falcon) is derivfrom Jugoslav legends and songs, and among Southern Slavs after the war it took the matic form of epic history. Men and women ld recount in rythmic drill the story of the kish conquest followed by the long struggle their race for freedom.

"Music and movement told the tale of subjugation, men doing every exercise with their arms crossed at wrists, and being gradually, as it were, driven to ground, on which their crossed wrists were laid, and heads on wrists. The girls meanwhile, the music ing slower and sadder, took dragging steps forward, sank upon a knee, and buried their faces in their hands. Then the music would grow louder, stormier, heartening, and men and women half rose and looked upward, only to be driven by a crash from the music, denoting the suppression of the rising, back into their attitudes of utter dejection. Two or three abortive revolts followed, each rather differently characterized; then gradually the performers—but they hardly seemed to be performers in the ordinary sense of the word—slowly rose to fully upright positions, the music grew harmonious, majestic and finally triumphant, while men and women closed their ranks, burst into loud song, and marched from the hall to the frantic applause of the onlookers."

A Slovak peasant girl watering plants at home

It was history re-enacted by people to whom every memory of disaster and triumph seemed to be a living experience. To the Jugoslavs, Czechs, Slovaks, and other Slavs these exercises mean much more than physical culture, for they express the soul of the nation. They also, of course, teach discipline, orderliness and respect for communal authority. During the great Sokol Congress which is being held at present (July) in Prague representatives of the entire Slavonic world have gathered together and, are taking part in the gigantic manifestations. Could our own *Bratachari* movement adopt this all-comprehensive national, patriotic and cultural character?

This fundamental racial antagonism between the Slavs and the Germans has never ceased to play its part in the history of Central Europe, the Balkans and Russia. The Hussite wars, the Pan-Slavonic movement originating with the Slovak poet Kollar in 1824 and leading to the Bohemian revolution of 1848 and

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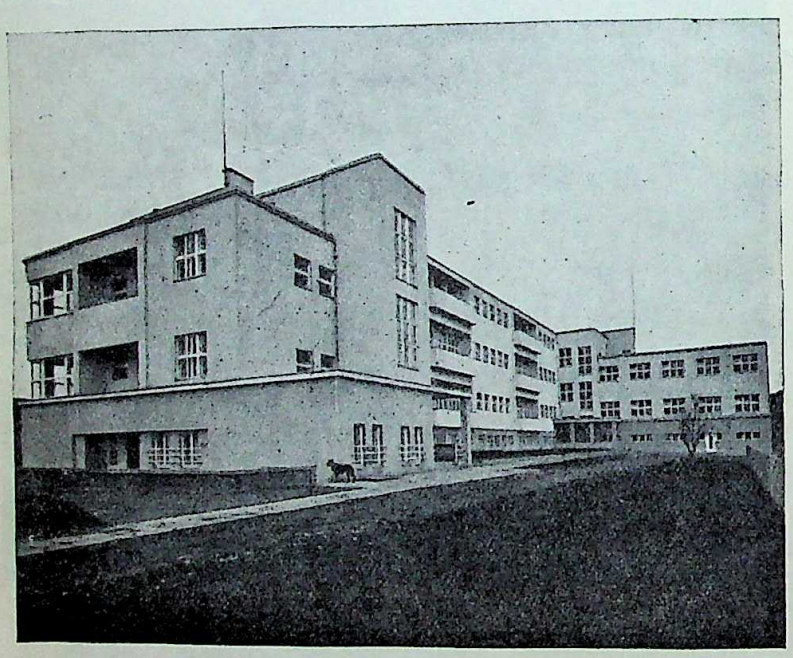
ultimately breaking up the Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy after the great war, although Pan-Slavism was not the only motive behind the first spark of that great conflagration, and the actual animosity between Soviet Russia and the Third Reich, the root of which goes deeper than a mere divergence of political convictions, all demonstrate this antagonism. Czechoslovakia's alliance with Jugoslavia in the project of the Little Entente, and with Soviet Russia, the most powerful Slav State, in the post-War days, indicate that Pan-Slavism is not yet dead as an ideal. The Nazi plan in regard to



A typical pavilion in the Masaryk Home near Prague

Czechoslovakia and Hungary owes its inspiration to something more than a mere irredentist policy for bringing the entire German-speaking populations of Europe under the single flag of Greater Germany. Czechoslovakia and Hungary constitute the most formidable walls against Germany's drive towards the East. Although Hungary is not a Slav State, its population being composed of the Magyar races, she refuses to be drawn into a Pan-Germanic circle and thus to serve as a convenient high road for the march of Prussian militarism, resurrected again today under the veiled intoxication of a political doctrine, towards the East where the mineral wealth of the Balkans and the abundant harvests of Ukrain could bring the necsssary grist to the mill of German autarky. The reorientation in Hungary's foreign policy since the anschluss would clearly indicate the anti-Nazi wave which is slowly surging up in that co Germany today dreams again of the domin the world, and before she can fight the We Democracies successfully, she has to feed Four-Year Plans with the wealth of the Ba and Ukrain. The present conflict bet Germany and Czechoslovakia over the qu of the Sudeten Germans, which was disc by the present writer in the June issue of *Review*, ought to be seen in the light of more elaborate Nazi *weltanschauung*.

When I first saw Prague the entire hi of Bohemia and the part she played in Eur history became almost a l experience for me. Here in modern, brisk and resurr capital, one can still find traces of its ealry begin under the Premyslides, the mories of the glorious rei Charles IV (1346-1378) of House of Luxembourg made Prague the largest of Central Europe and m polis of the Holy Ro Empire, are contained in treasures of mediaeval G represented by the Cath of St. Vitus, the Charles B and the University; the tr dies of the Hussite wars s the Catholic triumph in B mia seem to still linger o soaring spires of the Ba domes adorning the sky-li Prague and on some o magnificent specimen architecture inspired by the Italian Re sance. Prague is rightly called the of Europe, and the history of this city history of Bohemia and partly also the h of the northern Slavs. Apart from these torical associations, the natural situati the city itself, the leisurely stream o Moldava with its mediaeval and modern br the Castle heights (Hradcany), the un series of beautiful gardens, the ro silence of the *Mala Strana* (small town the grandeur of the Venceslas Street, Prague one of the prettiest cities of E Ernest Denis, the French historian a author of the famous history of the nation, wrote: "Prague is tragic and he stone speaks of heroic drama." The citi Prague have honoured the French histo naming one of the railway stations city after him, as they have name

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ther two principal stations after President Wilson and President Masaryk, both nt whom played such a big part in the reation of the new Republic. In front of the Wilson station there stands a huge statue of the merican President as an abiding symbol of e idealistic bonds that bind Czechoslovakia ith the largest democracy across the Atlantic.

During my stay in Prague I had the opportunity of visiting the Exhibition of Prague aroque in the Castle. A bird's-eye view of is exhibition gave me the impression that ere is no other city in Europe which could rnish so many materials for the study of aroque art as could the "Rome of the North," Prague was called by Auguste Rodin, the mous French sculptor. To study the history Prague baroque, it seemed to me, was to dy the contemporary history of Czechoslokia itself. The German, Italian and French fluences, as they were brought into this country ith its foreign political and religious masters, contributed to the evolution of this special yle which is called baroque. It is principally combination of Gothic and Renaissance yles. The Gothic style was introduced into hemia in the first half of the 13th century, most abruptly, since the country till that time d been a simple Slavonic agricultural State. thic reached its maximum development in e latter half of the 14th and the beginning of e 15th century, during the reigns of Charles IV d Vaclav IV, when the Kings of Bohemia re simultaneously German Emperors. It was that epoch that there came into being the lendid cathedrals in French style (Charles IV as educated at Paris), the cloister churches d the romantic castles not only in Bohemia t also in all parts of Moravia and Slovakia. e powerful expansion of the plastic arts uring the reign of Charles IV was interrupted the religious wars of the Hussites and it was t until the close of the 15th century that zech art regained the level of that in other untries in Central Europe. The revived olution of pure Gothic was then interrupted the appearance of the Renaissance brought Bohemia by Italian artists at the beginning the 16th century. The beginnings of the enaissance style, characterized in particular by e Belvedere Castle, the summer residence of ueen Anne, fall within the period which saw change in the dynasty—the accession of e Habsburgs to the throne of Bohemia. The enaissance soon spread through the medium Italian craftsmen and artists not merely at Prague but also in South Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia. Baroque came to characterize the face of Czechoslovak towns during the seventeenth century when, after the close of the Thirty Years' War which had exhausted the countries and deprived them of their non-Catholic population, the Gothic churches were systematically reconstructed and given a new external decoration by the zealous enterprise of Jesuit priests. Spacious palaces and monasteries were erected, and there arose new places of pilgrimage whose plastic forms breathed an exalted religious emotion. The Czech lands became the classic home of the baroque style whose excellence remained unsurpassed as a universal standard. Artistic achievements of the Czech genius reached a culminating point in the 18th century in the architecture of the Dienzenhofers, the frescoes of Rainer, the

A characteristic costume of a Slovak village girl

paintings of Brandl and Kupecky, and in the sculpture of Matthias Braun and Brokoff. This high level of art then gradually sank; the independence of Bohemia in art began to succumb to the growing influence of Vienna which at that time had succeeded in bringing about a gradual cultural Germanization of the country. By the end of the century art in Bohemia was on the point of extinction.

But as in the field of religion, political subjection could not kill the inner urge of Czech national genius to assert itself at an

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opportune moment in the field of art and literature too. The Czech national renaissance which culminated in the foundation of the Republic in 1918, had its origin nearly hundred years ago in "the ideas of 1848." Revolution in France, republicanism in England, the rising tide of the Italian *risorgimento*, and the publication of the Communist Manisfesto of Karl Marx in 1848, had their repercussions in Bohemia. The Czechs were foaming under the

Costumes of Kujov in East Moravia

Austrian rule and Slovakia was oppressed by their Hungarian masters. The Czechoslovak aspirations of national independence which took a concrete revolutionary shape in 1848 could not achieve any practical result; on the contrary, the forces of despotic absolutism at Vienna and Budapest, after having suppressed the political efforts of the Czechs and Slovaks, decided upon a more drastic Germanization of the Czechs and Magyarization of the Slovaks than during the previous Metternish regime.* But although the political attempts ended in disaster, the undying aspirations of the Czechs and Slovaks for national independence sought their outlet in a literary and artistic revival which constitutes the basis of the national culture of modern Czechoslovakia. The Czech constitutional revolution of 1848 may very appropriately be compared with our own Swadeshi revolution of 1905, so far at least as its cultural consequences are concerned. An attempt was made in Czechoslovakia to rouse the consciousness of the people through literature. Frantisek Palacky (1798-1876) attempted the first elucidation of Czech history, and his ideas constituted the first Czech political programme. The political programme of Palacky was taken over and elaborated by second political leader of the Czech na F. Ladislav Reiger (1818-1903). That progra was based, on the one hand, on the principl the nation's right to self-determination, on the other hand, on the consciousness of nation belonging to the great Slav race. T factor of the Czech political programme is flected particularly in the romantic conceptio the Slovak poet, Ian Kollar (1793-1852), formulated with great pathos and in poet form his vision of Slavonic unity. The lea researches of Pavel Josef Safarik (1791-18 a Slovak, led to a deepening of interes Slavonic questions. Pallacky's political co borator, the talented Czech journalist K Havlicek Borovsky (1821-1856), a politi of indomitable character and unending ener also exercised a great influence on the succe ing generations of fighters for Czech indepe ence. What Pallacky, Rieger and Borov were in political agitation and propagan Kollar, Safarik, Celakovsky and Macha w in poetry and literature. What Karel and Ja Capek, Hilbert and Sramek stand for in Cz dramatic art, Smetana and Dvorak stand for the national revival of Czech music. The na of Manes, Stursa and Myslbek who brou about the renaissance in modern Czech pain and sculpture, are household words in Czec slovakia today. These poets and dramati painters and sculptors, are but a few of large number of artists who have enriched their valuable contributions the national naissance of the Slavonic people.

In the Czechoslovak Republic of today, visitor will find the breath of this natio rejuvenation in every aspect of its national in towns as well as in the country. The id of 1848 and of all the subsequent period the outbreak of the great war have been tr slated into realities, and an all-comprehen programme of national reconstruction has be set in motion after the foundation of the R public. Today the National Theatre of Prag built in the eighties of the last century by pub subscription, is regarded by the Czechs as living embodiment of Slavonic cultural ren sance. The University of Prague which divided into two separate institutions, one Cz and the other German, in 1882, gave infi stimulus to scientific and historical rese among Czech scholars which led to the foun tion of the Czech Academy of Science and (*Ceska akademie ved a umeni*). Two u universities have been established since 19 the Masaryk University at Brno and

* Vide *A Short History of Czechoslovakia* by Kamil Krofta, (London, 1935), pp. 105-115.

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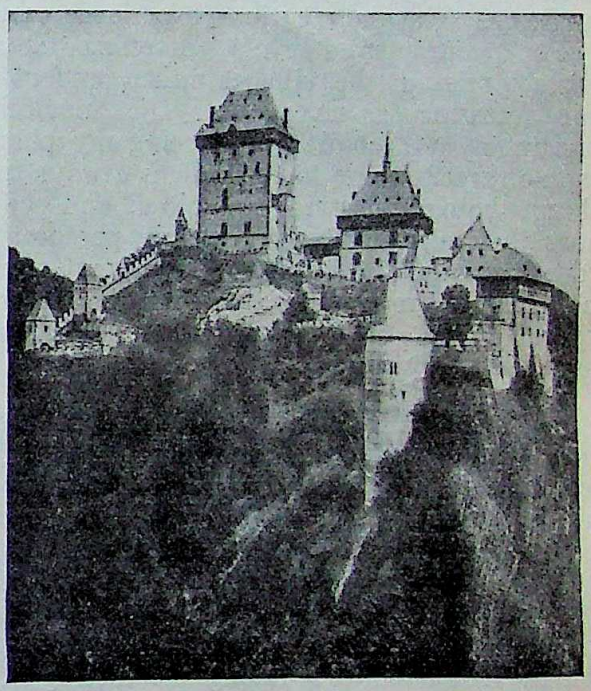
menius University at Bratislava in order to vide for a harmonious development of all different elements of which the Czechoslovak ture is composed. The Safarik Society of tislava which is also a recent creation aims the cultural development of the Slovaks. Masaryk Homes near Prague, which take of destitute children, the poor and invalid, constitute a typical achievement of State in regard to national social insurance. re are these Masaryk Homes all over the try. Czechoslovakia is also a big indus- l and commercial country, and the estab- ments of the Skoda Works at Pilsen and Bata Works at Zlin, which the writer had occasion to visit, present a spectacle at once chnical perfection and healthy industrialism. the 5th June last, I watched one of the most essive demonstrations of the Czechoslovak ing classes from my hotel window, in which ly ten thousand men and women took part. s on the occasion of the sixtieth anniversary the foundation of the Social Democratic y in Czechoslovakia. President Benes ed the processionists from the balcony of Town Hall, while the delegations from rent provinces continued to march in their y uniforms with shouts of "Nazdar," the l greeting, and other party slogans. I ess that in this procession of a democratic y I found the sense of brotherhood and radeship no less intimate and disciplined that of the totalitarian States. But there a difference, and a pleasant one too. Here this procession, for example, little boys ed toys and coloured baloons instead of ll muskets hanging on their frail shoulders: young girls carried huge daisies as a bol of spring and beauty instead of a ger in their belts as obtains somewhere else, young men carried sporting gears instead machine guns and tanks. I was delighted much indeed by this spectacle because it ved me a sense of relief from the apprehen- of an oppressive sight which I had expected see.

The villages of Bohemia, Moravia and vakia are extremely interesting for the dent of sociology, although they widely er from one another in natural beauty and tions of the people. I came across many utiful castles, built by different dynasties t ruled over Bohemia, while going around country, and the castles of Karlstejn, and ch attracted me most by their natural setting, hitectural designs and historical associations. en I walked down the romantic valleys in company of young Czechs and Slovaks from one village to another, sometimes through rocky passes, sometimes through the green fields of corn, and sometimes along the course of dark-watered rivers flowing lazily under rustic bridges. One thing, however, disappointed me; here I had expected to find the gipsies who had from time immemorial picked up their tents on the outskrits of Bohemian forests and had lent that characteristic nostalgia of their music to the folk songs of Bohemia and Slovakia. I did not find their traces, except in the ornamental designs of some of the folk costumes



The Castle of Karlstejn near Prague

in Slovak villages, and in an occasional plaintive musical mood of Bohemian peasants. Neither the Czechs nor the Slovaks have known an aristocratic nobility since their national rebirth after the constitutional revolution, but emerged as a nation of peasants and small traders and workers in the towns. Thus the predominance of a middle-class population has given a democratic character to Czechoslovak intellectual and social life. The Slovaks are, in comparison with the Czechs, much nearer the original Slavonic type and character, since the Magyars intermingled much less with the simple Slovaks than the Germans did with the Czechs. The Slovaks have no aristocracy and their leaders have for the most part sprung from the common people. The Slovaks have great artistic talent as is manifest in their picturesque

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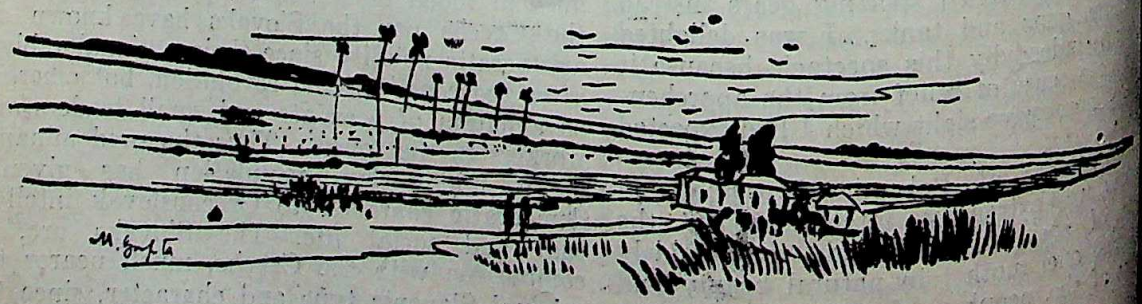
national costumes, their beautiful songs, and their notable popular arts and crafts. This popular element has supplied the inspiration to more than one poet of renascent Bohemia, and Frantisek Ladislav Celakovsky (1799-1851) endeavoured, somewhat under the influence of the German romantic school, to revive poetry through folk song, of which he was a masterly imitator. What Celakovsky was in poetry, Nemcova (1820-1862) was in prose, who wrote some perfect tales of village life . . . One other thing which struck me in some of the Bohemian villages is the nice little cemeteries which combined a deep sense of awe and aesthetic simplicity. The only curious experience which I often came across while travelling like a simple tourist in the villages either on foot or while crossing a river, was the inevitable appearance of a soldier who seeing my photographic camera came to remind me always that taking photographs was prohibited, and sometimes they also wanted to see my passport in order to make sure that it was not a German one. The entire country seemed to be under a general scheme of fortifications, and after all, they had every reason to be careful.

I should like to draw the attention of our countrymen to the selfless efforts of Prof. V. Lesny, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Prague, towards promoting active and progressive cultural relations between India and Czechoslovakia. He is the *spiritus rector* of the Indo-Czechoslovak Association and takes an infinite interest in the propagation of Indian culture among the intelligentsia of his country. He has been to Santiniketan and has recently written a critical work on the poetry of Tagore in Czech which is being translated into English. He has instituted a course of Bengali in the Prague University. I had the good fortune of seeing him several times while in Prague, sometimes at his office and sometimes at his club, and on every occasion he entertained me with long conversations in spite of his heavy engagements. It is from him that I learnt that the University of Prague is trying to institute a few scholarships every year for deserving Indian students. Prof. Lesny is very ably and enthusiastically assisted in his work for India by our friend and colleague Mr. A. C. N. Nambiar.

Czechoslovakia finds herself today, as many times before in her history, under the threat of German expansionism. The destiny of Central Europe may once more come to be decided here. But the decision does not rest with President Benes alone, who is reputed to have the coolest head among the statesmen of Europe; it depends in a large measure on the pagan leader of a romantic people who, in the traditions of Nietzsche, his spiritual *guru*, has made a superman out of himself and believes in "living dangerously." If a general conflagration becomes unavoidable, and if Czechoslovakia would be burnt to ashes, the same historic forces which had sustained this nation in the dark periods of its national existence, will know how to make of those ashes a new phoenix of Czech nationalism.

Rome,
July 5, 1938



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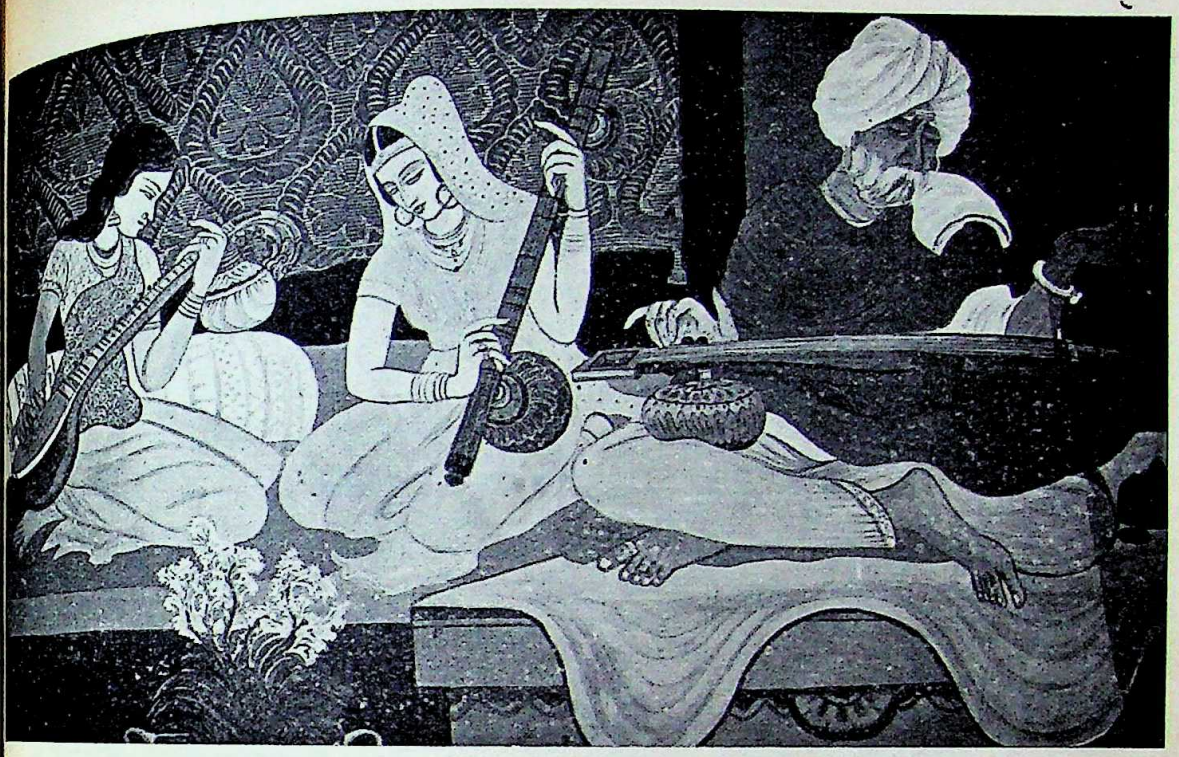

A Musical Soiree
By Ramendranath Chakravarti

Mother
By Ramendranath Chakravarti

Birth of Buddha
By Ramendranath Chakravarti

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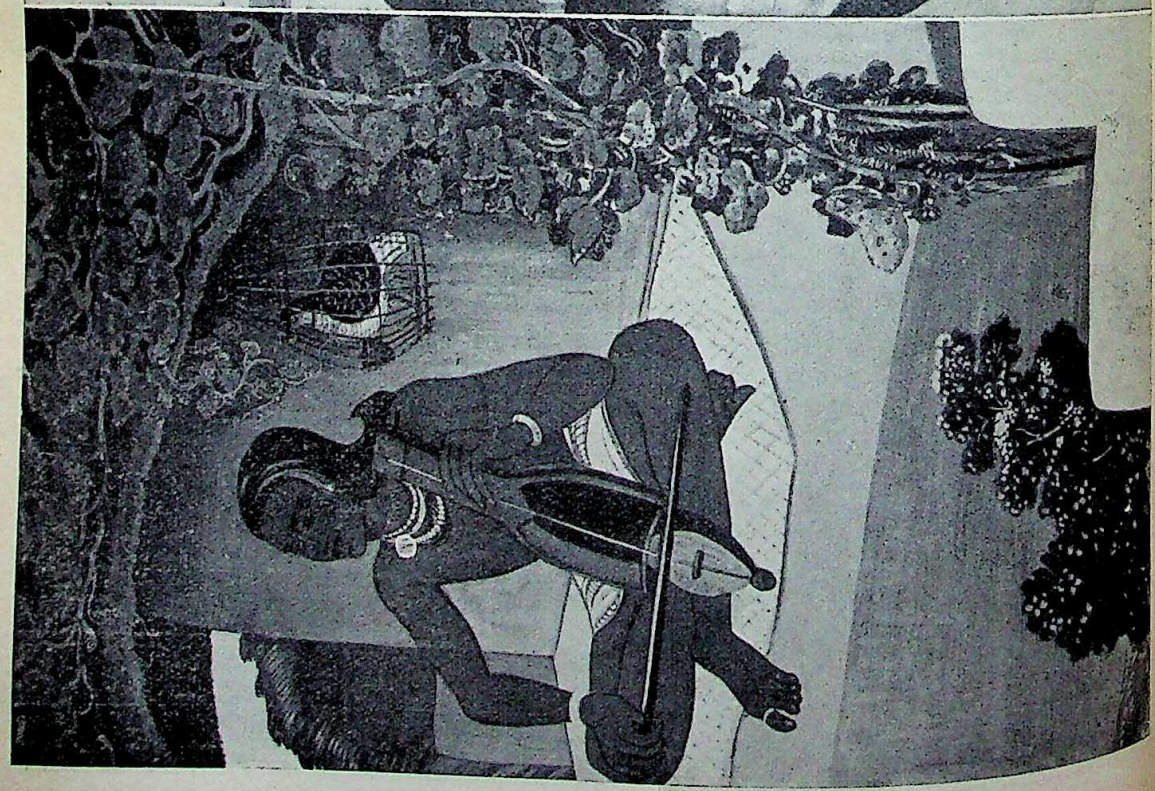

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THE ABORIGINAL RACES OF INDIA AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION

By Dr. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D.
Lecturer, Lucknow University

ear about 15 million individuals in India ve been deliberately excluded, wholly or rtially, from the scope of the normal govern- ent of the country is a fact which has not tracted the attention it deserves. Large cts of land inhabited by aboriginal people vering the area of more than 200,000 square les are classed under the New Constitution "Excluded," or "Partially Excluded Areas." ese areas are now the last stronghold of un- ned autocracy and imperialism in India.

These areas were known as "Scheduled stricts" before the introduction of the Mont- d Reforms, and were subject to special laws d administrative procedure. After the Reforms 1919, these areas were termed "Backward acts" to which the provisions of the New nstitution were not to be applicable. Some these tracts were wholly excluded from the pe of the Reforms, the Governor-in-Council ing empowered to administer them. The islatures had no power to make laws for these eas, though the Governor-in-Council might ke any Act applicable to them, subject to essary exceptions or modifications. Pro- sals for expenditure in such tracts were non- cable, and no discussions or interpellations out these were allowed in the legislatures. e partially excluded "Backward Tracts" re subject to Acts sanctioned by the Gover- r-General in Council, or the Governor-in- uncil, and specially passed by the Legislative sembly or the Provincial Legislature. The quired expenditure was also voted in the islatures. Questions too were allowed to be ked. Under the present Constitution, the Backward Tracts" have been designated as Excluded," or "Partially Excluded" Areas.

Sections 91 and 92 of the Government of dia Act of 1935 govern the constitutional sition of these excluded areas. These are so ctionary in character that they deserve to be mined in detail.

Firstly, it is the Secretary of State who is prepare the draft of an Order in-Council, claring certain areas to be completely or rtially excluded areas. The Secretary of State is required under the Act to lay such drafts before Parliament, but this is bound to be a mere formal procedure in actual practice. In other words, the creation of excluded areas depends on the sweet will of the Secretary of State, and these areas are really governed by the latter through, of course, the Governor or the Governor-General.

Secondly, His Majesty may at any time by Order-in-Council prepared by the Secretary of State alter any excluded or partially excluded area, or declare any territory not previously included in any Province to be, or to form part of, an excluded area or a partially excluded area. This provision will easily enable the Secretary of State to make arbitrary alterations of the boundaries on the convenient plea of rectifying them.

Thirdly, no Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature shall be applicable to an excluded area or a partially excluded area, unless the Governor by public notification so directs, and the Governor in giving such a direction with respect to any Act may direct that the Act shall in its application to the area, or to any specified part thereof, have effect subject to such exceptions or modifications as he thinks fit. This provision means in effect that the benefits of Provincial Autonomy will not be applicable to the excluded areas, and these will remain under autocratic rule.

Lastly, the Governor will, at his discretion, make Regulations having the force of law for the administration of an excluded area; and these Regulations, subject to the prior consent of the Governor-General, may even repeal or amend any Act of the Federal Legislature or of the Provincial Legislature or any existing Indian law which is for the time being applicable to the area in question. This extraordinary provision perpetuates executive irresponsibility, and amply reveals the essentially undemocratic nature of the new constitutional changes.

On a comparison of the position under the Montford Reforms, and under the new Reforms,

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it would appear that under the New Constitution both the number and the area of the excluded and partially excluded areas have been considerably increased. This will be evident from the following lists:

UNDER THE MONTFORD REFORMS

(*a*) *Wholly excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Laccadive Islands and Minicoy in Madras.
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal
Spiti in Punjab
All the backward tracts in Burma
Angul in Orissa

(*b*) *Partially excluded "Backward Tracts"*

The Agency Tracts in Madras
Darjeeling in Bengal
Lahaul in Punjab
Chota Nagpur, Santhal Parganas, Sambalpur in Bihar and Orissa
All the backward tracts in Assam

UNDER THE NEW REFORMS

(*a*) *Wholly excluded areas*

The Laccadive, Minicoy, and Amindivi Islands in Madras
The Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal
The Balipara, the Sadiya, and the Lakhimpur Frontier Tracts, the Naga Hills, and the Lushai Hills Districts, and the North Cachar Hills in Assam
Spiti and Lahaul in Punjab
Upper Tanawal in North-West Frontier Province

(*b*) *Partially excluded areas*

The Agency Tracts in Madras
Darjeeling District, Sherpur and Susang Parganas in Bengal
Chota Nagpur Division and the Santhal Parganas in Bihar
Sambalpur, Angul, Ganjam Agency, and a part of Vizagapatam Agency in Orissa
The Garo Hills District, the Mikir Hills, and the British portions of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills excluding the Shillong Municipality and Cantonment in Assam
The Jaunsar-Bawar Pargana, and a part of Mirzapur District south of the Kaimur range in the United Provinces
Some Taluqas of the West Khandesh District, the Satpura Hills. (reserved Forest areas), some Taluqas of the Nasik, the Thana and Panch Mahals Districts in Bombay
Some Zamindaries of the Chanda District, some Jagirdaris of the Chindwara District, Mandla District, and some tracts in Bilaspur, Drug, Balaghat, Amraoti, Raipur, and Betul Districts in the Central Provinces and Berar.

What after all is the justification of such exclusion? A number of arguments have been advanced in support of the Government's policy.

Firstly, it is maintained that the people living in an excluded area are backward and primitive, and, as such, are not yet fit for an advanced and complicated type of pol organization.

Secondly, the tribal people being tr tionally accustomed to a patriarchal form government may be happier under direct personal rule than under a parliamentary of government.

Thirdly, it is pointed out that prim tribes are educationally and economically backward that they will not be able to their constitutional rights as against the educated and economically advanced classes, and so will in actual practice governed and controlled by the latter.

Fourthly, it is urged that the procedure of administration will lead complete destruction of the tribal char which has evolved as a result of living in parative isolation, and because of a nat adaptation to peculiar environment. In o words, anthropologists believe that, if the mitive peoples are suddenly brought under influence of an advanced form of admini tion, they are bound to degenerate under impact of civilization to which they readily adapt themselves, and may even slowly decimated like so many tribal com nities in the Pacific and elsewhere.

Fifthly, it is argued that the replacem of ancient tribal laws and customs by unfam modern laws that must of course follow the introduction of normal government create widespread discontent, and might mately lead to dangerous conflagrations. considered therefore expedient to let aboriginal peoples remain in their age isolation and under their own customary

Lastly, it is held that the introduction normal administrative procedure in prim tracts would lead to a ruthless exploitation the unsophisticated and backward inhabi by the more artful and advanced people of neighbouring territories.

These arguments, plausible as they will not convince the Indian nationalist number of reasons. In the first place, it be urged that fitness for an advanced form government can be obtained only from experience. Continued isolation will never the aboriginal people for civilized governm In the second place, Indians no less than aboriginal people have for centuries bee customed to autocratic government. This itself can be no justification for the perp tion of autocracy or even benevolent despo In the third place, it may be conceded that some time to come the primitive peoples

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ded by men from the neighbouring areas, t ultimately the former are bound to assert eir rightful place in polity with the gradual akening of political consciousness that would low from the exercise of the right of vote. the fourth place, it may be urged that table provision can be easily made for the servation of tribal life and culture, and the roduction of normal government need not essarily cause a breakdown of tribal life and racter. In the fifth place, it may be ued that during a transition stage ordinary may be suitably modified for the primitive sses to give them time to reach the general tural level.

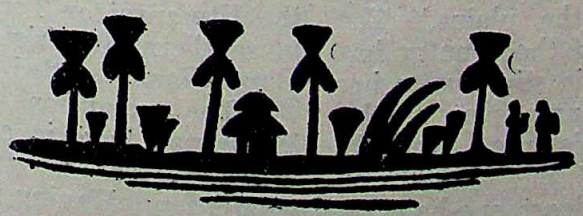
That the danger of conflicts and conflagra- s can also be obviated is undeniable. sides, it must be admitted that even under present despotic regime the aboriginal ple have been, and are being mercilessly loited. Under civilized government they have greater rights and privileges, and efore will be better able to free them- es from the clutches of their present loiters.

In short, it is easy to prove that isolation exclusion may at best preserve the primitive ples as so many anthropological exhibits, will never fit them for a more civilized d of government which, being human beings, can claim as their birth-right. In other ds, there is absolutely no justificatoin for manently condemning millions of Indians to ate of animal existence under the pretence preserving tribal life and character. The rch of civilization has already overtaken m, and it is futile to think that under sing forms of exploitation they will be able keep their tribal character intact. Civili- on alone can save them from ruin. They ly require education and enlightenment hout which they will not be able to stand the strain of an unequal struggle with their selfish exploiters thriving under the protective arm of British Government.

It would, however, seem that the official solicitude for the welfare of the aboriginal people is only a pretence. The suspicion may reasonably arise that the scheme of exclusion has been purposely invented for a free exploitation of the rich forest lands. Most parts of the excluded areas are rich in mineral or forest wealth. Big tea plantations have developed in some of the excluded areas, and it is in the interests of the British capitalists that the local people should remain politically backward, and should work as serfs on miserable wages. This is why these areas have been deliberately excluded from the scope of civilized government.

The Indian National Congress has rightly held that the creation of excluded areas is a sinister design to divide the people of India into artificial groups with unjustifiable and discriminatory treatment, and to prevent the evolution of uniform democratic institutions in the country, and that the separation of the excluded areas is prompted by the desire of the Britishers to keep the inhabitants apart from the rest of India for their easier exploitation and suppression.

It is needless to say that the aboriginal classes are being slowly dispossessed of their lands by the grasping landlords, money-lenders, and planters, while the unjust and oppressive forest and game laws, and stringent excise regulations are sapping the very core of their economic life. If they are to be rescued from this animal state of existence, civilization and orderly government must be introduced in their benighted lands. Where paternal rule has so far proved a failure, representative institutions may yet succeed in elevating the down-trodden and oppressed aboriginal races of India.



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THE WAZIRISTAN MENACE

By H. R. NAIR, B.A., LL.B.

Waziristan with its long record of lawlessness and wanton bloodshed has ever since the British annexation of the region in 1849 constituted a running sore on the North-West Frontier. One policy after another has been put to test and despite heavy financial expense and waste of valuable lives the problem of Waziristan remains as distant from a satisfactory solution as it was before. For the last fifteen years the Government has closely followed the policy announced by Sir (then Mr.) Denys Bray to the Legislative Assembly in 1923 to restrain by military force the 'aggressive truculence' of the tribes and to impress upon them the civilising influence in a way calculated to penetrate the remote mountain villages and slowly to combat the ignorance of the tribesmen weaning them from their recklessness and inhuman cruelty thereby lessening the possibility of their bally forays into the settled districts. In the light of recent happenings and especially of the daring attack on the city of Bannu by a conjointed Lashkar of Khataks, Waziris and Banochies it is obvious that these well-intentioned efforts to make peace pay have collapsed in a manner which must call into question the political ingenuity of its authors.

Before attempting to discuss the causes which have led to the failure of this policy, it will be useful to tell the readers something about the ethnography of this difficult country. Situated between the Miranzai Kurram route to Kabul and the Gomal route from Ghazni, Waziristan is inhabited by tribes 'untamed, fierce, truculent and aggressive who have from time immemorial descended from their mountains to raid and harry and pillage, murder and outrage the inhabitants of the plains.' The barren, mountainous nature of the country has ever been a source of economic stimulus to her people to commit desperate inroads on nearby villages for means of subsistence. Roughly estimated they are between 2 and 2½ lakhs in population out of which at least one-half are men. Being equipped with modern rifles every able-bodied tribesman is a born fighter and a potential menace to peace in the frontier. This danger is further enhanced by the character of the terrain combined with trying and arduous climatic conditions before which even the [illegible] hardened troops might well hesitate.

Waziristan is inhabited by four chief tr[illegible] all extracted from the Pathan race: The D[illegible]wesh Khel Wazirs, Mahsuds, Bhittanis [illegible] Dauris. They speak Pushtoo and pr[illegible] Islamic faith. In the north are the D[illegible] inhabiting the Tochi Valley. They are m[illegible]riously corrupt in morals but are hardwor[illegible] and have derived the maximum benefit f[illegible] the British rule. Then there is a vicious l[illegible] group known as the Kabul Khel Wazirs inhab[illegible]ing the region between Bannu and Thal. T[illegible] tract adjoining the adminstered districts [illegible] Dera Ismail Khan and Bannu is inhabited [illegible] Bhittanis who singularly lack the bell[illegible] temper of the Mahsuds whose 'jackals' t[illegible] have been called and who except for occa[illegible] when driven into evil ways by the Mah[illegible] have refused to take up arms against the Br[illegible] Government. Round about the centre [illegible] Waziristan reside the Mahsuds, perhaps [illegible] most troublesome of all tribes of the N[illegible] West Frontier. Agile and enduring a Mah[illegible] possesses on his own hillsides an astonis[illegible] mobility, a natural hardiness and a cour[illegible] disregard of difficult impediments. He is g[illegible] with untiring patience in observing an en[illegible] and knows the exact moment when to strik[illegible] advantage. He is imbued with a natural fa[illegible] of figuring as a peaceful cultivator at [illegible] instant only to reappear the next moment [illegible] the role of a sharp-shooting sniper. The [illegible] maining portions of the country are occupie[illegible] the Darwesh Khel Wazirs who outnumber [illegible] other tribe in population. According [illegible] geographical distribution they are divided [illegible] the Utmanzai or Tochi Wazirs confined ch[illegible] to southern Waziristan and the Ahmedz[illegible] Dana Wazirs settled all over the country.

The conditions generally prevailing [illegible] Waziristan have in a great measure influ[illegible] the character and mode of life of the [illegible] population. Having been never effectually [illegible]quered they have remained exceedingly ind[illegible]dent. Rude, perfidious and savage a tribe[illegible] may be, yet one cannot but admire his [illegible] bearing and determined resolution, 'his [illegible] manners and festive temperament, his [illegible]

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control and his wonderful powers of en-
rance.' At heart a tribesman is truly
mocratic and strange though it may seem,
s never been swayed by the advice or politics
his elders or 'Maliks.' This naturally makes
sceptical to place any reliance on the ability
a 'jirga' or tribal conclave of headmen to
pose its will upon the community at large.
ing spread all over the country without
per organization it is extremely difficult to
termine the fighting strength of the Wazir and
hsud tribes. Generally the tribes assemble
emporary levy or lashkar varying in strength
ording to the objective in prospect and the
raction the latter may afford and no sooner
e fighting is over or supplies give out a levy
y dissolve itself just as the situation may
mand.

To restrain the troublesome tribesmen from
mitting depradations has been a difficult
blem. It has been the constant endeavour
the political officers of the Frontier to civilize
tribesmen and to inculcate in them a spirit
compromise and peace. The task of the
thorities is greatly facilitated by the armed
ces stationed in cantonments and military
sts established all along the Western frontier
the settled districts. While deterring the
gressive tribes from their designs the Canton-
nts at Razmak and Wana situated right in
throbbing heart of the tribal area have
ther served a useful purpose in defending the
ceful population. This long chain of defences
eld by the regulars, militia, frontier con-
bulary or khassadars is supported on both
ds by the large military garrisons at Peshawar
d Quetta.'

Even before the annexation of the Panjab
British rulers were confronted with
tribal problem at a time when India was
reatened with an invasion by Napoleon and
al of Russia. The annexation in 1849 only
tensified the tribal question due to closer
oximity of the administered territory. In the
sence of any adequate treaties, with her
ontier only ill defined the Government of
dia still obsessed by Russophobia could not
ke an active hand in the administration of
e mountainous tract. Profiting by Panjdeh
cident, which strongly cemented the British
ghan relations, the Government of India sent
r H. Mortimer Durand to Kabul to settle
arious frontier difficulties. The mission attain-
d unique success as for the first time in history
well defined international border was fixed
tween India and Afghanistan.

The policy of the Indian Government was both at the time and subsequently one of non-interference with the tribes. Every endeavour was made to cultivate friendly relations but when conciliation failed, when the tribesmen continued to murder British subjects then the ultimate sanction was force. Therefore no offensive or punitive expedition was launched against the tribesmen until the Government was compelled to do so by the unprovoked bloodshed and plunder by the tribesmen. Looking over the years since the British connection with Waziristan one would find that there have been no less than twenty such expeditions.

The prolonged controversy between the exponents of the 'close border' and the 'forward school' fanned by a haunting fear of the Russian giant striding across the Wastes of Central Asia necessitated a more precise policy on the part of the Indian Government. Just then it transpired that Sir Robert Sandeman had successfully demonstrated a novel method of pacifying the tribesmen. He found that the best way of winning their support and friendship was in providing the tribesmen jobs in levies or police and in entrusting them with the defence of a trade route in return for a fixed annual payment. This system was first introduced in Waziristan in 1890 when the trade route along the River Gomal was opened. This system has been openly condemned as a form of blackmail. The charge however cannot be sustained when it is remembered that those in receipt of allowances had strenuous duties to perform in the guarding of trade routes and passes and in carrying out of jirga decrees. If plundering has been the profession of a tribe throughout the ages, it is not to be deplored if subsidies are granted to it merely as an inducement to check it from committing raids and bloody incursions. It has been argued that allowances may be expensive, may even savour of blackmail to the fastidious yet they are infinitely preferable to the still more expensive system of punitive expeditions. But in Waziristan both failed. History once again repeated itself.

Towards the close of the last century it appeared that an increasing measure of military supervision was required to stop raiding on the part of the tribesmen. The system of tribal allowances was proving an insufficient safeguard against sporadic acts of violence. This greatly necessitated several military expeditions undertaken into the country with a view to securing the trade routes and repressing organized brigandage. Punitive in the start these later on tended more and more to become preventive.

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It was also found that to afford adequate support to these expeditions, fortified posts and block-houses were essential at stratagic points. By 1899 two long narrow strips of country lying to the north and south of Waziristan along the trade routes were garrisoned on that principle. These posts were officered by British Military Officers in regular military style. The posts apart from making available for action important contingents of regular troops at short notice served a beneficial deterrent by keeping the tribesmen out of mischief. This arrangement continued for twenty years until the Afghan War in 1919 brought further complications.

No wonder the events of the Great War manifested themselves by some repercussions on the North-West Frontier of India. The constant drain of troops from the frontier during the War and anti-British propaganda by the Bolshevik Government of Moscow were quite sufficient to cause unrest. But what appeared to be an ugly situation at a time was luckily saved by Habibullah, the Amir of Afghanistan, who steadfastly observed the pledges of friendship which he had exchanged with the Government of India. Although the Great War passed off on the frontier without any serious happening, Waziristan was soon to be set ablaze by a general conflagration as a natural sequel to the Afghan invasion of India. The Wazirs and Mahsuds always willing to respond to the slightest stir amongst their Afghan neighbours against the British were not slow to react to the stimulus they received from Kabul during the Third Afghan War. Occasion had now arisen for the British Government to settle the tribal problem with determination and for ever. The campaign undertaken in Waziristan resulted in Military occupation of the whole country. The policy of the British Government behind this campaign was not based on war and conquest, but on the forces of civilization. During the last fifteen years this policy as outlined by Sir Denys Bray in his speech, has been given a fair trial. It has produced some very encouraging results. Tribesmen with rifles and ammunition have been afforded an opportunity to break away from lawlessness by enlisting tribal levies or khassadars. There has been greater communication between trans-border posts and the military cantonments. Perhaps the most important result of this policy has been the building of a motor road connecting Dera Ismail Khan with Bannu. Highways have ever played a prominent part in the import of civilization and the construction of this important road in Waziristan has not only se a great purpose for the infiltration of civil forces, but also provided a beneficial occ tion to the aggressive and warlike Mah who have assiduously taken to motor traffic this road. The construction of this link b also brought to the tribesmen a feeling security as no shooting up is permitted on Such was the success of the new policy t every one came to regard Waziristan as shining example of the new experiment but when things looked so bright a series of orders and revolts gave a serious jolt to hopes and threw the British Government on rock with her 'forward' policy torn shreds.

In November 1936 Waziristan was suddenly flung into throes of commotion and turm at the instigation of a firebrand known as Fakir of Ipi. This Fakir wields a tremend influence over the fanatical tribesmen and f exploiting their religious fervour raised cry of 'Islam in danger.' The ostensible ca of the unrest was the attempt by certain tri men to intimidate the authorities and t nullify the protection given to a minor Hi girl by a Civil Court against her conversion Islam and alleged marriage. With tribesmen looking grim and determined was deemed necessary to stage a small milit demonstration. This rather aggravated mat and greatly incensed the tribesmen. The G ernment troops were attacked with consider losses. A major offensive was hit upon as only effective reprisal. After a searching quiry moderate terms were imposed on mischief-mongers but in a short time posi grew worse than ever. Unprovoked assa cold-blooded murders, kidnapping of Hi and heinous plundering took hold of the c try and about March 1937 the situation so serious that it was considered necessary place the whole country under a milit Governorship for the purposes of restor peace. The command of both military political affairs was entrusted to Sir Coleridge, C.-in-C., and this arrangement continue until there is an assurance to re to normal conditions in the afflicted areas.

This arrangement has remained in for nearly two years but the prospects permanent peace seem yet far far away. Fakir of Ipi, prime mischief-maker is st large and has cunningly eluded his hu To add further to these difficulties his most troublesome henchmen, all hom maniacs have equally successfully baffled

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British and are making the most of their uncertain moments of liberty by carrying on extensive hostile propaganda and inciting the tribesmen to indiscriminate murder, sniping, plunder and kidnapping. During the period under survey the Fakir and his confederates have frequently ignited trouble leading to bitter conflicts between the British troops and the tribesmen. In April last a band of scouts from Splitoi post were fiercely attacked being saved from complete annihilation only by the timely co-operation of the R. A. F. planes. The Fakir of Ipi lying securely in his lair in Madda Khel territory was once again found to be at the bottom of the trouble. The Government of India in all fury announced to deal more effectively with the Fakir and his associates. A number of jirgas was held and heavy penalties imposed on the Madda Khel but nothing could move the tribesmen to surrender the notorious Fakir.

The Government determined on restoring peace, intensified its operations and placed a large portion of the Madda Khel territory under the prescription ban. But the Fakir and Madda Khel held out again, only becoming more dangerous in their reprisals. In addition to the usual outrages like plundering, kidnapping and murder the tribes resorted to bombing and poisoning water supplies. A little later Datta Khel scout post experienced some very severe fighting and even water supply of Razmak and Bannu was cut off. Fighting then extended to Bannu Rogha and Lawargi Pass where after severe skirmishes the Lashkar dispersed only to reassemble last month in still greater numbers. Trouble broke out afresh when Mulla Sher Ali, right hand man of the Fakir attacked the scouts' picket at Splitoi. All this while hunt for the wanted Fakir continued between Miranshah and the Afghan Frontier but despite best efforts the Government failed to 'take' the irrepressible Fakir. Reaction to this operation resulted in renewed fighting near Wazhgai. Sniping at Gherian and bomb explosions at Miranshch and Gambih culminating in the desperate raid on the city of Bannu.

Despite such large scale offensives, jirgas and the imposition of pains, penalties and blockades the prolonged troubles in Waziristan must naturally evoke a pertinent enquiry: "Why the tribesmen who have suffered heavy losses would still ask for more?" The answer to the question can be found neither in the religious fervour of the tribes nor in hostile activities of the Fakir but in the economic gains of war. It pays the tribesmen to fight. The Fakir of Ipi has become a business asset. So long as the tribes remain quiet the Government pays subsidies to the 'Maliks,' gives out contracts for road upkeep and employs khassadars from amongst the tribesmen. During peace time money is also spent in the so-called civilizing process. The object of this political bribery has been to induce the tribesmen to keep the peace and thus let the civilising machine do its work among them. The prolonged unrest however reveals that either the tribesman has lost his love for money or he finds war a more profitable concern than peace. Evidently the latter. The reason for this is apparent. During the war new posts are established, a large number of scouts and khassadars employed, supplies have to be maintained and roads to be protected. Restoration of peace takes away such 'business' opportunities. War therefore is more paying particularly against an enemy that always clamours for peace but pays more when faced with war. Then why not fight!

Disorders so serious and extensive have caused a good deal of dissatisfaction both in India and in Britain about the purposes and effects of the Government of India's Frontier policy and the demand recurrently put forward is to think out the problem afresh. The policy inaugurated 15 years ago has produced results which argue with the wisdom of persistence. Various policies have been suggested several of which the authorities with good justification have regarded as less suitable than the one hitherto pursued. The two courses suggested generally are either the absolute withdrawal of the British from Waziristan to the boundaries of the settled districts or to advance to India's international frontier—the Durand line. The feasibility of withdrawal from Waziristan considering the raiding propensities of such uncontrolled neighbours is very much questionable indeed as such a course would inevitably increase defensive responsibility for the settled districts. Moreover the tribal people being economically dependent on the plains would always play their old game forcing the British to adopt the policy of 'burn and scuttle' reminiscent of the Punjab Frontier Force. On the other hand advance to the international border and the assumption of complete political and military control of the whole country cannot be effectually undertaken without a major military operation which the Indian Exchequer can only ill afford at present. At the same time without co-operation of the tribesmen there appears no guarantee that similar troubles will not recur on the new administrative border.

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This however doesn't mean that nothing more effective than the existing 'cat and mouse' policy is possible and that India should continue to pay a heavy price for the perennial unrest in Waziristan. The solution as found above is neither complete withdrawal nor advance and acquisition. Each has its own complications and its adoption ill-advised at all times. The only feasible plan which can lastlingly secure the cherished end of British Frontier policy lies in the gradual disarmament of the tribesmen. At first the suggestion appears to involve considerable risk for people immediately involved but if the disarmed tribesmen are afforded proper protection by the authorities the difficulty at once disappears. For a period at least territorial administration would have to be entrusted to the military with the object to coerce the tribesmen to surrender arms. This would continue slowly until the whole country is completely disarmed. Disarmament to win its point should be back[illegible] a close association and assimilation of [illegible] tribesmen with India. Hitherto the attempt[illegible] this direction has been haphazard, spas[illegible] and even arbitrary and the only recip[illegible] obligation required was a loose political a[illegible] tice. Time has now come to take orga[illegible] and extensive steps to humanise the bar[illegible] instinct of the tribesmen. The road sy[illegible] existing at present in the country can be t[illegible] to good purpose for the infiltration of civi[illegible] influences. Ecouragement should also be g[illegible] to the use of the roads by private enter[illegible] since past experience has shown that tribe[illegible] readily take to motor travel. In extending [illegible] amenities of civilization—like hospitals [illegible] schools, the maintenance of law and order [illegible] the police, encouragement of wage earning [illegible] settlement of disputes among the tribes and [illegible] on—lies the only promise of an effective s[illegible] tion. Civilize the disarmed tribesmen.

THE VISVA-BHARATI HEALTH CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES

By D. C. B.

The problems of public health in the rural areas of Bengal are growing acute day by day. It is not that there are no such problems in the towns within the province, but in view of the better facilities to deal with them in these compact areas they are comparatively less important in these places.

Malaria is the chief scourge of the province and responsible for more than a quarter of the total provincial mortality from various causes. Of all provinces in India, Bengal is said to have the highest incidence of the disease. The latest report of the Director of Public Health, Bengal, shows that there were 3,37,647 deaths from Malaria during the year 1936, of which 3,35,500 occurred in the rural areas and only 2,147 in towns. In other words, the rate of deaths was 6.8 per thousand of population in the whole province and 7.2 per thousand of population in the rural areas. Indeed, the disease has of late penetrated into and seriously affected regions, *e.g.*, parts of Eastern Bengal, where it has hitherto been practically unknown. Kala-azar, the sister disease of Malaria, is also gaining ground in the rural tracts, 20,607 people having died from it in 1936 as against 16,895 in [illegible] Next to Malaria is the problem of cholera [illegible] accounted for 72,246 deaths in the villag[illegible] the year 1936, showing a rise of 33.3 p.c. [illegible] the figures of the preceding year. Then th[illegible] the large number of deaths each year d[illegible] Small-pox, the figure for 1936 for rural [illegible] being 36,349. It is also alarming to note [illegible] respiratory diseases such as Pneumonia [illegible] Tuberculosis are steadily increasing every [illegible] the former took toll of 42,617 lives and [illegible] latter 11,128 lives in the rural areas during [illegible] year 1936. The problem of Tuberculosis in [illegible] as well as other provinces has assumed s[illegible] formidable magnitude that it has attracted [illegible] attention of so high personages as Her Exce[illegible] cy the Marchioness of Linlithgow who [illegible] started the King Emperor's Anti-Tuberc[illegible] Fund.

While the problems of public health in [illegible] rural areas are so many and so great, the p[illegible] arrangements provided by the Governme[illegible] the District Boards (constituted under [illegible] Bengal Local Self-Government Act, 18[illegible] cope with them are hopelessly inadequate.

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Government maintain a skeleton rural health organisation consisting of a sanitary inspector, a health assistant and a carrier servant in each rural *thana* called the rural health circle, covering an average area of 100 sq. miles. There are at present 575 such rural health circles on which the Government annually spend about Rs. 10 to 11 lacs. The primary aim of this organisation is the prevention of disease. It is however not only too small to meet the requirements but is also defective in that it does not undertake the treatment and cure of diseases.

The Bengal Local Self-Government Act of 1885 has conferred on the District Boards various powers and duties in matters of public health and sanitation within their respective areas. Each District Board employs a small sanitary staff, *viz.*, a few sanitary inspectors and vaccinators with the District Health Officer (a medical graduate with training in public health) at the head and annually spends not a little portion of its income on public health and sanitation. The Union Boards established under the Bengal Village Self-Government Act, 1919, also expend a percentage of their meagre incomes for the purpose. But the combined efforts of the Government and the district boards and union boards do not touch even the fringe of the problems.

It is found from the Annual Report of the Surgeon-General, Bengal, on the working of hospitals and dispensaries for the year 1936 (the latest report available) that 1102 hospitals and dispensaries, comprising those maintained by Government, District Boards, Union Boards, private persons and the Railways, are situated in the rural areas of the province, and they are staffed in charge of 1255 medical officers mostly Sub-Assistant Surgeons, besides 652 compounders. Apart from these medical officers there are reported to be 2177 qualified private medical practitioners settled in the rural areas. Together therefore such areas have 3,432 medical practitioners and, according to the census of 1931, only one practitioner on the average for 13,127 people. Again, considering that there are at present 4895 union boards covering nearly 86,000 villages within the province, only one hospital or dispensary exists for the average in a group of 4 union boards or villages approximately, and only one medical practitioner can be got, on the average, for 28 villages roughly.

The situation revealed is extremely disgusting. How helpless are the villagers who do not find a single dispensary within a radius of five miles or so where they can go for relief from various diseases ravaging the villages. Nor is there available a qualified doctor in most of the villages and, even if there be, the villagers are mostly too poor to avail themselves of his services. Death is thus constantly hovering over the devoted heads of the rural people. Such a state of things would make one utterly despair.

The situation has recently been able to draw the pointed attention of the Government. The Hon'ble Minister for Public Health, Bengal, informed the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly during its last session that the Government had under their consideration a comprehensive scheme for providing medical relief in the rural areas of the province in co-operation with the local bodies, *viz.*, the district boards and union boards. We do not yet know the details of the scheme. It appears, however, from the Surgeon-General's Report referred to previously that the scheme, worked by the Director of Public Health, Bengal, envisages the provision of one treatment centre between every two union boards and a medical officer for a group of every 4 union boards. Even this scheme will not be an ideal one, as the Surgeon-General himself observes. In any case we fail to understand how the district boards and union boards with their limited and inelastic resources would be in a position, not to say, willing, to render substantial financial assistance in the matter, in addition to their normal *ad hoc* expenditure. We are however ready to admit that the Government too have not surplus funds at their disposal sufficient to finance entirely any complete and effective scheme of medical relief.

What we, therefore, desire to bring out is that a scheme should be evolved which would establish a network of cheap but well-equipped dispensaries or treatment centres with qualified medical officers in charge throughout the rural province and also arouse the active interest of the villagers in the preservation of the health and sanitation of the villages. The Health Co-operative Societies which were started on an experimental basis, in the first instance, in Yugo-slavia towards the end of the year 1921 proved to be immensely successful in tackling the problems of public health of that country. The details of the organisation and working of those Societies are given in an article on "Rural Hygiene & Health Co-operative Societies in Yugo-slavia" By M. Colombain of the International Lahour Office of the League of Nations, which was published in the *International Labour Review*, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, July, 1935. Following the example of Yugo-

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slavia, the Institute of Rural Reconstruction at Sriniketan, Visvabharati, of which the founder is Poet Rabindranath Tagore, have established during the past few years several such health co-operative societies in the villages in the district of Birbhum. The working of these societies has already revealed their potential values and their equal efficaciousness on the soil of this province.

The features of the societies are that three or four villages with a minimum of 200 families are combined to start a society in which each family is represented by at least one member. Each member pays a subscription of rupees three to four a year, which may however be partly in cash and partly in kind, *e.g.*, free labour, and even entirely in kind in case of indigent members. The society employs a whole-time staff consisting of a qualified medical officer of the status of Sub-Assistant Surgeon, a dispensing compounder and a servant. The cost on account of the staff including contingencies is about Rs. 800/- per annum which can be usually met from the yearly contributions of the members. A dispensary is maintained by the society, accommodation for which as well as residential accommodation for the medical officer are generally provided by some generous person or persons of the localities. Each member of the society is entitled to free treatment at the dispensary for himself and for all the members of his family. He receives medicines from the dispensary at cost price, while non-members pay at *bazar* rates. If a member calls in the medical officer to his house he has to pay a fee of annas four only for each call; on the other hand, a non-member must pay for such call at the *bazar* rates, *viz.* Rupee one or two per call. All such call fees are credited to the funds of the society and utilised for the purchase of the required drugs and medicines, together with the prices realised for them from the members. Thus, save the assistance that may be necessary in the initial stage *e.g.*, in suitably housing the dispensary, these societies sooner or later become self-supporting and many of the Visva-Bharati's creations have actually become so.

The co-operative health societies have not only brought cheap medical relief within the easy reach of the villagers but have also undertaken through their members,—especially those who offer free labour as their quota of contribution—such sanitary works as clea jungles, filling up *dobas* (stagnant pools water), cleaning tanks, excavation of drains, Some of them have, further, constructed ro and organised paddy stores and are maintai primary schools and carrying out other wo for the uplift of the villages. Naturally, the fore, every villager is induced to becom member of such a society and thus participate the benefits conferred by the society.

These societies, being based on the wil co-operation of the villagers, have functioned the most economic and most effective means solving the problems of public health in rural areas. There is undoubtedly, howe room for improvement. The advantages o full-fledged hospital and of a sufficient numbe capable medical practitioners, which are av able in well-developed towns, cannot possi be obtained in the interior of the provi Nevertheless, it is desirable that the dispensa of the health societies should be able to supp free of cost, or at least at a concessional pri costly drugs and medicines required for treat common ailments in the villages, and that medical officer with qualifications not lower th a University degree, and preferably w training in public health, should be emplo to supervise and control the work of the he societies. Arrangements should also be m for undertaking by the societies adequate pu health measures in the villages, *e.g.*, irrigat schemes for the eradication of Malaria, pro sion of copious pure drinking-water which is essential safeguard against Cholera and o water-borne diseases, and so on. For th purposes, however, the income of such soci is obviously too small, and the societies m look up to the Government, the district bo and other benevolent bodies or persons financial aid in the matters. While small an grants from the Government are bound to enh the utility of the societies, such grants should be a heavy strain on the revenues of Government. The intrinsic values of the Vi Bharati Health Co-operative Societies and unprecedented success they have atta encourage us to suggest that, when the Gove ment are considering a scheme for medical r in the rural areas, they should decide to such societies a fair trial, if not accept them once as a suitable model, throughout province.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE PRE-WAR DEVELOPMENT OF POPULAR EDUCATION IN ENGLAND

By SAILENDRA NATH SEN, M.SC., M.A.

The present English system of education owes much to the Education Act of 1902. This Act brought a new era in the public Elementary Education in England. The whole system of Education was unified. The provided as well as non-provided schools would now share the benefits of local rates and government grants. The average attendance of the scholars increased and there were fewer exemptions than in the last century. The curriculum of the schools was greatly changed. It was made more human and practical than before. It was made liberal. A volume called *Suggestions to Teachers* was issued by the Board of Education but every local education authority and every teacher was free to interpret it according to the circumstances and peculiarities of respective districts. The status and qualifications of the teachers also much improved during this period. The average number of scholars under each certified teacher diminished from 59 in 1902-03 to 55.7 in 1908-09. The salaries of teachers rose during this period though not considerably. The increasing number of pupils demanded an increase in the number of certified teachers and new Municipal Training Colleges built in different parts of the country greatly served the purpose. The expansion of Post-Primary Education was remarkable in this period. New codes were formed for Higher Elementary Education and the number of such schools increased. New Central Schools with a bias towards commercial or industrial lines, were created in London and Manchester. The spread of Secondary Education was rapid in this period. The number of scholars rose from 58 in 1904-05 to 170,119 in 1913-14, and about two-thirds of these Secondary School children came from Elementary Schools. The pre-war decade is very important in the achievement of health and physique. During the Boer War a large number of volunteers was rejected by the military authority for physical reasons. The result was that an Act called Provision of Meals Act was passed in 1906, providing meals for the necessitious poor children; and another Act (Education Administrative Provision Act) was passed in 1907 which provided the system of medical inspection and other general physical welfare.

School Provision

The Act of 1902 gave the voluntary school great financial relief. People of all denominations had to pay rates; but before this Act, rate aid was not given to the denominational schools. Hence the Board schools were thriving by leaps and bounds during the last generation of the last century; but now the financial relief from rates to the voluntary bodies brought a stability in their schools. The Wesleyan and other denominational schools were slowly decreasing, either because they were probably closed down or transferred to the councils. But the Church schools and the Roman Catholic schools increased slightly. In the year 1904-05 the number of Church schools was 10,897 and that of Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools was 970 and 412 respectively.[1] But in the year 1907-8, the number of Church Roman Catholic and Wesleyan schools were 11,274; 1,061; and 319 respectively.[2] The Board of Education also did not encourage the local Education Authorities to build new council schools where there was no necessity and where there was already a good voluntary school. Under section 8 of this new Act, the Board received in 1905, applications from L. E. A.-s to erect 463 new schools and of these only 427 were sanctioned.[3] In 1909[4] and 1913[5] the L. E. A.-s sent notices for building 214 and 182 schools but only 159 and 179 respectively were sanctioned by the Board of Education.

The most important reasons for building these new schools was that many of the old school buildings were not suitable and were unhygienic. Many of the school premises under the new regime, were considered to be condemned. From the report of the Board of

1. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1904-05, p. 20.
2. *Statistics of Public Education in England*, 1906-08, p. 13.
3. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1904-05, p. 21.
4. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 107.
5. *Report of Board of Education*, 1912-13, p. 77.

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Education, 1908-09, it will be seen that in the case of 2,000 schools or 3,000 departments, the school premises were, more or less seriously unsatisfactory. In the case of 660 of these schools, the premises were either conditionally or unconditionally condemned and in the case of 350 schools of the rest, the Inspectors reported that they ought to be condemned unless specific improvements were effected. It was a costly affair on the one hand, for the L. E. A.-s to build new schools and on the other hand, the premises of many of the voluntary schools were unfavourably criticised by the Board of Education.

"It is of course notorious that the dependence of the nation upon voluntary effort for securing an adequate supply of school buildings resulted, especially in some districts, in a type of building in which educational matters were subordinated to other considerations. There are still in existence a large number of school buildings which were contributed a double debt to pay."[6]

This pressure and the Code of 1908 that "there shall not be less than 10 sq. ft. of floor space for each older child and 9 sq. ft. for each infant," necessitated both the Church and the Council to build a large number of new schools during the period under consideration. During the year 1908-9,[6a] 159 council schools and 4 Church schools and 5 Roman Catholic schools were sanctioned by the Board of Education for building. In the year 1913[7] two Church schools, twelve Roman Catholic and 179 Council schools were built.

Attendance and Exemptions

The average attendance of scholars during the period under discussion, also improved. During the year 1900, only 4,666,158 children out of 5,686,144 children in the school registers[8] attended schools *i.e.*, the percentage of average attendance was 82.06. The deficiency was probably due to two causes. Firstly under the Acts of 1870 and 1876, the children whose homes were at an unreasonable distance from the school might not attend it. But section 14 of the Education Act 1907, declared that distance from school must no longer be any excuse for non-attendance when conveyance was provided. The second cause of irregular attendance might be attributed to the defect of the system of grants. Formerly the annual grants were in two parts, a grant at the rate of 17s. per unit of average attendance for scholars educated in the infants department or division, and the grant at the rate of 22s. per unit in the case of the older scholars.

Hence the local authorities and managers classified the children not on the basis of age but with regard to financial consideration. And for this financial consideration, perhaps the so-called older scholars were given more attention than those in the infant classes or departments. Out of 2,023,319 infant scholars on the registers during the year 1900-01 the average attendance was only 1,460,576 or 72.1 per cent.[9] Subsequently, however, the scholars were divided into two age groups—those who were under the age of five and those above the age of five. For the former group the grant was 13*s*. 4*d*. per each scholar and for the latter 21*s*. 4*d*. per each scholar of average attendance.[10] The average attendance of all children rose to a considerable extent. In 1911-12 the percentage of average attendance was 88.93.

Although compulsory education came in England as early as the seventies of the last century, there was the provision of partial exemption for certain children. The 1902 Act did not abolish this system of partial exemption of scholars and the number of such scholars was increasing every year. There were 80,368 partially exempted scholars in the year 1904-05 and the number increased to 81,9[illegible] in 1905-06, to 82,493 in 1906-07 and 84,695 in the year 1907-08.[11] This increase in the number of partially exempted scholars alarmed the Education Department and the president of the Board appointed in July, 1908, an Inter-Departmental Committee "to inquire into the question of the existing system of partial exemption from attendance at school, and to report any alteration in the law of school attendance seemed to be desirable." The committee submitted the report in July, 1909 in which they recommended that all partial exemptions should be abolished from a date not earlier than 1st January, 19[illegible] and that no child under 13 should be totally exempted from school.

Servants—Inspectors and Teachers

One issue of the newly formed L. E. A. under the Act of 1902 was the total reorganisation of the Inspectorate. In the early years of forties in the last century, when a staff of Inspectors was first created under the regime of Dr. Kay-Shuttleworth, their duty

6. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 14.
6a. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. 107.
7. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1913-14, p. 66.
8. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. 15.
9. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. [illegible]
10. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. [illegible]
11. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p. [illegible]

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advise the teachers in the improvement of ir instruction and not to criticise and blame ir work. But the Code of 1861, which gave rth to "payment by results" changed the ctions of the Inspectors totally. Their duty s now to examine the children in the 3 R's d to find out the defects of the teachers. er 1897, however, when payment by results totally abolished, the Inspectors' duty also red and since then they were to survey the le education under their jurisdiction and to ke suggestions for the improvement of ional education. The relation between the ectors and the teachers was growing more ndly. After the passing of the Act of 1902, Board of Education felt very keenly that in r to keep in touch with the works of the ly formed L. E. A.-s, they must reorganise r Inspectorate. The conditions of the ols of various grades and types through the ry were so different that it was essential he Board to be well informed as to what the authorities were doing regarding all types ducation in their respective districts. The authority had to consider the supervision provision of the different grades of educa- in their relation to one another within the n area. The central authority was to take ore comprehensive survey of educational itions. Not only the efficiency of the ols, to which Parliamentary grants were ributed must be tested by them but they also to organise effecient sources of educa- al information, and to disseminate the ts, criticisms and suggestions derived from nuous recorded observation of each kind chool made over a wide area.

Difficulties arose in this connection. If all s of educational institutions were to be cted by each inspector, it was not possible rn to cover a large area or to see schools of rent grades working under widely varying itions and methods. He would be unable ass beyond the boundaries of a county or a ty borough, if elementary and secondary ols, evening schools and schools of Art, nical Institutions and Training Colleges e all within the purview of a single inspec- In such a case he would learn to know a e Technical Institution, one or two ning Colleges, a few secondary schools and rge number of elementary schools, all king under the same local conditions. , the problems of the elementary ols, the secondary schools, the nical institutions, etc., were very widely rent from one another both as regards the curricula and organisation. Qualifications and experiences of the inspectors, therefore, should vary according to these differences. So, in 1905, to meet these conditions, the Board of Education, distributed their inspectors and differentiated their work in such a manner that they might study the working of each grade or type of school under widely varying conditions. The Inspectorate was divided into five groups, each under a chief inspector, each group were to concentrate their attention on each of the five main types of schools. Officers would be, when desirable, parmanently transferred from one branch to the other. There was also created a separate staff of women inspectors and the system of women inspectors being subordinate to the men inspectors was abolished.

The Act of 1902 brought a new era in an all round improvement of Elementary Education in England. There was an improvement in the qualifications of teachers, in the provision of their training as well as in their salaries. Before 1903, one official rule governed all schools in all classes and in all circumstances. The village schools with 40 children of all ages or a town school with 400 scholars, the voluntary school in a poor "slum", parish or Board school in a thriving residential area, were all governed in respect of staffing by one set of articles. Hence the official regulations had to be kept very elastic and consequently the standard was a low one. After the passing of the Act of 1902 a progressive rising of standard was effected by the various changes in the Codes of 1902 to 1908. In the years 1901-02 and 1902-03, the number of scholars[12] per certified teacher in England and Wales 72.1 and 70.9; whereas the number of certified teachers in England alone, was steadily increased during the years 1904-06 and 1908-09 as follows.[13]

Years		No. of scholars in average attendance	No. of scholars per every certified teacher
1904-05	..	4,898,935	66.1
1905-06	..	4,941,535	62.1
1906-07	..	4,916,497	58.5
1907-08	..	4,908,880	57.4
1908-09	..	4,951,301	55.7

The increase of certified teachers during a period of four years was remarkable. And this increase was due to the various codes and regulations issued from time to time by the Board of Education restricting uncertified and supplementary teachers. In the Code of 1904, notice

12. Calculated from the *Report of the Board of Education*. 1906-07. p. 41.

13. Calculated from the Statistics of Public Education, 1906-08, p. 25; and 1908-09, p. 116.

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was given that after 31st July, 1905 not more than one supplementary as a rule, and in no case, not more than two, would be recognised as part of the staff of any school or Department. This limitation, however, was not to be applied so as to require the dismissal of any existing supplementary fit for continued recognition. It was also stated at that time that recognition of supplementary or pupil teachers for staffing purposes would be considered as a temporary arrangement. Since July, 1908 the maximum number of scholars under a pupil teacher was reduced to 15 and since July, 1909 pupil teachers were not taken into account at all in considering whether the aggregate staff satisfied the minimum requirement of the Code. According to the Codes of 1908 and 1909,

"the number of children in attendance is only one of the points requiring considerations when the staff is under review, and in determining the composition and in selecting the personnel of a school staff attention must be given, amongst other things, to the arrangement of the premises, the organization of the school, the nature of the curriculum and the several teachers for the particular duties for which they are proposed."[14]

These subsequent Codes of 1909 and 1910 gave a further impetus in increasing the certified teachers. In the year 1909-10, the number of scholars in average attendance for every certified teacher was 54.4 and in the years 1910-11, 1911-12 and 1912-13 the numbers of scholars in average attendance per certified teacher were 52.5, 51.1 and 49.9 respectively.[15]

Not only the qualifications but also the salaries of teachers, certified as well as uncertified, increased though not considerably after the beginning of the present century. In 1900, the average salary of a certified master (head and assistant) was £127 2s. 7d. and of a mistress was £85 9s. 1d. The average salary of a Head teacher in that year was £145 15s. 3d.[16] And after a decade, that is in 1909-10, the average salary of a Head Master rose to £174.6 and of a certified assistant master to £129.3. The average salary of a Head Mistress in those years was £129 9s. and £125.2 whereas that of a certified assistant mistress was £91.6 and £94.6.[17]

The demand for certified and trained teachers was increased by the corresponding increase in the number of scholars due to the Act of 1870. By the year 1902-03, the nu of children in average attendance in P Elementary schools had risen to 5,030,219 the annual output of trained teachers was 2,791.[18] Hence the circumstances dema more Training Colleges and in 1905, grants provided for building Municipal Trai Colleges to be maintained by L. E. A.-s. grant was afterwards extended to the provi of hostels in connection with University C and Universities. The earliest colleges of th denominational type, founded by L. E. A.-s those of the city of Sheffield for men and wo the county of Hertford for women, and London County Council and Graystock Pla women, Avery Hill for women and South ton Row for men and women. Before the g war, there were about 20 Municipal Co in England and Wales, 1 for men, 9 for wo and 10 for men and women and their accom dation was 3,918.[19] The characteristics of t Municipal Colleges were different in diff areas. Some of them began in temp buildings with the hope of making them re dential afterwards. Others started defin on the line of the Training Departmen Universities and University colleges instru in 1890. The college was meant to serve purpose of lectures and academic work without any control over the life of the stu outside lecture hours. But Local Author however, soon discovered the difficulties admitting students from a greater distan these Day Colleges. Hence almost all authorities provided residence for the outs The Leeds Municipal College as well as West Riding College at Bingley are resid but as a matter of fact most of the Mun Colleges were planned to provide for both and residential students.

The new residential colleges were e with the ideals characteristic to the century. This new type of Training Co had an educational block with separate contained hostels or hall of residence ne hand. Each block accommodated 40 to students under the charge of a member o staff. The idea was to foster domestic social relations among the students br them into informal and friendly ties wi members of the staff.

Curriculum

Another importance of this period improvement of the curriculum. The pa

14. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1909-10, p. 13.
15. Calculated from the tables given in pages 81 and 84 of the *Board of Education Report*, 1912-13.
16. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1900-01, p. 28 (no separate figure has been given for certified assistant teachers).
17. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1912-13, p. 85.
18. *Ibid*, p. 35.
19. *Ibid*, p. 39.

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r result had lowered down the curriculum ich was made to prepare the child for adult e without giving any consideration about his perience and mental life. Soon after the ssing of the Act of 1902, the Education partment felt the importance of revising the riculum in elementary schools and in their ume *Suggestions to Teachers and Others con-ned in the work of Public Elementary School* ed in 1905, they discussed with illustrations, principles and methods of teaching every ject in the curriculum. The ordinary sub-s of secular instructions were, the English guage, Handwriting, Arithmetic, Drawing, servation lesson and Nature study, Geo-phy, History, Singing, Hygiene, Physical ining and Domestic subjects for girls. All e subjects, of course, were not intended to taught in every class, but the curriculum as whole might be modified according to the umstances of the school and the locality. teachers and the Local Education Autho-s were given enough freedom in this respect. y were not to imitate but to interpret the riculum issued by the Board of Education rding to their needs. There was no com-sion to adopt the "suggestions." Thus in a ntry school, the curriculum for Arithmetic, tory and Geography might be curtailed in er to give more time to Nature study and tical subjects whereas in a town school e emphasis might be given on hand and eye ning. Also, separate and special grants ld be earned for instruction in Cookery, ndry work, Housewifery, Handicraft (in-ding light wood-work for girls) and Garden-

Different L. E. A.-s, however, have dealt h the question of this curriculum in a ferent manner. The matter was entirely left, some of the L. E. A.-s with the teachers and inspectors; others insisted that the teachers uld stick to the syllabus and time table in ying degrees of detail but this tendency ked after a few years, but the majority of authorities were particularly interested in tical subjects, *e.g.*, Hygiene, Cookery, ndicraft and Gardening.

Whatever the views of the L. E. A.-s might the general tone of the curriculum through-the whole country was totally changed. tematic practice in oral composition was n continued from the infants' school to the est class in the upper school without ing much stress on dictation, and children n a much earlier age were taught to express mselves on paper. Instead of writing formal essays on abstract subjects, they were now given opportunity to write from their own experience. Instead of teaching grammar formally, it was taught rather in an informal way in connection with composition. Accuracy was the only aim in teaching arithmetic in former days but now the child was taught to work his money sums in early stages with cardboard coins before he learned to write them in figures. He now learned weights by actual weighing with scales, length by measuring his desk or the playground. Formerly the teaching of geography required the children to commit to memory, names and definitions; but now geography was based on the child's first-hand knowledge of his surroundings and the ultimate aim in teaching geography was to develop in the children, powers of observation, imagination, systematic thought and independent effort on practical lines. As regards history, most of the schools accepted a common plan to adopt the stories and biographies in the lowest class with some detailed studies of periods in the middle of the school and the whole course of English history from different points of view was dealt with in the highest class. Dramatisation, study of local history, study of conditions under which the mass of the people had lived from time to time, were the central idea of the whole curriculum in history.[20]

To speak more concisely, the barrier which tradition had created between the life of the child in school and that out of the school was being broken down by the new enterprise and curriculum. Education was less bookish and more practical than it had been. In almost every subject in the curriculum, the teacher in the century, was using more and more the materials and experiences with which the children were familiar in everyday life. Hence there was increasing difference between schools in one area and those in another—between town schools and country schools. There was growing divergence, after a certain age, between the education of the boy and that of the girl.

All this grew from the recognition of a principle, which Rousseau called attention to, and Pestalozzi, Froebel and other reformers emphasised, that the curriculum must pay attention to the child's interest, capacity and experience. This is the second great determinant of the curriculum and now stands equal in importance with an older one—the equipment of the child for adult life.

20. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1910-11, pp. 21-32.

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Ideas of Post-Primary Education

Towards the end of the nineteenth century some of the larger School Boards developed a type of school which had some of the characteristics of a primary school upto the age of 12, although they were never called primary schools. These schools formed in effect, the Junior Department attached to a higher grade Board School. A Junior Department attached to a higher grade school often became an important feeder of the main school. These "Higher Grade Schools" or "Higher Elementary Schools" although they were very few in number, served the purpose of providing education of a post-primary nature for the poor. The progress after 1902 was largely determined by section 22 of the Education Act, 1902, which enacted that the power to provide instruction under the Elementary Education Acts, 1870-1900, should, except where those Acts expressly provided to the contrary, be limited to the provision in a Public Elementary School of instruction given under the regulations of the Board of Education to scholars, who at the end of the school year, would not be more than sixteen years of age; provided that the L. E. A. might, with the consent of the Board of Education, extend those limits in the case of any such school, if no suitable higher education were available within a reasonable distance.

The minute which first created the Higher Elementary schools in 1900 was not followed by any large growth of schools of that type. The causes which restricted the growth of these schools were high cost of building, equipment and maintenance which were required under the old minute, and the predominantly scientific nature of the curriculum demanded. The future work of those going into the manufacturing trades or of those who were destined to take up clerical occupations or domestic duties did not find any guidance from the schools of that type. Also, there were many children, and particularly boys, who could not afford the time for a secondary school course, but who at the age of twelve, were ready for more advanced instruction than the Elementary school could give and for some practical teaching on the lines of occupation which they were intended to follow. So, to meet the existing need, a new type of Higher Elementary school was set forth in the Code of 1905.[21] The needs of the scholars in Elementary schools, who would probably be entering employment of some sort at the age of 15 or shortly after were to be made by this new code. instruction and the curriculum were different from those of the ordinary Elementary schools by carrying the general fundamental subjects of its course particularly the subjects of English to a standard and by including instruction more special aim and more technical than ought to find place in the general which it was the function of the school to supply. The Board of Edu asked the views of the consultative com regarding the principles which to them of most importance in determining the of the curriculum that would best meet needs of the various possible kinds of Elementary School. According to the of the committee, the course should deve an unbroken progress the work already strengthen on the foundation of primary tion already made, and attempt to build them as good a general education as the tions would allow. Such a course must rec bent towards the special needs of the life the child would enter, as it was the imme preliminary to livelihood. It should of three strands, which might be described as humanistic, scientific and and in the case of the girls, domestic.

The course of the new Higher Elem schools was to be one of three years of four years as heretofore, though it mig extended with the approval of the Boar a fourth year. The Board would make under the ordinary conditions, of 30s., 45s 60s. for the several years of the course in of each unit of average attendance in those years and those would be in addi the Fee Grant (for scholars under 15 special aid grant under section 18 Education Act, 1902.

After the introduction of this Code of some of this new type of schools were but not abundantly. In January, 1906 were only three such schools throughout whole country and in August, 1906, 1907, 1908 there were 5, 35 and 44 of this new of Higher Elementary schools. The accom tions for the respective years were 724; 10,154 and 19,801.[22] Although the were few in number and although a of children were being educated in institutions, the general work imposed

21. *Code of Regulations for Public Elementary Schools*, 1905, (*Cmd* 2579) chapter vi, articles 38-42.

22. *Statistics of Public Education in England and Wales*, 1903-05, p. 67; 1905-07, p. 15; 1906-08, and *Report of the Board of Education*, 1908-09, p.

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these schools was fairly done. One of the Inspectors wrote about a school :

"The school is conducted with much ability and common sense, and it was pleasant to see the friendly confidence between the masters and the boys. A large percentage of these latter take up industrial callings and the general trend of the instruction is in that direction. This does not prevent the boys from doing very well in other walks of life, and the education given all round is above the average . . . ."[23]

But the compulsory education for a generation also could not make the parents sufficiently educated as to understand the value of education. They could not appreciate the idea that a trained boy would be able to earn more than a raw one and they would take out their children from those schools before completion as the law of the land could not prevent them from doing so. One of the unfavourable reports from an Inspector in connection with another school was as follows :

"At present, the chief difficulty in maintaining a satisfactory Higher Elementary school is the serious leakage of scholars as soon as they attain their fourteenth year. Thus during the present year 40 boys started in the highest class and there now only remain 14; of 35 girls in the same class 25 remain. Even in the second class the leakage is nearly as bad, *viz.* 25 boys are left out of 45 and 40 girls out of 55. Unfortunately there is no indication that this leakage is materially diminishing, and it is evident that the scholars, especially the boys, generally leave as soon as they reach their fourteenth year. Unless the difficulty can be met it is useless to attempt any higher work . . . . The solution appears to lie in the revision of the curriculum."[24]

Another kind of advanced Elementary education other than the Higher Elementary was preferred by some of the larger L. E. A.s. These were called the Central Schools. In London, the Central School system dates from the educational year 1911.[25] A number of Higher Elementary schools which had long been giving education considerably in advance of the ordinary elementary school standard, including some built originally as organized schools of science, were abolished in the new system. The Chief object of the Central Schools was to prepare girls and boys for immediate employment on leaving school, and that instruction should therefore be such that the children would be prepared to go into business houses or workshops on the completion of the course without any intermediate special training.[26] These Central schools were designed for the provision of an educational course not provided in the Public Elementary graded schools or in the secondary schools, and the curriculam of such schools were to be framed so as to have an industrial or commercial bias. The aim evidently was that the trend of education should be eminently practical without being vocational in any narrow sense. Thus the position of the central school was intermediate between that of the secondary school on the one hand and that of the junior technical school on the other, being distinguished from the former by its lower leaving age and less academic curriculum, and from the latter by its earlier age of admission and the fundamental fact that it did not in any sense aim at providing technical training for any particular trade or business.

In 1912, the Manchester Education Authority instituted six District schools on rather similar lines.[27]

23. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1907-08, p. 42.
24. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1907-08, p. 43.

25. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. 32 and 1912-13, pp. 60-62.
26. *L. C. C. Elementary School Handbook*, (1923), No. 2276, p. 118.
27. *Report of the Board of Education*, 1911-12, p. 43.

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PEACE OR WAR?

The Problem of 'Peaceful Change'

By DEEP CHAND SRIVASTAVA, M.A., LL.B.

THE question of treaty revision has recently been in the centre of international politics, because violent changes are fast becoming the order of the day. Treaties are no longer sacrosanct. The most important of the post-war treaties, *viz.*, the Treaty of Versailles, has been unilaterally torn to pieces and is now no better than a mere scrap of paper. To a certain extent this was inevitable, for the injustices perpetrated on Germany were patent to any observer, and even if Hitler had not come into power it would have, sooner or later, had the same fate. The pace has been set by Germany, Italy and Japan, and their examples bid fair to be infectious. That would ultimately involve the world in another 'Great War' with all its catastrophic consequences. The evolution of peaceful machinery for revision of treaties and consideration of 'international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world' becomes an imperative necessity in the interests of world order.

The problem of 'peaceful change' is a fundamental question of any legal system. International Law lacked legal character and was, in the famous words of a famous jurist, 'the vanishing point of jurisprudence,' because war was one of the legally recognised modes of changing international rights. This was analogous to an authorisation of a revolution in the very constitution of a State. But the Briand-Kellogg Pact (General Treaty for the Renunciation of War) and the Covenant of the League to a lesser degree, have brought about a radical change in international law by removing the main objection to its recognition as a system of law. War is definitely outlawed and is no longer admissible as a regular legal institution. It is no longer recognised as a legal remedy or as an instrument for changing international law. But no legal institution has been put in its place, and this is fatal, for if war is outlawed, and there is no peaceful machinery for bringing about changes in international law, rule of law becomes synonymous with injustice, and, what is worse, it cannot effectively be enforced. Therefore, to accept treaties of compulsory arbitration without provision being made for peaceful change would be to perpetuate injustice. It was the recognition of this fact that led to the anomalous provision in the General Act of 1928 that the arbitrators were to maintain, as well as change, the law!

What is 'peaceful change' as a legal institution? Every political society is confronted with the conflict between the demands of stability and the demand of change representing, respectively, the claims of law and the claims of justice. Within the state the gap between the immobility of law and social progress is bridged by legislative action. In the international society there is no legislature in the true sense of the term. And for that reason the problem of 'peaceful change' in the relations of states becomes very acute. Peaceful change implies a duty on the part of states to accept changes decreed by competent organs of international community and also a right possessed by those organs to decree such changes. This is what Professor Lauterpacht considers to be the true meaning of 'peaceful change' as a legal institution. It may be added that peaceful change connotes situations brought about by the operation both of treaties (which constitute the bulk of international law) and customary rules of international law which have outgrown their original usefulness or significance.

The question of revision of treaties is confined to the treaties following upon the World War, though, in the popular mind, it has become bound up with the removal of the injustices of the imposed peaceful settlement which terminated the World War.

Peaceful change as a legal institution postulates the existence of an international legislature. There is no such organisation in existence today. But there are some means of varying degrees of effectiveness for modifying obsolete treaty provisions and conditions though they are rudimentary when compared with the effectiveness of national legislatures.

These means may be briefly examined.

The first is judicial legislation. It is well known, that judges apply, as well as make law. But the function of judicial legislation

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as an instrument for changing law, is very limited even within a state, being indirect and confined to matters of relatively small importance. In the international sphere it is much more limited, for judicial activity is not a normal one in the international field.

There is a second means also. States, if they like, may ask the Court to act *ex aequo et bonum* (equity in the more general sense) and not on the basis of existing law. This is done in individual cases by the states expressly entrusting international tribunals with legislative function. But there are no general arbitration agreements giving such compulsory powers to international tribunals in regard to future disputes. Nor should such powers be conferred on these tribunals, for it would convert them into legislatures, for which they are not fitted.

Then there is a third mode of changing international rights by peaceful means—the famous doctrine of *rebus sic stantibus*. The general view is that all treaties are concluded under the tacit condition of *rebus sic stantibus*. Vital change of circumstances play a great part with regard to validity of all law, *e.g.*, cancellation of contracts under certain circumstances, and therefore, the state has a right to demand release from its obligations which conflict with its duty of self-preservation and development. This doctrine, properly understood, means that an international court may declare a treaty inoperative if, since its conclusion, conditions have changed so as to frustrate the purpose of the treaty. In the absence of compulsory jurisdiction of international tribunals the doctrine has degenerated into a notorious device for breaking a treaty under the guise of legal process. But even as a legal institution, the scope of the application of the doctrine is admittedly a limited one, because it does not apply to (*a*) all sources of friction not connected with any treaty, (*b*) all changes in conditions but only to the changes in such circumstances as both parties regarded as the decisive inducement for entering the treaty, and (*c*) executed treaties. The judicial range of the application of this doctrine is also small. In recent cases where it was invoked the Courts did not think it applied in those cases. Even that limited application is circumscribed by the fact that international courts have no compulsory jurisdiction. The doctrine may, however, prove of some use if states agree to entrust tribunals with the decision whether a vital change of circumstances has really taken place. But even then major changes in international law cannot be brought about that way for reasons just stated.

These avenues for changing the existing law are the poorest of substitutes for an international legislature. Their scope is limited. At present there is no international agency in which such a power (to change the existing law) is vested. Article 19 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, is a tentative attempt to create something like an international legislature. But the Article does not vest in the Assembly the power of changing the existing law. It merely lays down:

> "The Assembly may from time to time *advise* the reconsideration by Members of the League of treaties which have become inapplicable and the consideration of international conditions whose continuance might endanger the peace of the world."

The scope of the Article is wide, for it covers all executory treaties and also those which have not become inapplicable under the *rebus sic stantibus* clause. But its utility is evidently small for the Assembly can at best give only an opinion in the nature of a recommendation. It is the states themselves which proceed to take any action. Thus, under the Covenant, there is no power able to change peacefully existing law against the will of the interested states, and herein it lacks the essential quality of an international legislature. And there has been no inclination on the part of the Assembly to give an extended interpretation to the terms of the Article. When Bolivia invoked it in 1921 the Assembly held that her case did not fall within that Article. The Great Powers have tried to sabotage the Article, because events have proved that changes effected unilaterally were rewarded with success.

But the Article does foreshadow the legislative method, though it embodies the principle of legislation only in embryonic state. It is the first institutional attempt to deal with the problem of peaceful change within the orbit of politically organised international society. Although the recommendation of the Assembly has no binding character, the fact that it has found that a certain state of affairs is obsolete is not altogether without legal importance.

Opinions may be divided about the possibilities of the Article. One thing is, however, certain: that it does not provide for peaceful change as an organic institution of international society, *i.e.*, it does not provide peaceful change being accepted by states as a matter of legal obligation. There is necessity for institutional provision for peaceful change. If we accept

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that it would mark a great advance, it would mean an International Legislature. It would not be restricted to territorial matters. A possible safeguard against its formidable jurisdiction may be made in the provision that sovereign states should not be asked to yield rights unless under such overwhelming considerations of justice as may be found by competent international organs (by practical unanimity). Such a vote must be combined with reform of the unjust principle of state equality. In this way the problem of institutional peaceful change can be tackled.

We must not minimise the difficulties in the way of international legislation. But they are not insuperable. An international legislature would be ineffective unless combined with some measure of enforcement—preferably by the method of collective security.

As matters stand, international peace is threatened by the fact that 'forcible change' is fast developing into a general practice. This might spell the ruin of civilisation. Surely in the interests of world peace, no effort should be spared to evolve peaceful means for meeting just demands for change in international law. Only thus peace could be ensured on a lasting basis, otherwise war is a stark certainty.

FOR THE REBEL

By Srimati BHARATI SARABHAI

I have so much of this moon—
A reassured tomorrow and still again,
Her nightly promise
Its slow, accelerated pace
Will take of unbound majesty;
No time she keeps
But that of her growing beauty—

I have so much of this moon this night
While you, whose gift
Of crowded hour is spent from crest
To crest of the ungovernable, rising
multitude,
As the very vital centre cell, loud throbbing
With the coalescing
Swarm of the social artery,

Spread as one entity
Before your gaze,
Which, no more an abstraction for theory,
Stands as a figure with a wellknown face,
Whose real need you know you can
Not help much, whose open scars
Stare at you unaltered from every turn—

Crowd to crowd, aeroplane, car, wagon
To railway compartments full of men,
Everywhere slave compulsion, shrinking
humanity,
Here and there fruition, full aristocratic,
free,
Which hurts even more,—there's no time
for remorse—
Heated breath, sun-baked seers
Long waiting as for an apparition,

Untempered curiosity and most eager flint
In failing embers to speed this country's
cart
To will this time's heroic change—
Till hoarse is your voice, film-covered the
image
Of the ivory face, like dreaming architecture
Put to living use in this Russian age,
Carries its pale, thoroughbred air—

For the real need, the real desire—
I have too much of this moon here
While you are insatiate, you whose delicate
perception
Vibrates like a cunning instrument
fashioned
To catch the music of the magic spheres
All that has grace and light and sweetness
In art and nature,

And that freakish accident of nature and
art,
Woman,—all else that anchors man,
Harbours his touch, his incense breath,
his ear
Unpetals, his prodigal eye stills, makes
divine
Justification for the grant of material
sense—
You, from this heavenly storehouse
Of the years' accumulated delight in
loveliness,

You, from all this, will gather power,
Power like an incalculable volcano,
Power for all men, power to sway the
soul's ecstasy
To other uses, until even the air
Bidden with this my verse like a dynamo
Like hard, insistent hammerstroke,
On this fast moving time make a mark

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ABUSE OF ADVERTISING

By KSHITINDRA KUMAR NAG, Ph. B. (Chicago)

ertain series of advertisements have been pearing prominently in our newspapers and agazines with the message conveying such an as "long life in tea drinking." The vertising campaign is bold to the point of ficity in going so far as to depict the message th an illustration in which an old man in a nified costume is giving sermons to a group young ones to that very extent. It is not essary here to ascertain how far the parti- r inference as to 'long life' is correct, but s at least certain that no authority could ientiously give testimonials to tea drinking one's longevity.

Again, another type of advertisements is ng similar prominence in the advertising ns of our press with striking announce- t of cigarette smoking as beneficial to our th and nerves, and also useful in giving f to fatigue. The idea of health behind rette smoking is ridiculous to any common e, but as regards the question of fatigue L. F. Henderson, professor of biological istry, Harvard University, who can claim m authority in this line, has pointed out is artcle on "Alkali Ads" which appeared *Harvard Business Review*, Autumn, '37,

"Fatigue is relieved by rest and food, not by the use alkalies or cigarettes. But sometimes it may be ed by faith."

The article has been devoted to critising cipally advertisements announcing the ing virtues of a multitude of alkaline dies, but Mr. Henderson could make a ial mention of cigarettes only in the above , relating to fatigue.

The total effects of such advertisements ld not be considered to be trivial, as they t influence the readers' outlook to a con- rable extent. And due to our indifference or want of a definite policy of social control this respect, we may have to observe a ly mounting dishonesty in advertising s that claim qualities for a product which not the slightest basis in fact, to the ment of the field of advertising.

Unfortunately, the advertising field has n thus abused. It is no wonder that the tude of the Indian public towards advertising is peculiar. Most people in India still think that advertisement carries news different from what it ought to carry; in other words, the advertiser spreads an exaggerated story of the product for sale. The advertisers, it is true, are chiefly patent medicine vendors and others to whom dishonest methods may seem justifiable to further their short-sighted ends. This class of people also constituted the only well defined group of advertisers in the western countries until approximately 1850; today it has been supplanted by almost the entire commercial fraternity.

In order to bring in or build up reputation that the field of advertising lacks in India there should be some sort of check to the advertising campaigns like the ones in question. It is worthwhile here to mention what a drastic step had been taken by the Federal Trade Commission of the United States of America against one cigarette manufacturer with regard to its irresponsible advertising policy. It is pretty nearly a decade that the Federal Trade Commission freed American advertising of the burden it has to bear then by exacting from the manufacturer a promise to "cease and desist" from publication or broadcasting of statements that smoking of his cigarettes "will bring slender figures and cause a reduction of flesh in all instances."

Any way, the advertisers themselves must realize the importance of advertising in an economic organization to elevate its standard. In short, advertising is salesmanship on paper. The enormous increase in production available through the modern machine industry introduced into business the great problems of marketing, the solution of which is hardly possible without advertising as the substitute for increased selling forces. It plays such an important part in economic society that advertising and advertising agencies are sometimes spoken of as important factors in the apportionment of our economic activity. Advertising becomes a necessity, but if not wisely used to depict a product truthfully it becomes as much a boomerang as a poor product, and as a result a hindrance rather than help in creating public confidence towards the field of advertising. In other words, the marketing

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problem becomes complicated rather than simple in the sense that a reader of advertisements finds it difficult as to which to believe and which not to believe. There are people, indeed, to whom the idea of advertising is this —honest or dishonest, it pays any way. Then, one can as well say that cheating pays but that can never be a business proposition.

The activities of advertisers have an important bearing on the welfare of the society in which they live. In the estimation of many economists the importance of advertising is measured more by social consequences than by its economical effects. Dr. Edward D. Jones, professor of Commerce and Industry in the University of Michigan, U. S. A., has said,

> "Upon the general public there can be no doubt but that the constant sight of announcements of high qualities in goods, and the constant reading of protestations of social service as the motive of business action, exerts an influence in the direction of elevating the standards of taste and of conduct."[1]

If on the other hand, 'high qualities' and 'social service' become phrases of deception the social consequences can easily be imagined. The dishonest practices may be taken as a matter of course, and in the callous acceptance of such deceptions lies a measure of the decline of our intergrity, especially

> "when Big Business tells him (a buyer) to purchase some article he feels he must obey. And if he does not happen to have the purchase price, he may be willing to take desparate chances to get it."[2]

In this respect the business ethics as expressed recently in the following American advertisement that is appearing currently in various magazines and newspapers in U. S. A. demonstrates the high standard the advertising has reached:

> No person should spend a cent for liquor until necessities of living are provided—and paid for. Bills for groceries, clothes, rent, light, heat, doctors, have the first call on America's pay-roll.
>
> We don't want to sell whisky to anyone who buys it at a sacrifice of the necessities of life. Whisky is a luxury and should be treated as such. Fine whisky can play a pleasing part in the scheme of gracious living . . . but only when taken in moderation and only after the bills are paid.
>
> This statement may seem contrary to our self-interest. Actually it is not. As one of America's leading distillers we recognize a definite social responsibility. The very existence of legalized liquor in this country depends upon the civilized manner in which it is consumed. In the long run, we believe, it is good business for us to say, "pay your bills first."[3]

1. *The Administration of Industrial Enterprises*, N. Y., 1918, p. 382.
2. Big Business and Banditry, *The New Republic*, June 10, '31.
3. *The Reader's Digest*, March '38, p. 77.

These paragraphs are printed, no furtherance of the drinking of spirituous liq which even "in moderation" we condemn, only to show how even some liquor-sellers America advertise their goods.

If certain advertisers still think it wise follow the gleam of profits more than anyth else, they should remember that the crime b its own consequences, in that advertising of objectionable nature creates an adverse fee towards the goods rather than a desire to them. Finally, the advertisers and advert agencies in India should at least rid them of the fallacy that anything and every is all right with a publication when it is advertisement.

In order to give modern advertising proper prestige and in order to realize advantages, it is well to mention that publishers of public organs like newspapers magazines should feel a sense of responsib In many cases, particularly in India, many still use advertising as a plan to make mo easily. A number of advertisements dea with patent medicines, intoxicating liq tempting cures, fortune telling, exciting m and many other swindles should be refuse that they cannot abuse the field of adver and cheat the public purse. Unfortuna from the standpoint of the advertising busi some of those articles which are notori associated with misrepresentation are p cularly prominent in the advertisement col of the press. It is all the more unfortu when it is the case with certain newspapers magazines which in virtue of their stan tradition and large circulation are in a b position than others to withstand the pre of such advertising propagandas. Unless a has sincerity and wholehearted belief in which he wants to advertise and desire merit public confidence he should not allowed to have space for advertising product. The *Saturday Evening Post*, a w magazine in the United States of America instance, rejects nearly as much advertisi it prints owing to the fact that such advert will not pass the "acid test" which publisher applies to it. There is, of cours keen competition among American publi in selling space for advertisements.

It is evident that the *Saturday Eve Post* does not really become loser of adve ments by refusing them space. As adve is an economic necessity the advertisers send back their copies of advertisements modifications as required, and they

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ford to get cross or get cold feet at the fusal, when they know well that they are to vertise and that their advertisements must e published for obvious reasons, in that parti- lar journal. Thus, in the matter of checking censorship of advertising columns the Indian blishers can cast off without any loss what- ever, the bugaboo of "we will lose advertise- ent" and put in its place "it will come any ay". On the other hand, if they are to prehend anything at all in connection with eir relation with advertisements they should ind the offence of irresponsibility and decep- on on the part of advertisers, for which the blishers are equally, if not more, to blame, ause it is they who help the advertisers get eir message carried to the public. It is no ubt true that the public gets the benefit of eap newspapers and magazines because of vertisements, yet it does not follow that the culation of a journal depends upon them but on the reading public who are interested primarily in news, editorial matters and particularly in the honesty and consistency of its policy in regard to many other things which it has to deal with.

Now is the time for the publisher, the advertising agency and the advertiser to appreciate each other's service and to co-operate with each other not only to their own advantage but also to that of the community. It should be remembered that the policy of advertising cannot remain unchanged with the changes ever coming up with the machine industry, in order to help the producer sell his product produced on a large scale. They must, therefore, realize the importance of the field of advertising wisely utilised. It is as well a matter of great concern to all of them when an organization lands into advertising campaign, especially an extensive one, to go so far as to proclaim an attribution like "long life" or "good health" to such things as tea drinking, cigerette smoking and the like.

WORLD FELLOWSHIP OF FAITHS

Our Statement of World Peace Day

(Anniversary of the signing of the Pact of Paris)

We heartily congratulate the World Youth Congress, t August 16-24, 1938, at Vassar College, New York, ere the spokesmen of the Youth Organizations of -seven countries assembled. The best fruit of this gress is in the promotion of fellowship among the ng men and women of different countries, creeds and ures.

We are in full accord with the seven points for ce recently proclaimed by the U. S. Secretary, Hon. dell Hull, namely (1) Economic reconstruction; (2) ety observance; (3) non-interference in the affairs of er nations; (4) disarmament; (5) intellectual exchange d collaboration among all peoples; (6) adherence to ternational law; (7) international cooperation to ther this program. We also have strong faith in the llogg-Briand Peace Pact for the solution of the ublem of Peace and War.

We join with the World Youth Congress in maintain- g the view that "a new world order could be tablished in which a lasting peace could be founded justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind." The World Fellowship of Faiths goes still further. firmly believes that lasting peace must have its ginning with every individual, as charity begins at ome. We emphasize that the "development of dividual character by practising non-violence, truth, and love in every little action of everyday life, will bring abiding peace and happiness."

Let us begin with ourselves, so that we may start immediately and not wait for other people and government to take actions, however essential they may be. Unless every individual finds his true relationship with the Supreme Being and realizes the unity of all life, real peace on earth is unattainable. President Wilson rightly observed that "civilization will be wrecked and ruined unless spiritually redeemed." We, therefore, seek individual reform through spiritual regeneration.

The World Fellowship of Faiths has chosen as a general theme "*World Peace Through Spiritual Awakening*" and is inviting the people of all faiths, races and countries to participate in its Fifth International Congress to be held in New York at the time of the great World's Fair and in San Francisco during the Golden Gate Exhibition in 1939.

May He make our efforts fruitful by uniting us inwardly and outwardly in peace and fellowship.

KEDARNATH DAS GUPTA,
Editor, *Appreciation-Dharma*

Hotel New Yorker,
New York, N. Y., August 27, 1938

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ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA

In the Caves of Gokteik

By BIRESWAR GANGOOLY

On the Lashio Branch of the Burma Railways, at a distance of 40 miles from Maymyo there is a railway station named Gokteik Viaduct, situated on the verge of a deep gorge, which is spanned by a steel bridge 2,200 feet long, constructed by the Burma Railways.

Across the gorge, and on the opposite side of the Railway Station, the hill-side presents a long line of hard granite rocks rising sheer to a height of some 1,500 feet and containing numerous small caves, crevices and grottoes, now the habitation of birds and bats. There are also the traces of many dried-up springs that in olden days found their way through these crevices.

In 1906, from the aforesaid bridge, a bright light and the glow of a fire were occasionally seen at nights at the side of the rocks. It was impossible that any human being could have access to the places, where the light and fire were seen burning.

This phenomenon was seen by many visitors at Gokteik during the next 5 or 6 years; but no satisfactory explanation was ever found till a Madrasi station-master employed at Gokteik in 1913 declared that a Hindu "Zawti" (Sadhu), living in one of the caves on the opposite side of the hills, was the person, who was burning the light and fire in front of some of those unknown grottoes. No one however cared to ascertain the grotto where he lived. From about February 1934, the light and the fire were not any more seen at any of the rocks.

In 1934, a Gurkha Sadhu (an old man of 70 years) who had erected, at the side of the Viaduct, a few thatch huts for third class railway passengers to rest, corroborated the statement of the Madrasi station-master, and said that he had been acquainted with the old Sadhu living in one of the caves about 20 years ago; but the Sadhu, he added, must have been dead, as no one had seen him since 1914.

In 1937, in a June number of *The Sun* and of *The New Light of Burma* there appeared a letter written in Burmese by a correspondent stating that a large number of images of Buddha had been discovered in a cave at Gokteik, the clue being given in a dream to U Myat, a permanent Way Inspector of Sakantha.

In July 1937, U Myat, being questioned about the images found at Gokteik, made the following statement:

"On the 26th May 1937, while I was in my quarters at Sakantha, I dreamt that there were a number of images of Buddha in a hidden in a cave on the hill just opposite the railway station. I attached no importance to the dream; merely because it was a dream and because there were no caves known to any one then, where any human beings could have any access.

"On the 29th May, I had to spend the night at the Rest House at Gokteik. In the early hours of the morning, I dreamt that I was on the 4th scaffold of the Viaduct with an old Pouna, dressed in a white Burmese jacket and a dhoti, similar to those worn by the Pounas on ceremonial occasions. He had a bead in his right hand, and stretching his right hand with the bead towards the rock on the other side of the gorge, he pointed out to me a cave and said; 'In that cave lying unknown for many years, are images of Lord Buddha. I bid you go there and take them.'

"I saw the images, in my dream, distinctly glittering in the darkness of the cave. I awoke from my sleep, and prayed that my dream might be fulfilled.

"At dawn I went down to the Railway Station and told the station-master S. N. D., a Bengali Hindu, about my dream. He volunteered to accompany me. With 6 others equipped with *dahs*, spades and shovels, we started at once to find out the grotto pointed out to me by the "Pouna." The surroundings as seen in the dream were quite clear in my memory. We made our way across the Viaduct and when within a few yards of the south tunnel, we started to search. After cutting some trees and a thick tangle of bushes, we managed to reach, by means of a narrow rocky path, the edge of a precipice, where a cave exactly similar to what I had seen in my dream was found. The mouth of the cave was covered by thick bushes and was almost hidden

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ANCIENT IMAGES OF BUDDHA IN THE GOKTEIK CAVES

The inscription (No. 2) at the base of this image could not be deciphered

The largest image—about four feet in height. Left arm broken

Another damaged image. This was found carefully kept with the first

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These images, from six inches to four feet, were found in the grotto, arranged in the same way as seen here. Most of these are of lacquer wood and covered with thin gold leaves.

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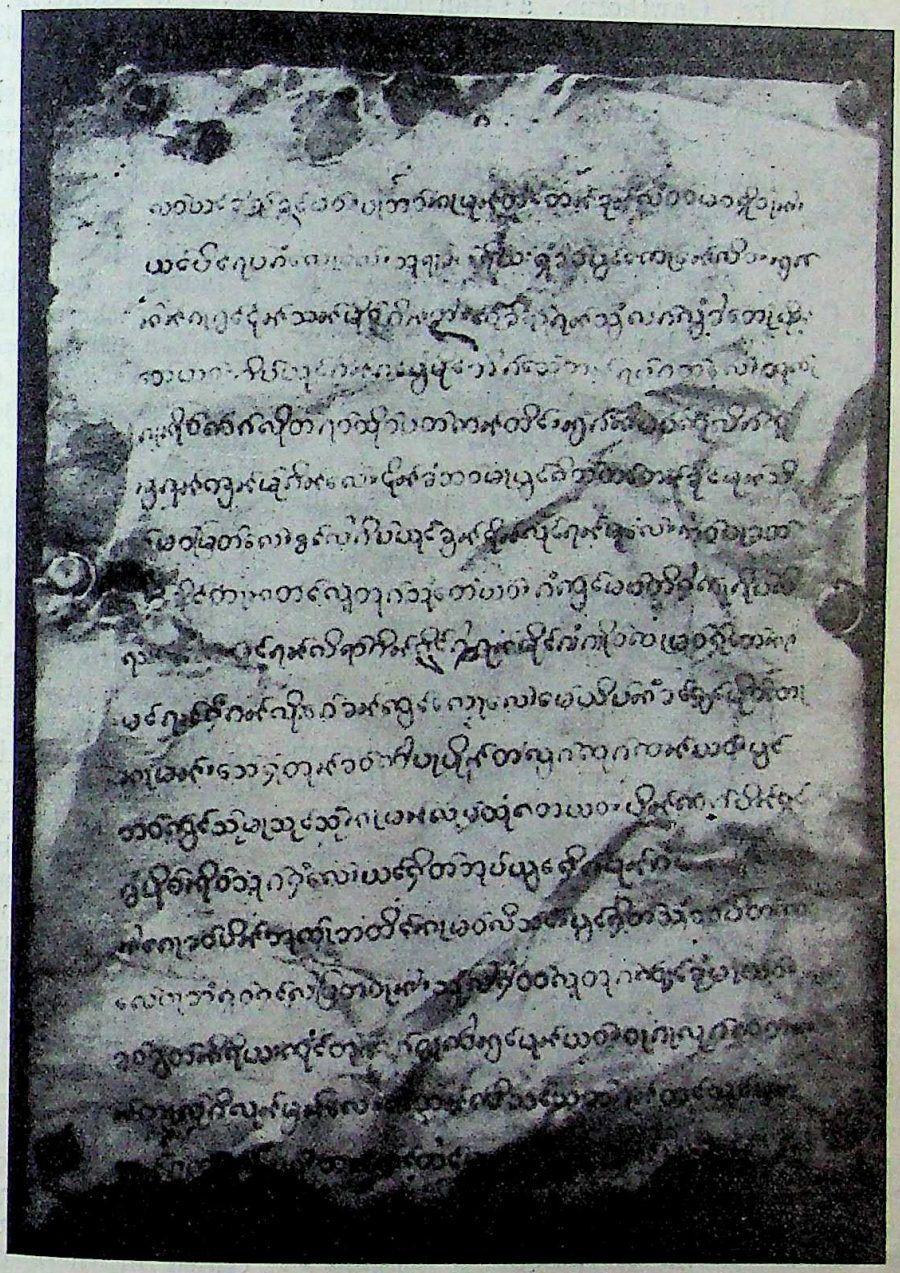
undergrowth. The skeleton of a cow was found scattered at the entrance of the cave. As it was impossible for cows to come to the cave by the narrow rocky path described above and as there could be no incentive for cows to go there, the only inference that came spontaneously to us, was that the cow must have been killed by a tiger and brought to the cave. The coolies therefore made loud noises to frighten any beast that might be lurking there; but nothing came out of the grotto except a tortoise about a foot in diameter with a black shiny shell on its back, which hurriedly ran down a narrow little cave just below the grotto. The inner apartment of the grotto was quite clean and seemed as if inhabited by man, though in reality no one was known to have lived there, within the last 80 years. In this cave and in some neighbouring ones, we discovered about sixty old images of Buddha from 2 inches to 4 feet in height, most of them made in lacquer and some of wood covered with thin gold leaves, quite bright and unstained. There were four images of marble stone.

"Without disturbing the position of the images, we shut the mouth of the grotto by a strong fencing of wood and returned to the station.

"I then sent a letter describing the discovery to my District Engineer Mr. Gawthorne, who with his wife came the next day to Gokteik and penetrating further inside, they found more images, and also 'a terra-cotta motif' bearing an inscription. Mrs. Gawthorne took a few photographs of the grotto and some of the images found there. The motif was taken to Mandalay in order to decipher the writing and glean the past history of the images. The images were then carefully collected and brought to Gokteik station, where on the top of a hillock a thatch hut has now been constructed to house them."



A photograph of the inscription No. 2

Later on, in April last (1938), Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne gave us the details of these finds at the cave. The inscriptions photographed by them were also shown to us and I am indebted to Mrs. Gawthorne for the photographs now appearing in the pages of *The Modern Review*.

The translation of the inscription No. 2 could not be obtained. It is written in Shan,

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but is full of queer words unintelligible even to the old Shan Phongies of the Hsipaw State. Inscription Nos. 1 and 3 were deciphered by Mr. and Mrs. Gawthorne, a translation of which is given below.

INSCRIPTION No. 1

This image has been dedicated on the Full Moon day of Tabodwe 1226 B.E., to receive merit (Kuthaw). May the maker of this image also get merit. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu.

INSCRIPTION No. 3

It was in 1253 B.E.—Thadu, Thadu, Thadu —that this image was dedicated by Mg Sein.

May Mg Sein, his parents, wives, and sons, get "Kuthaw" (Merit), long life, beauty, happiness and health. Let all their wishes be fulfilled. Thadu, Thadu, Thadu.

Now the question is:—

Who secreted these images in these inaccessible caves and why and when?

Mr. —— believes that "they were concealed by the neighbouring villagers, during one of the Chinese invasions in Burma."

The inscription Nos. 1 and 3 bear the years 1864 and 1891 A.D.

The well-known Chinese invasions to Burma were from Yunan and usually through Bhamo and Kengtong and not through Hsipaw where Gokteik is and those invasions moreover were made in the years 1445 (Kengtoung), 1662 (Bhamo) and 1767 (Lashio) and not in the years mentioned in the inscriptions.

Some old Shans of Noungpeng believe that the images were concealed there during the continual war that raged among the ruling Sawbwas of Hsipaw, Monglong and Hsumhsai in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries A.D. (*vide* Chapter VI, *Upper Burma Gazette*, Vol. 1, Part 1). There are however no mention there of any warfare due to differences in religious faith so as to cause the people of Noungpeng—the nearest village to Gokteik—to conceal the images of Buddha in these inaccessible caves.

In 1891 (the year mentioned in inscription No. 3) the conditions were quite different. The British Government had already annexed Upper Burma, and the Sawbwa of Hsipaw had already submitted to the British Rule in 1886. The sub-States of Monglong and Hsumhsai (Thonze) were soon subdued and annexed by the Hsipaw Sawbwa to his State with the help of the British. British military forces were then stationed at Lashio and Hsipaw and they were often going out on expeditions to quell rebellions in the unruly States.

It is possible therefore that at this time the Phongies, to save their images of Buddha from those infidels, concealed them in the caves at Gokteik.

Secondly, from the year 1892, when the construction of the railway line from Mandalay to Lashio was begun, a very large number of Chinese and Pathan coolies and workmen were employed in the construction of the line, tunnels and the steel bridge at Gokteik. They were not Buddhists and it is very possible that the Buddhist priests, through a fear of their Buddha's image being broken down by these greedy non-believers, concealed them in these caves at Gokteik. It was the usual practice in olden times to hide valuable treasures inside the images of Buddha or under the seat of the images in the pagodas. (G. Harvey's *History of Burma*, page 107).

During the period 1886-1903 A.D. a number of "rebels and dacoits" unwilling to submit to the British Rule, took refuge in the Mong Lon and Hsumhsai States; and they, in the words of Sir George Scott, used to burn and plunder the villages that refused to help them. The Hsipaw State having accepted the British Rule from 1886, it was possible that the villages near Gokteik concealed these images of Buddha in these unknown caves, to save them from being destroyed by these "rebels."

There was, about two miles from the caves at Gokteik, an ancient caravan road leading from China to Burma and used by the Chinese traders. The Buddhist preachers who had established the "Sad-dharma" in the Far East and among the ferocious Nat-worshippers of the Northern Shan States, used the same road for their journey to China and the Lao States. New pagodas were being constructed and new images were therefore naturally required for these pagodas and for their worship. It is therefore also possible that the Buddhist preachers had kept their images concealed in these caves for future transport in peaceful times.

The image on the broken Brick (Photo No. C) is believed by the Burmese scholars to be a very ancient one, dating its existence from the establishment of the Taloing Kingdom of Thaton.

It is now a mystery therefore and nobody can definitely tell us who kept these images there in the caves and why they did so.

Our young Burmese friends are of opinion that some Phongies had kept the images there with the idea of making this secret cave a shrine for the ignorant Shans.

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THE SHARADASHRAM

A Research Institute at Yeotmal in Berar

By ANANDRAO JOSHI

It is gratifying to note that there are at present three institutes working in the field of literary and historical research in the three sub-divisions of the Central Provinces and Berar, *viz.*, the 'Sharadashram' in Berar, the 'Madhyaprant Sanshodhan Mandal' in the Marathi C. P. and the 'Mahakosal Historical Research Society,' in the Hindi C.P. The Sharadashram which is the oldest of these three institutes was founded at Yeotmal in the year 1926, after the third session of the 'Vidharba Literary Conference' held there under the presidentship of Mr. N. C. Kelkar. Since then this institute in the small town of Yeotmal has given a good account of its activities in the field of literary and historical research, and its fame has not only transgressed the limits of Maharashtra but has reached to distant Europe as well. The credit for this commendable progress on the part of the Sharadashram is chiefly due to the untiring labour and devotion of its founder and promoter—Mr. Yeshwant Khushal Deshpande, M.A., LL. B., Leader of Yeotmal.

Mr. Deshpande was born on September 14, 1884 at Papal, a small village in the Akola District. He took his higher education in the Wilson College of Bombay. In 1906 he took the M.A. degree of Bombay University, he being the first Berarian to obtain it with Marathi as his subject. It was during his stay in Bombay that he was profoundly impressed by the historical writings of the late Mr. Rajwade, the most eminent historian of the Maharashtra. In 1908 Mr. Deshpande passed his LL. B. examination and then settled at Yeotmal where he began to practise as a lawyer. For several years he patiently devoted himself to the collection of old manuscripts and historical documents and records which now adorn the shelves of the Sharadashram.

The most outstanding and unique feature of the Sharadashram is the research work that is being assiduously done by it in the field of the old 'Mahanubhava'[1] literature of Marathi, a literature which has entirely revolutionised our conceptions regarding the early history and growth of the Marathi language. It is remarkable to note that the 'Mathas' of the 'Mahanubhava' sect are found not only in the provinces of the Punjab and Peshawar but in the far-off Afghanistan as well. In 1925 Mr. Deshpande visited several of these 'Mathas' in the Panjab and Peshawar and collected a lot of information regarding the 'Mahanubhava' literature from the manuscripts so carefully preserved in these 'Mathas'. On his return he published his wellknown book; *Mahanubhaviya Marathi*

Y. K. Deshpande

Vangmaya[2] which was highly appreciated by eminent Marathi scholars.

In 1932 the Sharadashram was reorganised and a new constitution was framed for its efficient working. At present Mr. M. S. Aney, M.L.A. (Central), is the president of the managing committee of this institute. *Shri Vishnudasachi Kavita,*[3] *Shri Riddhipuravarnan,*[4] *Vidarbhavina,*[5] *Uddhavagita,*[6] *Chakrapani-*

1. महानुभाव

2. 'महानुभावीय मराठी वाङ्मय'

3. श्रीविष्णुदासाची कविता

4. श्री ऋद्धिपुरवर्णन

5. विदर्भवीणा 6. उद्धवगीता

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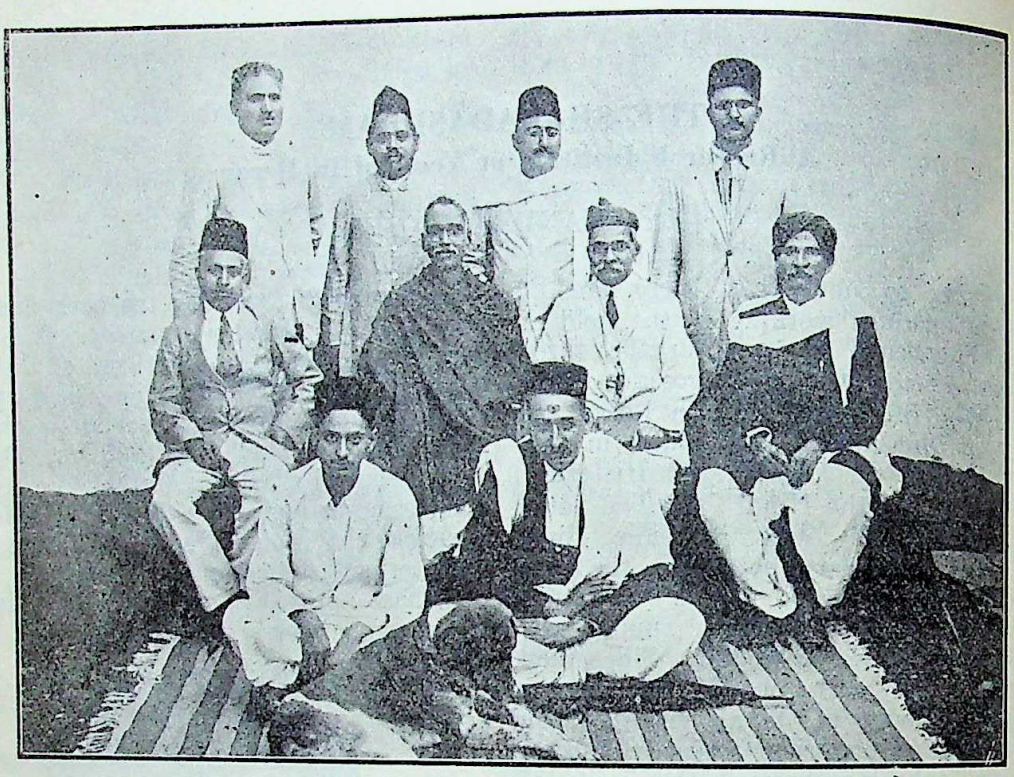

Sir Jadunath Sarkar's visit to Sharadashram
A group photograph : Sir Jadunath (second row, second from the left)

charitra,[7] *Adya Marathi Kavayitri*[8] are some of the publications published in the 'Sharadashram Book Series' which includes works both of old and current Marathi literature. In 1933 a *Sharadashram Annual* was published which included several papers contributed by eminent research workers and scholars of the province. Unfortunately, owing to lack of funds the idea of publishing subsequent annuals had to be abandoned.

On 20th August, 1927 Sir Jadunath Sarkar paid a visit to the Sharadashram in company with the wellknown 'Riyasatkar' of the Maharashtra, Mr. G. S. Sardesai and Mr. Y. M. Kale of Buldana (Berar). They paid a glowing tribute to the work undertaken by the Sharadashram in the following words:

"We visited the Sharadashram today and were very much pleased to see the arrangements made for saving old Sanskrit and Marathi manuscripts and historical records from destruction. Such an institution is a national asset at a centre like Yeotmal and we wish it success."

The Government of India also have honoured the institute by appointing Mr. Deshpande as a co-opted member of the Indian Historical Records Commission which held sessions at Nagpur, Gwalior and Patna.

Mr. Deshpande has sailed for Europe 26th July by the Italian Steamer '*Conte Ve* to attend the Eighth International Congress Historical Sciences to be held at Zu (Switzerland) from August 28 to Septemb 1938. He is attending the Congress as representative if the Sharadashram to w an invitation was sent by the Congress s time last year. He has submitted two pa on 'Prehistoric Rock Paintings in India' 'Indian Iconography' to be read at Session. From Zurich Mr. Deshpande will s for Brussels to attend the Oriental Congress to be held from the 5th to the of September. He will then stay at Paris about four months with a view to study collect materials on the history and philo of the Marathi language for his prop publication in Marathi. The world-renow scholar and philologist of Paris, Dr. Jules B has kindly consented to render him all poss help during his stay there. Mr. Deshp would then spend a couple of months in don, where he would take advantage o world famous library and the Museum. then intends to travel on the continent and return to India early next year.

7. चक्रपाणिचरित्र

8. आद्य मराठी कवयित्री

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STARS OF THE UNDERSEA

Amazing Illuminated Creatures of the Indian and Pacific Ocean Deeps

By EWEN K. PATTERSON

LF a century ago it was thought that no ing creature could exist the dark deeps of e oceans. Subsequent exploration, however, s revealed otherwise, for fish have been ured from as far down as three miles where light ever penetrates, and where the water rts the tremendous pressure of about three s to the square inch.

It is impossible for any of us to imagine how dark it is in these silent, unexplored s. No man has ever been able to go very down to find out; the greatest depth any has ever reached is only half a mile.

This was the noted performance of Dr. be, an American scientist, who went down the Atlantic Ocean four years ago in a big l ball called a bathysphere. Even at that paratively shallow depth the darkness was unding to Dr. Beebe, who said:

"It showed as blacker than black. It seemed as all future nights in the upper world must be dered only relative degrees of twilight. I could r again use the word Black with any conviction."

Just as the darkness of night in our upper ld is illuminated by stars, so the inky-black kness of the undersea is also relieved by s. But the stars in this case are living, ing stars in the form of some of the ndest creatures the imagination could rise—strange fishers that are equipped with ts of all colours of the rainbow.

Owing to the inaccessibility of their habitat few of these illuminated deep-sea fish have n closely studied. The little that has been rned, however, provides a fascinating glimpse the stupendous and amazing world of life t exists in the unexplored realms of the eans.

When Dr. Beebe made his descent in the lantic Ocean he encountered a remarkable h which he described as

new and gorgeous creature. Almost round, along sides of its body were five unbelievably beautiful s of light, one equatorial, with two curved ones ve and two below. Each line was composed of a s of large pale yellow lights, and every one of was surrounded by a semi-circle of very small but ly purple lights."

Dr. Beebe named it the Five-lined Constellation fish, and he said :—"In my memory it will live, as one of the loveliest things I have ever seen."

The strangest of all light-bearing fish are found in the Indian and Pacific Oceans; and one of the queerest of these is a fish, which has headlights exactly like the lamps of a motor-car in miniature!

The striking fact has been responsible for the fish's very appropriate name—the *anamalops* or "headlight-fish." Above each of its eyes the fish has a bright white light, and above each light is a movable flap which the fish can slip over its "lamps" at will, thus cutting off the illumination.

It is believed and is highly probable that the fish uses these "lamps" to attract prey within reach of its jaws.

More remarkable, however, is the lantern face fish of the family *Myctophidae,* which has headlights but no eyes!

The fish, which attains a length of about five feet and lives in the Pacific Ocean below a depth of about 2,000 fathoms, has absolutely no trace of eyes; instead, on top of its head, just above where the eyes are usually situated in other fish, it has a pair of large phosphorescent organs which emit a strong white light.

How the fish obtains food is something of a mystery, but it is believed that the lights, which the fish is able to switch on or off at will, act as a lure for attracting prey within reach of its enormous mouth.

Other illuminated members of the *Myctophidae* family are the lantern fishes, which, in addition to having eyes apparently capable of seeing through the densest blackness, have rows of luminous scales along both sides of the body.

These scale-lights can be switched on or off according to the will of the fish, and they are believed to act solely as aids to feeding. Some species of the lantern fishes also have tail-lights! The light of the male fish is situated on top of the tail and shines upward, while that of the female is underneath the tail and shines downward.

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The only fish yet discovered with a *red* tail-light is the rainbow fish (*Gnosotoma polyphos*) of the Southern Indian Ocean. As its name implies, the fish is one of the most beautiful in the undersea, for its luminous organs display virtually every colour of the rainbow.

Along both sides of its body are many rows of illuminated scales, which emit red, blue, orange, violet and yellow lights of all shades, while the fish has a white "headight" in the centre of its forehead and two red tail-lights, one on each side of the tail.

The lights produced by these deep-sea fish do not, of course, generate heat; they are cold lights, and, so far as has been ascertained, are used solely for the purpose of procuring food, acting as a lure to attract other fish.

Unique among all illuminated deep-sea fish is the Oceanic Angler fish. Angler fishes of course are well known; they are fairly plentiful throughout the seas of the world and most people are familiar with them (from books, if not by experience) and are aware that they are equipped with a kind of fishing-line and bait with which they angle for prey.

The Oceanic Angler fish, however, is vastly different to its well-known cousin. An inhabitant of the very deep and dark waters of the Pacific Ocean, the Oceanic Angler is unique in that the female only is a normal, free-swimming fish.

She attains a length of anything up to four feet, and, like the common Angler-fish, has a long fishing-line protruding from the top of her head. This line is also equipped with a "bait," which, unlike that of the common fish, is brightly illuminated. The fish flicks this "lamp" to and fro to attract other fish within reach of her jaws.

An unusual feature of the fish's jaws is that they are equipped with large *hinged* teeth! When a victim is seized the teeth fall backwards towards the throat, dragging the victim in, and when the meal is over they swing back vertical position! No other fish known is equipped. The fish's stomach is also distensible that she can actually swallow digest fish larger than herself.

The female Oceanic Angler is also most hard-worked wife in the sea in that is the only female fish known that acts bread-winner for herself and her husband husbands).

The male Oceanic Angler is a dwarf creature, rarely more than four or five in in length. Immediately after birth he attaches himself to the body of the first female comes along and there he remains for the of his life.

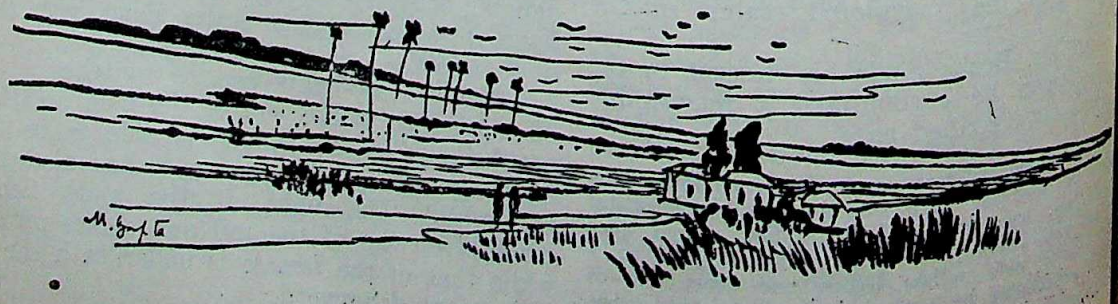
The male first attaches himself with mouth, and gradually his lips and become fused with the skin of the female he is nourished externally from her blood stream.

He is sightless and without fishing-line bait, and his only duty is to ensure the continuance of the species when the time for the eggs to be laid. This is the only known of a male fish being attached to female as a parasite.

The male settles anywhere on the female body, and it is on record that as many half-a-dozen males have been found attached to a single female, joined to her head, and tail.

The only known deep-sea creature does not use its illumination for the purpose of procuring food is a giant prawn—inhabitant of the dark Pacific Ocean deep which uses its light to escape from enemies.

When attacked by, or in danger from enemy, the prawn shoots out from a series glands clouds of substance which on touch the water bursts into a strong white light. light so blinds the enemy that the prawn invariably is able to escape in the surrounding darkness.



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LIFE AND WORK OF SIR VITHALDAS THACKERSEY

An Appreciation

By C. L. GHEEVALA

...t, enterprising, restless and gifted with a creative ...t, he laboured as unceasingly and enthusiastically ...public causes as he did for private benefit and ...ded into his comparatively short life a vast ...nt of work and achievements. As a constructive ...er and worker and a daring organiser, Sir Vithal... Thackersey must be reckoned as one of the biggest ...s of his time."—M. Visvesvaraya

It is in the fitness of things that we pay our ...le tribute to Sir Vithaldas Thackersey, ...played in the first two decades of our ...ry an outstanding part, in the realms of ...erce, industry and finance of our country. ...n of vision, he was equally alive to the ...e of social reform and more particularly ...e importance of Female Education. His ...e shall ever remain associated with the ...e of the emancipation of Indian Woman-...d.

Born in 1873, by sheer dint of ability and ...cation he made his way into public life. ...nomination as a Justice of Peace in 1897 ...e early age of 24, heralded the entry of a ...er in the public life at once full of promise ...service to the public. Young Vithaldas ...elected to the Corporation the following ..., in 1898. He brought his sound instructive ...ment and business acumen to bear upon the ...ssions of various problems, *viz.*, the ...icipalization of the Public Utility Service, ...the Tramways, Housing Scheme and Road ...ovement. In 1904, he was elected Chair... of the Standing Committee and soon rose ...e distinction of the Presidentship of the ...oration in 1907. His activities were no ...er confined only to the civic problems. As ...y as 1903 he was nominated to the Bombay ...islative Council. During the years, he ...yed an important role in the shaping of ...strial and commercial policies. He worked ...d to free the Cotton Textile Industry from ...shackles of the high rate of exchange, ...on excise duty and the danger of Japan's ...petition.

As a mark of the recognition of his ...standing abilities and public service, the ...vernment conferred on him the honour of ...ghthood in 1908. Having worked on the ...mbay Council for six years, he was elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909. During his term of membership till 1913, as his biographer D.B. Prof. H. L. Kaji observes,

"Sir Vithaldas came to be easily recognised as a stalwart especially in commercial and financial matters with regard to which there was hardly any one to beat him either on official or non-official side".

His speeches during the period make a remarkable contribution to the understanding of the economic problems of the day, revealing a mind which had not only a firm grip of the realities but also a prophetic insight into the future. He was one of the pioneers of the Co-operative Movement in Bombay and helped in the establishing of the Bombay Central Co-operative Institute and the Bombay Provincial Co-operative Bank. In recognition of his manifold services to the cause, the building has been named after him as the "Sir Vithaldas Thackersey Memorial Building."

This great industrialist, financier and legislator was also a great believer in education as the great solvent of the numerous problems with which our country is confronted. He was an ardent exponent of commercial education and took a very leading part in the establishment of the Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics in Bombay. He was also alive to the larger problem of the spread of elementary education among the masses; nor was he oblivious of the all-important problem of Female Education. With a bold insight he declared in one of his speeches that

'Female Education is the foundation of all Social progress.'

It was such a distinguished and unique personality with whom Prof. Karve, the great visionary educationist, had the good fortune to come in contact in 1917. Inspired and emboldened by the example of the Japan Women's University, Prof. Karve set to work out a suitable scheme for the Higher Education of Women in India. Inspite of the heavy odds against him and being confronted with doubting reformists and educationists, Prof. Karve forged ahead, though humbly with the tenacity and zeal of a missionary. The University started its humble career in 1916 with a college

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and a school affiliated to it. The University had meagre resources and ever felt hard-pressed for finances, necessary for the expansion of a big institution of the nature of a University.

It was at such a moment that there took place that 'happy fortuitous conjunction of the idealist in Prof. Karve and the realist in Sir Vithaldas'. As early as 1917, Sir Vithaldas evinced interest in the scheme of Prof. Karve and became one of its patrons. In 1919, Sir Vithaldas and Lady Thackersey started on a world-tour. It was during their stay at Japan that he watched the working of the Japan Women's University with great interest. He thought of starting a similar institution in India, with a view to promote the advancement of Indian Womanhood, a cause noble and glorious in itself.

On his return, he set his heart to the working out of a scheme and made a princely donation of Rs. 15 lakhs, in 1920, one of the biggest endowments offered for Female Education in India. The University has been named after his talented and illustrious mother, "The Shreemati Nathibai Damodardas Thackersey Indian Women's University." He took keen and lively interest in the progress and expansion of the University till 1922, during which year he died a premature death on August 12th.

The University has for its basic principles, the recognition of the mother-tongue as the most effective and natural medium of instruction and the acceptance of a wider and more comprehensive scheme of education providing freer and more liberal scope to the personality of woman.

Till 1932, the University made a steady progress in the direction of starting and affiliating colleges and schools at various centres. In 1931, through the exertions of Sir Chunilal V. Mehta, the then Chancellor, and L. Thackersey a college was started in Bo with Mr. H. G. Anjaria as its Hon Principal. A crisis developed in the life of the University in 1932; the period till was a period of great financial distress. fortunately for the University our Chanc Mr. S. S. Patkar, Ex-Judge of the Bo High Court, by his tact, resourcefulness strenuous effort succeeded in effecti compromise and the crisis was overcome. University being placed in the hands of an efficient pilot has made rapid progress directions since then.

The University has now its headquarte Bombay, housing both the University offic the College in an admirable quiet loc Besides the two colleges and the two sc directly run by the University, the numbe affiliated colleges and schools at various ce has been steadily increasing; the remark increase in the number of students both a schools and colleges is a testimony to the gro recognition of the utility of the institutio the public. The university now aspires, quite legitimately to secure Governm recognition. I am confident that the pre Government will do its best to put the co stone to the great monumental instit which owes so much to Sir Vithaldas Tha sey. It is a mattter of supreme pride to us Lady Premlila V. Thackersey has been to a keen and lively interest in our work and been so nobly devoting herself to furth the cause, so dear to the heart of Vithaldas Thackersey.

Let us also dedicate ourselves to the cause of Indian Womanhood in a spir service and humility and in that me alone we can rightly pay our tribute to memory of the great merchant-prince Vithaldas Thackersey.

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CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES

By VIKRAM JEET SINGH, M.A.

One of the most arduous questions which have hitherto baffled statemanship in India is the eradication of Corruption from among public services. The existence of the evil has never been denied by Government and the practice of illegal gratification has been unequivocally condemned by officials and non-officials alike once and again. The superior services, generally speaking, are above such malpractices and the evil is confined mostly to subordinate ranks. It is however, true that Corruption like the evil of drink has defied all remedies hitherto applied towards its removal. New brooms, they say, sweep well and it has fallen to the new ministries in the provinces to continue the process of cleaning up till the vermin of Corruption is completely eradicated.

The tiller of the soil is fleeced right and left by a number of half-parasites and above these there are a host of public servants who do not hesitate in shearing the shorn lamb. As Sir Malcolm Hailey (now Lord) when he was Governor of the Punjab observed in one of his speeches:

> "The value of the Government depends not only on its good intentions and the goodness of its policy, but on its reputation amongst the people and its reputation depends largely on the work of the subordinates."

Thus the importance of removing the unjust burdens that weigh upon the cultivator cannot be exaggerated.

Forms and the Extent of Corruption

Corruption exists in nearly all departments of Government and even the beneficent departments as the Public Health, Medical, Education are not said to be immune from it. Bribes have been offered to vaccinators by simple folk in the rural areas to let them off from being vaccinated. The trouble in the provinces, however, is mostly confined to P. W. D., Police, Excise, Jails, Forests and Judiciary. It is comparatively more rampant in the local bodies and the more curious reader is referred to Mr. Dobson's report on the affairs of Lahore Municipality.

The acceptance of bribery may be in cash or in kind. It may take the shape of unjust levy of supplies, *i.e.*, faggots and corn by touring officials and their subordinates whose visits have been humorously compared to the "revolving of the planets and their satellites." It may again be in the form of gifts on the birth of a child or on wedding occasions. Or it may be a case of extortion on a threat of punishment or an adverse judgment. But what is generally prevalent among the subordinate ranks, especially clerks and chaprasis, is the practice of accepting a trifling sum often voluntarily paid to expedite work. It is the former kind of malpractice that needs a strong remedy inasmuch as it often results in serious miscarriage of justice. The latter kind of things though equally condemnable and yet less burdensome is more or less carried on in all spheres of life and Government have rightly maintained that it is almost impossible to eradicate it as long as human nature remains what it is. But the Punjab Government, nevertheless, have always deprecated in strong terms even such innocent practice as the acceptance of *dalis, i.e.*, fruits and flowers. The policy dates back to the times when Sir Michael O'Dwyer was the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab and it was reiterated by Sir John Maynard, the then Finance Member in the Punjab Legislative Council, in 1926.

Causes of Corruption

It cannot be denied that these malpractices are rooted in the past and have become a part of the character of the bribe-giver and bribe-taker alike. Such terms as *Salaami, Nazar, Dastur* are well-known to anybody having even a nodding acquaintance with the ways of litigant masses.

There is little truth in the assertion again, except here and there, that bribery exists because of low salaries of public services. It may be observed that salaries were raised to a scale ranging from 41 per cent to 123.4 per cent in the Punjab just before and after the introduction of the Montford Reforms. They were also raised at the Centre and in other provinces at about the same time. The public services enjoying fixed incomes more or less were gainers during the period of economic depression. It is possible to imagine a general increase in salaries of public servants on a large scale, but that in

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itself cannot by any means guarantee clean public service. It is more a question of high and low ideals of life, one's famly tradition, the way the society looks at the question of giving and accepting bribes, the fear of action by the State and the promotion or encouragement a public servant is likely to get by remaining thoroughly above-board.

But the question naturally arises who is really to be blamed for the existing state of affairs—the bribe-taker or the bribe-giver? It is a controversial question and it is not easy to lay the blame on one class as a whole. But the fact remains that bribe-givers are not organised to resist the inroads of bribe-takers. As contrasted with this the members of an office have been likened to "a close corporation who do not want one of their members to suffer." Nor can it be denied that it is easier to reform a few thousand public servants in one province than to carry the gospel of No-offering-of-temptation to every home.

The bribe-giver knows that unless he greases the palm of an officer, subordinate or otherwise, the result is likely to be a turning down of the scales, wrongful confinement, loss of *izzat* or at least an extraordinary delay in the procedure of his case. Thus placed he is tempted to offer bribes to straighten out things for himself. The bribe-taker on the other hand, knows that his relatives and friends similarly placed accepted bribes, built beautiful houses, bungalows and orchards with the tainted money. He knows too that they went scot-free. Thus circumstanced, it is no wonder that even a harmless "hare develops a dog or shark's sharp teeth." The attitude of *laissez-faire* on the part of the majority of superior officers worsens matters. It makes it easier for his subordinates to follow the sinful path. The saying goes, when you are in Rome do as the Romans do. It is virtually a case of a blind leader leading a platoon of blind followers and naturally they slip into the same ditch flowing with the turbid waters of Corruption. The Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1922 under the chairmanship of Mr. C. M. King attributed this state of affairs either to negligence or over-work on the part of the superior officers.

But the society must come in for its due share of blame for this sad state of things. Both the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, in general, are true representatives of the society and to impeach them would amount to the impeachment of the whole nation. Isn't it true that society does not look down upon them even if they are hauled up before a court of justice? Neither of them are thrown out by society, left to suffer silently for their sins. More than not we are faced with the spectacle influential local personages moving heaven earth to save the offender in the blessed of mercy. The offering and acceptance bribes is considered a spirit of give and take both parties.

Still another reason for the existence malpractices is the lack of sufficient contact between the rulers and the ruled. We learn that in the days of yore royal personages went incognito and mixed up with subjects freely to find out their grievances. The Deputy Commissioner wields unlimited power in his district. But he often typefies a strong silent man and has little time tour on horse back. It is generally true that little touring the superior officials do is car rushing at a great speed and the tendency is to return to headquarters in the evening play tennis and bridge and be with their wives and children. That there was truth in statement was frankly admitted by His Excellency Sir Henry Craik in one of his speeches the old Punjab Legislative Council.

Lastly, whereas Government rewards honest public service in its own haphazard and way the reward is not sufficient to stimulate clean practices amongst Government servants. The belief is gaining ground that nothing gained from hard work and nothing is attained by practising honesty except ridicule. There undoubtedly exaggeration in this belief nobody I believe, could say that it is altogether a wrong statement in practice.

It remains to be seen then what steps Government taken to prevent these malpractices and to penalise offenders. An official or subordinate notorious for his malpractices one found to be corrupt is sometimes transferred from one place to another. Such half-hearted measures defeat their very purpose. The incumbent like the field mouse having the standing crop in one field shifts to adjoining field.

The first step that was taken by the Provincial Governments was issuing circulars all departments containing instructions endeavour should be made to reduce opportunities of corrupt practices and exemplary punishments on the offenders. We have it on the authority of the United Provinces Committee on Corruption, the report of which was recently published, that circulars met with little response. Posters pasted on the walls of Government buildings

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ganas, patwarkhanas, village *chaupals* and other places of public resort as far back as 1917 in the Punjab. Declaration to the same effect was made in a public proclamation read out in Durbars in August 1921 and printed copies in English, Urdu, Gurmukhi and Hindi were distributed amongst the public. What has been done since then in regard to the publicity of Government's feelings on the question? The great London Professor Ivor Jennings describes in one of his writings the steps taken by British Government in England to stamp out corruption from among public servants. He has stressed three remedies, *i.e.*, publicity, strong measures and more democracy. The first two of these remedies can well be applied with advantage in our own country, but more doses of democracy under the present slow progress of education will, I doubt, be of much benefit.

Historic occasions as the inauguration of the provincial autonomy, the accession of His Majesty King George VI and again the Viceregal Durbar at Lahore could have been utilised to express once again the desire of the Government to stamp out corruption. Such a pronouncement should have had a salutory effect on the minds of offenders and would have created an impression on the minds of people that Government is alive to its responsibility in this respect. The question may be asked: Is not the eradication of corruption a beneficent activity? At least the poor cultivator feels much more keenly on this question than on many other less important topics, since it touches his pocket that has many holes. It was observed on behalf of the Punjab Government a few years ago that Government gave the greatest publicity of its intentions inasmuch as it welcomed debates on this question. But it may be asked again: Is it adequate publicity? The poor zamindar, illiterate as he is, does not read these debates and it cannot be maintained that even all the subordinates and superior officers of the Government have the inclination or the time to do so. Again how many of the elected members of the Assembly go back to their constituencies to tell the electorate all that is discussed on the floors of the Council Chamber? It is useless to depend as in the past, on an automatic growth of healthy public opinion for the solution of this problem. It is idle to wait for the progress of education to create these conditions. The services of the Commissioner of Rural Reconstruction and his staff in the provinces could be made use of on every festival, fair and other large gatherings in the rural areas to let the wishes of the Government known to the public. Posters printed in vernaculars should be distributed frequently, announcing the action taken against corrupt officials and subordinates during a year. Thus the zamindar would be enabled to appreciate the action taken by the Government. He will take heart to approach superior officers to redress his wrongs. It cannot be too far stressed that Government should take the initiative in the formation of a healthy public opinion against corruption and then only look for a most hearty and complete co-operation of the public. The machinery of panchayats and rural community councils can be also utilised in the crusade against corruption.

Lessening of Opportunities

Officers should pay surprise visits more frequently than heretofore. It is equally important that the Heads of Departments should emphasise on their subordinates a punctual outturn and a good standard of work. This would certainly minimise opportunities for accepting bribes on the threat of delaying procedure. The members of the bar should not employ as far as possible munshis who function as intermediaries between clients and clerks. Again the munshis should be required to furnish receipt of every pie to the client, spent on the latter's behalf.

Agency to Detect Corruption

The general misunderstanding prevails in the minds of the public that it is the duty of the police to detect cases of corruption. The Punjab Government declared years ago that they were "unwilling to contemplate a system of espionage which would be destructive of the morale and prestige of the services and would create an atmosphere of fear and distrust." Thus there is at present no regular agency functioning to detect corruption and serve as a channel between the aggrieved parties and the Government in most of the provinces. The United Provinces Committee on Corruption recommended the formation of district Corruption Committees consisting of officials and non-officials. But the Punjab Committee on Corruption which sat in 1921, was divided on the point of constitution of district advisory committees on similar lines. The Punjab Government too, have never been convinced of the utility of organising such committees mainly for two reasons. Firstly, these committees unless they include representatives of nearly all classes of people of a certain district cannot be termed as fairly representative bodies and many

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cases of corruption to be referred to a committee so constituted are likely to remain undetected. Another inherent weakness in the system is that their establishment is an antithesis in practice of the desire of the Government to promote direct contact between officials and the public. Moreover as observed by Sir John Maynard in 1926:

> "Who can say in this somewhat unsatisfactory world that when you have established a committee of that kind, that some of its members will not abuse their influence or their reputation for influence with the authorities."

The danger is of course inherent in all kinds of honorary public services and the doubts expressed by Sir John Maynard twelve years ago are justified in the light of past experience. The best course under the circumstances, would be to appoint a special whole-time experienced officer, social and sociable and enjoying clean reputation, in each district. The heads of different departments should devote at least an hour on each Saturday to hear complaints about corruption. Petition boxes should be hung at convenient places in the corridor of each office to facilitate matters. The special officer should keep himself in touch with all officers in his district as well as mix freely with the people. He shall also act as a co-ordinating authority between rural community councils, Panchayats, bar associations in his district on the one hand and the Civil Secretariat on the other. It now remains to decide whether there should be a full-time Government Officer in the Civil Secretariat also to co-ordinate further the work of the special officers in the districts. The U. P. Committee has recommended the creation of a Central Department assisted by a sufficiently large staff for this purpose. The latter suggestion it is apparent would make the whole scheme rather an expensive one and in the interest of economy the Chief Secretary to the Provincial Government may well be entrusted with this work.

Departmental Enquiries

The Government always insist on a fair and just trial of its employees as regards the charge of accepting illegal gratification. But experience tells us that it is a very difficult task to procure sufficient evidence to bring the offenders to book. Such a position is inevitable as long as we have the principle of jurisprudence and the Evidence Act on the Statute Book and no blame rests on Provincial Governments on this account. The only remedy is to have a more frequent recourse to departmental enquiry in camera.

Premium on Honest Service

The absence of a definite and direct encouragement to honest public service has stood as a great obstacle in purging Government departments of malpractices. A consistent record of honest public service should be rewarded not only by award of paper certificates but also by promotion, the award of titles, land and jagir. The U. P. Committee has recommended the award of annual integrity certificates to all classes and grades of Government servants who receive a monthly pay of thirty rupees or more. Further they have said that no Government servant should be allowed to cross an efficiency bar unless he has a clean record for integrity. These are excellent suggestions and deserve consideration at the hands of the Provincial Governments. There has been a great improvement in the selection of officers, still there is room for improvement in the recruitment of subordinates to ensure a better type of incumbent than recruited heretofore.

Superior Officers should be instructed to shake off their repellent reserve and the subordinate ranks should be more courteous in their dealings with the public. The need for greater degree of accessibility of the superior officers to the people has been recognized in the past. Thus it will be seen that the task before the Government in stamping out corruption is a manifold one and there is no short road to progress. Attention should be focussed on building a tradition of incorruptible public service. The solution of this problem is closely bound up with public welfare and no effort will be too great to achieve this end.

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MUSIC AND EDUCATION

By J. M. DESOUZA, B.A., L.T.C.L., S.T.C.

a an adequate treatment of the subject in d, we need, in the first place, a well con-ired, clear and definite statement as regards aim of education. We shall then see how sical study can be used as a means of realiz-that aim. We all are aware of the hue and that is now being raised in this country inst the present system of education which held to be old and unpractical We also w that a new and more practical system ow on the anvil. For a really reliable and o-date utterance of the aim of education, efore, we can do no better than turn to the . Mr. B. G. Kher, the Premier of Bombay, the other day in a terse but meaningful ement observed :

1. That the aim of education was to deve-*personality* and *character*, *mind* and *body*, *tion* and *will*, according to the individual's entiality.

2. That the aim of reconstructing the ative system was to create in the pupil *a er outlook on life*.

3. And that the new social order to be ved should be based on *co-operation* and competition as the principle of life.

We shall now see how the study of music and does yield the results expressed or lied in the statement of Mr. Kher we have quoted.

Without any exaggeration it may be assert-that there is no better builder of personality n music. What is personality if not the and substance of one's individuality? And at is musical education if not one sincere sustained effort to help the pupil to express self—to exhibit his interpretative skill, personality? The real task of a music ther does not lie in governing the pupil but helping him to *govern himself*. With this al in view, the teacher starts from the *pupil's nt of view* and then proceeds, by dint of the rth of instruction and encouragement, in endeavour to unfold, develop and expand the best points in the student entrusted to care.

In character formation too the influence of sic is inestimably great. In the words of bert Schumann, "the laws of morals are the laws of art." Music is the language of the soul and cannot but stir the noblest and sublimest in human breast. There is no doubt that ethical and cultural activities will yield the highest results only when backed and boned by the giant inspirational force of music. According to Plutarch's analysis of the Greek conception of musical education, whoever be he that shall give his mind to the study of music in his youth, if he meet with the musical education proper for the forming and regulating of his inclinations, he will be sure to applaud and embrace that which is noble and generous, and to rebuke and blame the contrary, as well in other things as in what belongs to music. Cervantes, the immortal author, was emphatically of the opinion that where there is music there is no mischief; and Sydney Smith, a never forgotten British wit, when seventy-three years of age remarked : "If I were to begin life again, I would devote it to music. It is the only cheap and *unpunished rapture* on earth."

That music provides ample food for the development of mind need not be doubted. Music is as profound as Philosophy and as intricate as Mathematics. The musician needs the feeling and imagination of a poet, the skill and imagery of an artist, the grasp and subtlety of a critic, the precision of a scientist, the accuracy of a mathematician, and should we not say, the energy of a giant ?

In the domain of physical development, the training of the eye, ear and hand, the supreme value of music must be admitted. In the course of musical training, a co-operation and co-ordination of these organs is secured in a most astonishing manner with the result that they are led on to assimilate many things at once in perfect harmony and with utmost ease and exactness.

With regard to the proper development and guidance of emotion, we may state on the authority of Maxwell Hess that there is no other force which can socialize, energize and guide the emotions of masses, from childhood to maturity, like good music.

As for the training of the will, it is enough to say that musical study from the very start

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carries with it the clarion call of the message of "Work!" In music as in everything else, the greatest of wonders have been done by those who worked the hardest. Dogged tenacity of purpose, patience and conscious perseverance, are ceaseless demands on the constitution of a musician.

In broadening the outlook on life, music goes a long way. Music is a universal language —all that of heaven we have on earth, a common platform for all the nations of the world. It is the only weapon that will break down the colossal barriers of colour, caste and creed, and unite the world into one Universal Brotherhood.

If we must educate the individual according to his potentiality, there is no reason why we should allow those of our pupils who are particularly musical to die with all the music in them. When all is said, we cannot but assert that a sound system of education must prepare one for the right use of leisure. And in this respect too we cannot find a better recommendation than music, for the art of music has the power of snatching away an idle hour from the hands of the devil and changing it into a period of healthy pursuit, a moment of joy. Good music, more than good literature, will "elevate us into a region of disinterested thought where personal objects fade into insignificance and the troubles and anxieties of life are almost forgotten."

As regards the inculcation of the principle of co-operation, what will accomplish the task better than a "Practice Ensemble," an "Operatic Society" or a "Symphony Orchestra" where personal factors are placed in the shade and one works for all and all work for one? All the other arts, as a writer has put it, are lonely. We paint alone. My picture. My interpretation of the sky. My poem. My novel. But in ensemble music—we share.

It must not be supposed, however, that musical training is necessarily a preparation for a musical career. The chief aim of musical education is not to make the child a musician but to make him musical. In the words of Paderewski, the world-famous pianist, music should be studied for itself without any great aim in view, except in the cases of marvellously gifted children. Moreover, musical accomplishments do not debar a person from taking to any other profession of his choice. One can well be a doctor, a lawyer or a salesman, and at the same time be a first class vocalist or instrumentalist. Many of the most distinguished exponents of Indian music have been men belonging to other professions. Premier P rewski of Poland whom we have just q is one of the greatest pianists of all time. B Mussolini, the present dictator of Italy, E Herriot, former Premier of France, and other distinguished statesmen of the have had musical training. Leopold P the founder and conductor of the "T Amateur Symphony Orchestra" of New Y is a judge by profession. And the perfor under his baton who delight as far as tw thousand music lovers per night includ doctor, a dentist, a barber, a butcher, c salesmen and store employees.

Ancient Greeks as well as the teacher ancient India had realized the supreme im ance of music and had given it a plac elementary education. The Greeks held t life itself was a work of art and that harm was essential to make man harmonious rhythm to make him rhythmical. It was t solemn belief that gentleness, grace, eleg and harmony were among the greatest ben to be derived from the study of music. P for instance, remarks that musical training a more portent instrument than any other cause rhythm and harmony find their way the inward places of the soul, on which mightily fasten, imparting grace and mak the soul of him who is rightly educated g ful.

Music today occupies a foremost plac the leading universities and schools of Eu and America. Besides the provision made the pursuit of musical study in schools colleges, they have special institutions kn as "Academies" or "Conservatoires" w sole function is to impart regular and syst tic training in all the branches of the sc and art of music. In India, strange to music has not yet received the welcom deserves. It is lamentable indeed that on couple of years ago a responsible body eminent men brushed aside music as worthy of academical pursuit." Right em music has so far remained conspicuous by absence in our educational system. Perhaps only school of Indian music is the Morris lege of Music, Lucknow. And isn't the Calc School of Music the first and the last that taught European music in India?

The reason for this indifference is no to seek. "To music," says a Philosopher, must remain inattentive altogether or be altogether enslaved." So far therefore we remained inattentive. The "psychol moment," however, seems to have come

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we can no longer ignore the claims of music. The Universities of Calcutta and Madras have already extended their patronage to music. And we are happy to learn that the Academic Council of the University of Bombay has appointed a committee to draw up courses for Indian and European music right from the Matriculation up to the Degree examination.

This praiseworthy step of the Bombay University ought to dispell from our mind any fear we might have had of the supposed antagonism between Indian and European music. After all they are not two different arts but two systems of one and the same art. Eastern or Western, it is music after all, and nothing is so degrading as to import the monstrous elements of prejudice and antagonism in its blissful domain. Indian and European music are like the lotus and the lily; and while we admire the stateliness and tenderness of the one, we must not forget the stateliness and the magnificence of the other. According to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore:—The world by day is like European music: a flowing concourse of vast harmony composed of concord and discord and many disconnected fragments. And the night world is our Indian music, one pure, deep and tender Raga. They both stir us, yet the two are contradictory in spirit. But that cannot be helped. At the very root, nature is divided into two, day and night, unity and variety, finite and the infinite. Music is universal in its appeal, and it may truly be said in regard to it that

> East is West, and West is East
> And *ever* the twains shall meet.

It is right and proper to conclude with the hope that our country will soon be "strewn with first grade musical institutions supported by the state," that the masses will henceforward be educated from a very high standpoint, and that music in immediate future will be an integral part of the curricula of every school and university in India. For, music is the *utterance and expression of the soul* no race can live without, and

> "Our race goes bravely forward,
> Head erect, and clean and strong,
> In the fellowship of music
> And the brotherhood of song."

LABOUR UNREST IN INDIA

By Professor H. D. MOOKERJEE
Department of Mining and Metallurgy, Hindu University, Benares

The struggle between capital and labour in India is of recent origin. In western countries the labourer had to fight hard against the capitalist to be in a position to enjoy the benefits of his own labour. However that may be, there is no denying the truth that the capitalist has for a long time utilised the labourer as a means of producing commodities at a cheap rate and placing the same in the market at a high rate, thereby earning a good return from his investment. We do not grudge him for his enormous profits. He is perfectly entitled to the gains but unfortunately he has not paid as much attention to the bare needs of the worker. The condition under which the worker has to live is very often pitiable. Under years of subjection a consciousness grew in the worker of his potent contribution to the employer. When he saw before his very eyes the employer enjoying all the privileges accruing from his honest and prolonged efforts, his mind naturally revolted against him. This mental unrest gradually spread from worker to worker until they learnt to combine in a body and place there joint grievances to their employer. The latter being givers of job, naturally felt arrogant and would not easily concede the workman's demands.

I am of the opinion that a little humanitarian and philosophic touch in the employer could have avoided many of the ills that have resulted from labour troubles. But that is not to be found in the world such as it is. Of course, there are sympathetic employers but their number is few and far between. Turning our attention to the immediate problem we find in the industrial world the growth of trade unions, workers league, etc., in order to put in forceful fight against the Employers Associations and to safeguard their own interests. The continued discontent of the workers result in the adoption of coercive

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measures affecting the normal and peaceful activities of the loyal workers and compelling the Government to appear in the field to restore normal working conditions and to prevent further troubles. So we find how the social structure is seriously affected by labour lockouts, strikes, etc. In all western countries both the capitalist and the Government have realized the strength of the labour force and all trade disputes are now referred to conciliation or Arbitration Boards, Wage Fixation Boards, etc. Also a Labour Commissioner is appointed to settle minor disputes. The labourer wants to have more share in the profit of the capitalist and if this is willingly conceded so much the better, if not organized strike is resorted to and the whole organization is brought to a standstill. I can easily appreciate the endeavour of the worker to secure his minimum and more urgent needs by peaceful methods but to adopt means that produce unpleasant situation at the instigation of interested persons is certainly not desirable. During the last two decades the worker has gained his points to an extent which has made him more optimistic and also realise his own status in the industrial organization. The employer has also understood the importance of the worker who is treated in a much better way. In all leading industries more care is devoted to the housing, welfare, education and sanitation work of the labourer and to other details so as to attract him to the industries and to make him as much happy as he is entitled to. But even after achieving all these benefits, if he is not satisfied he will be a source of constant mischief harassing both his employer and his fellow-workers who may be deprived of their legitimate wages and bring ruin on themselves. I should call him to halt and not to proceed further because that would ultimately affect the peace of the society.

The labour unrest in India became more pronounced probably after the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on Labour in India. Although the Commission has taken good care to appraise the work done for labour in some industrial spheres, in the vast majority of cases fault has been deplorably found with the management for its apathy towards the working class. Strong recommendations have been made for ameliorating the conditions of labourers in India. But unfortunately these recommendations were not given effect to by the management in the true spirit and as a result we find that the major industries *e.g.*, the textile industry, the industry, iron and steel industry, industry and tea industry have been af one after the other. Other concerns electric supply corporations, Dockyards have also experienced similar troubles at The labour unrest had usually its orig those industries where exploitation has maximum. I think that the subsequent in other industries has been more or sympathetic. Where the labourer was cessful in achieving his ends in one indu those working in others naturally recipro their feelings to their employers and when were repulsed, a tense situation was ev Triumphs of the labourer in one industry naturally emboldened those in others an this way the whole of industrial India is affected by labour troubles. If the proble approached in a peaceful and legitimate m more tangible gains can be achieved th intimidation and mischievous methods resorted to. Of course in many cases employers have not implemented the recom dations mutually arrived at between representatives of labourers and emplo The present deadlock at Hirapur Iron Steel Works and Mosabani Copper Min due to this cause. However the matter now been referred to a Conciliation B appointed by the Government and let us for a permanent settlement of the di But in the case of those companies which always sympathetically dealt with the wo there should not be any question of strike. instance, Messrs. Tata Steel & Iron Co. been paying a bonus equivalent to 2½ m salary to all employees and yet there w threat of a strike which the company wisely avoided by increasing the bonus 2½ months' salary to 3 months' s Labourers can expect such gains only whe companies make huge profits but in business cycle there is boom and depre The labourer can not therefore under circumstances hold fast to their dogma long. On the other hand, the capitalist has put his vast wealth at stake has safeguard it against periods of depression so even when there is good profit he ha set aside a fair amount to form a reserve to meet depreciation charges. Therefore relation between the capitalist and the lab can be promoted only on a profit sharing If the employer makes a profit in any part year, the labourer will have a certain perce to his credit. But when the former has

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show at a loss, certainly the latter can not claim any gains. For the same reason the question of fixation of minimum wage for the labourer cannot be entertained because the profit in any particular year can not be guaranteed unless the Government wants that the public be taxed by higher prices of commodities for the immediate benefit of the labourer. India is on the threshold of vast industrial development and it is highly desirable that cordial relations between the employer and the employed be maintained. A little give and take policy on either side will go a long way to achieve this end.

NEW INDUSTRIAL PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN IN CHINA AT WAR

FROM CHINA INFORMATION COMMITTEE, HANKOW

WOMEN's place in China at war is in the rear. Able-bodied men are drafted and sent to the battlefields, their wives and sisters stay behind to keep production going. That, in fact, is the slogan of the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee of the New Life Movement Association.

Guided by this slogan, this department confronts the stupendous task of providing work for thousands upon thousands. Women, driven to strange parts by war and stranded there, are found in multitudes everywhere throughout the country. They are for a long time fed and sheltered in refugee camps, but they must be given work as a basic solution of their problem of livelihood.

Work they shall all have, if the ambitious industrial programme for women mapped out by Miss Yu Ching-tang, head of the department, following consultation with Madame Chiang Kai-shek, directress of the Women's Guidance Committee, should materialise. With many years' experience in promotion of industries among women in Kiangsi Province under the Women's Department of the New Life Movement Association, Miss Yu should find herself equal to the present task of carrying out a comprehensive industrial programme for women in China at war.

Humbly to begin with, she is now equipped with a 20-spindle spinning machine. In this miniature machine which is now displayed in her office in Hankow, she foresees the humming of light industries that would keep all available women busy in factory or at home throughout the rear of China's all-front resistance against Japanese aggression.

Such machines will be used in the first of a network of experimental stations to be established in Chungking, in Szechuan, and other centres in the provinces of Hunan, Kweichow, Yunnan and Kwangsi. Besides the cotton-spinning factory, other plants for making soldiers' sandals, raincoats and salty vegetables will be set up in the Chungking experimental station.

In these factories of handicrafts and light industries will the thousands upon thousands of women refugees throughout the country find work and, therefore, solution of their problem of livelihood. These industries, tested and proven successful in the factories, will soon find their way to the homes where women are still clinging to the age-old methods of spinning, weaving, sewing and stitching by the toil of their hands.

Co-operative societies which will spring into existence with the factories will extend the poor women in the homes financial aid to buy the necessary machines and raw material.

Their men away on the war front, women have also to work on the farm. So the Department also plans to establish experimental farms in various places to train the farmwives in improved methods of agriculture and supply them better seeds and modern implements.

All done, Chinese women, thanks to the Productive Affairs Department of the Women's Guidance Committee, will have fulfilled their mission in this country at war which is one of keeping the production in the rear at its full speed.

[The 20-spindle spinning machines used in China should be introduced in our country too.—Editor, *The Modern Review*.]

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MOUNT KAMET

Second Highest Peak in the Empire

By GOVIND PRASAD NAUTIYAL

'THE Himalaya must be approached humbly. Respect their beauty, their majesty, and their power, and they will treat you as you deserve: approach them ignorantly or in a spirit of bravado, and they will destroy you. Other mountains forgive mistakes, but not the Himalaya,' so says Mr. F. S. Smythe, the famous British climber who has explored the Himalaya as extensively as none else has probably done.

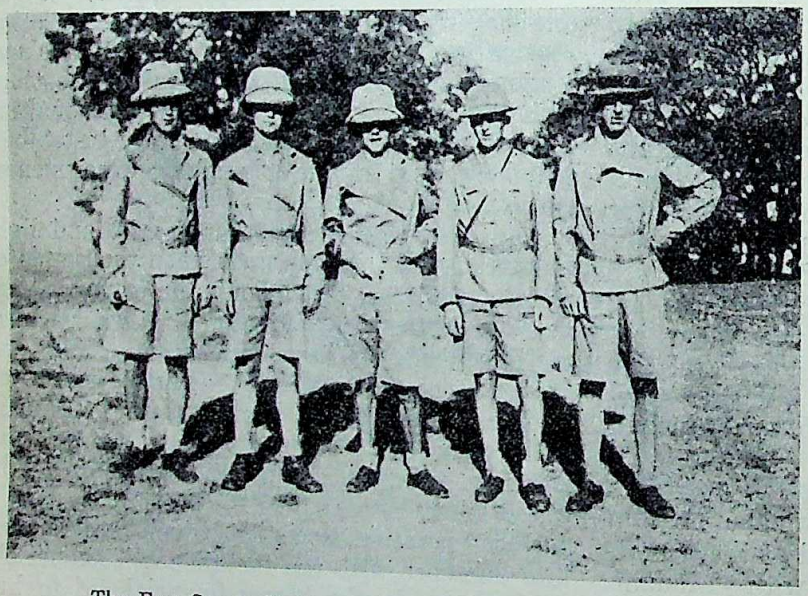
Mount Kamet, 25,447 feet, is situated at east longitude 79°35′ and north latitude 30°55′ in the extreme north of British Garhwal, one mile south of the Tibetan border between the Mana and Niti passes. It is the second highest peak in the British Empire and is the highest mountain in a northern branch of the Himalaya called the Zaskar range and is the culminating point of the range that forms the water-parting between the Vishnuganga and the Dhauli river. It is the first of the seventy peaks of over 25,000 feet in height that has been conquered in 1931 by a strong party of climbers consisting of Mr. F. S. Smythe and his companions.

Kamet, as the crow flies, is about ninety miles from Ranikhet. Being a formidable peak in the Central Himalayas which dominates the ranges of Northern Garhwal, it has ever been the hot-bed of mountaineers. Previo Smythe's successful onslaught in 1931, had repulsed ten determined attempts by mountaineers. No other great Hima peak has received so much attention.

It was in 1848 that Richard St determined trigonometrically for the first the height and position of this peak. I year 1855 the brothers Adolphe and R Schlagintweit of the mag survey of India made re attempt to climb it from Tibetan side. The b camp of the party was p ed at 19,325 feet and from they reached a height of 2 feet, after bivouacking tinuously for ten days at tudes over 17,000 feet. It a remarkable feat as at time many of the great A peaks had not been clim and not for another nine was this altitude surpass

In 1877 Kamet was accurately fixed both for tion and height by E. C. of the Survey of India.

No further attempt on K was made until 1907, Doctor T. G. Longstaff, C. G. Bruce and Mr. A. L. Mumm first proc from Niti, taking with them the Italian Alexis and Henri Brocherel, six Gurkhas ten coolies, in the Dhauli valley up the Ra Glacier. From there they turned off to the along the course of a smaller glacier below the summit itself and reached a of over 20,000 feet on the left side of glacier. Further progress was found impossible; the Upper Kamet glacier in so narrow a gorge that it woul impossible to escape the ice avalanches constantly fall into it. Reconnaissances also made without success from the up the Ghastoli and Khiam Glaciers, Mana.



The East Surrey Regiment Kamet Expedition at Ranikhet prior to the start of the venture

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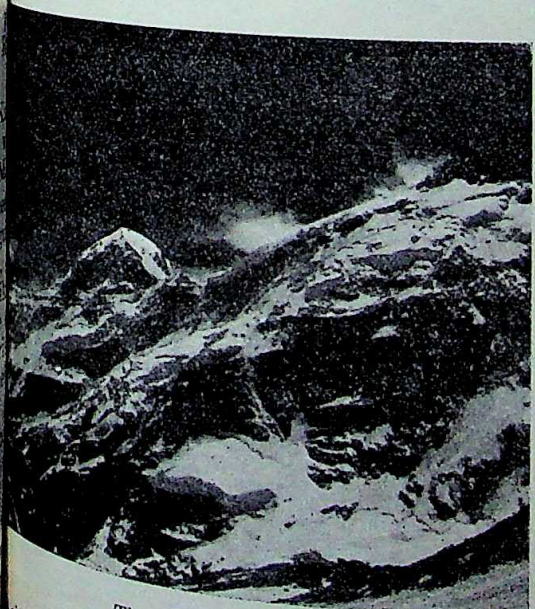
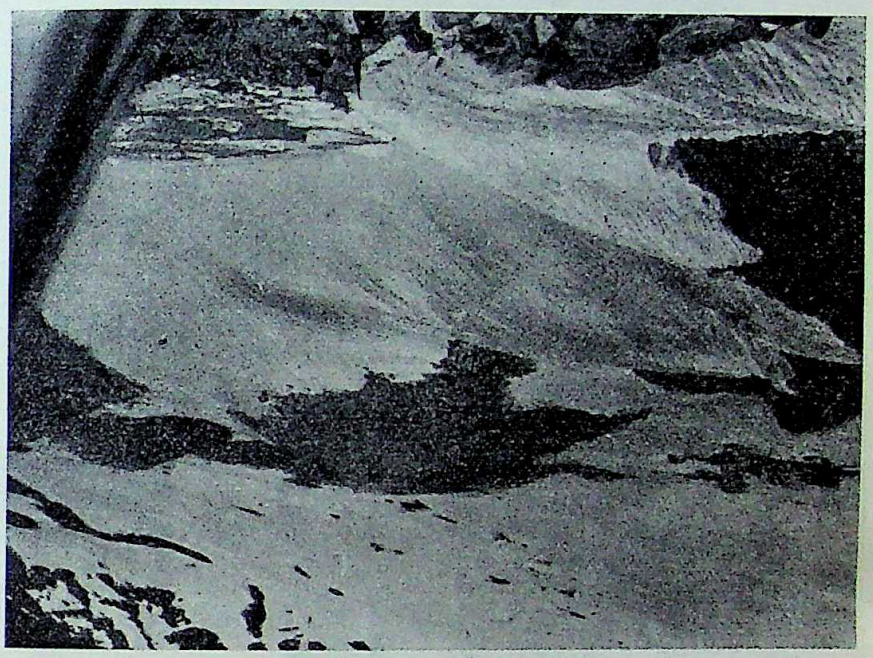
Captain A. Morris Slingsby accompanied H. C. Crespigny made a determined attack 1911 with eighty coolies, carrying stores for and a half months, and climbed about 00 feet. He again returned to the attack 1913 and a severe snow storm put an end to climb at a height of over 00 feet. On both the occa- he had difficulty in per- ing the local porters to mpany him at high alti- s.

1910 Mr. C. F. Meade, the Italian guide Alexis therel and the French guide re Blanc, prospected the rn side of Kamet; in 1912 de returned to the attack time with four Alpine s, Pierre Blanc, Franz matter, Justin Blanc and Perrin, and struggled on height of over 23,000 feet. ing July, he thoroughly ex- ed the Raikana Glacier rn to the east of Kamet was convinced that the solution of the problem of ding Kamet was to traverse East Kamet Glacier. 1913 Meade proceeded with Pierre Blanc, lished his base camp on the Raikana



The Mana Wall

lier and pitched its highest camp at about 00 feet, and reached the Col, 23,500 feet, known as Meade's Col, between Kamet and Eastern Ibi Gamin but were unable to pitch a camp there. Retreat was imminent as they were beaten by the weather and the terrible snow conditions. Meade had accomplished great work; he had discovered the only practical route up Kamet. From his highest point he



Camp one (16,000 ft.)

saw that no insuperable obstacle intervened between him and the summit.

After the Great War, Doctor A. M. Kellas and Colonel H. T. Morshead came to assault the mountain, and engaged twenty-one Yaks and forty porters and ascended to Meade's Col and pitched camp there with three Mana porters. From the Col, they pushed on for a short distance up the final slope of Kamet and attained an altitude of 23,600 feet but the coolies flatly refused to continue on the summit.

Summit Attained

The credit of successfully scaling the mountain, however, rested with the expedition of 1931 which consisted of six British members, namely, Shipton, Birnie, Greene, Holdsworth, Beauman with Mr. F. S. Smythe as their leader. The expedition managed with only seventy porters and these included ten men carrying cinematographic and photographic apparatus. The party followed the route taken up by Meade and established their base camp at an elevation of 15,500 feet on June 6. Camp one was established on East Kamet Glacier at 16,600 feet, Camp two at 18,600 feet, Camp three at 20,600 feet, Camp four at 22,000 feet and Camp

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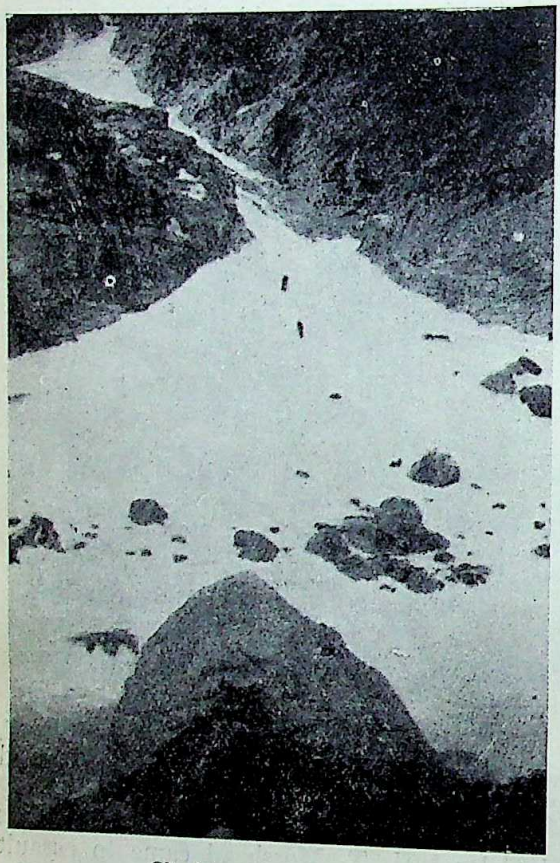
five at 23,300 feet. On account of the unexpected physical fitness and acclimatisation, the party progressed wonderfully well on their onward march. Smythe, Shipton and Holdsworth with Sardar Lewa, the Sherpa porter,



Climbing to Camp four

climbed the summit on June 21 under most arduous conditions, which was not hitherto trodden by the foot of man; followed by Birnie, Greene and a Mana porter Keshar Singh. The first party left Camp five at 8 a.m. and arrived on the summit at 4-30 p.m.; eight and a half hours work for about 2,300 feet of ascent. The first 500 feet had been climbed in a little over an hour, the ascent of the last 1,500 feet had taken no less than 7½ hours. Snow conditions rather than altitude, had been responsible for this slow progress.

Describing the view from the summit, Mr. Smythe says:

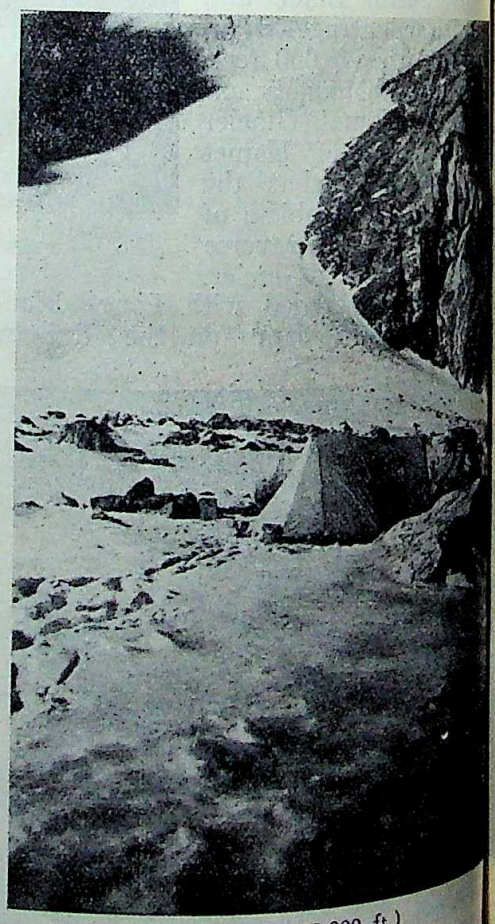
'It is difficult to render any account of it. We were too far above the world. Our gaze passed almost contemptuously over mighty range upon mighty range . . . The breeze fanning us was deathly cold, the silence and sense of isolation almost terrible . . . Thousands of feet beneath curved the glacier flowing south-wards of Kamet, ribbed and girded with moraines like some monstrous dragon crawling from one cloudy cavern to another. Our sole link with the world was the Camp we had left, now a mere blob on snow of Meade's Col . . . Nanda Devi was buried in clouds and there was naught to challenge Kamet, the exception of Gurla Mandhata's massif, 110 miles away . . . Only in the north was relief to be from a savage mountain world: there, barren, streaked untidily in snow, fell away into the plains of Tibetan plateau tessellated with blue shadows . . . At our feet we could see the East glacier curving in a serene arc through its peaks.'

Adds Captain Brinie:

'To the north the vast brown plateaux of Tibet out in contrast to the snow clad peaks to the dominated by Nanda Devi. Far away to the north a magnificent range of mountains must surely have the Karakoram, over 250 miles away.'

East Surrey's Venture

Last summer, a party consisting Corporals R. Ridley, J. Williams, J. Bu Hamilton, and Private S. Hillier of the Battalion, East Surrey Regiment, set o



Camp four (21,000 ft.)

attempt the ascent of Kamet. Bli avalanches and a mistake in tactics com the party to return after reaching a hei 23,500 feet on the final slope of the summ

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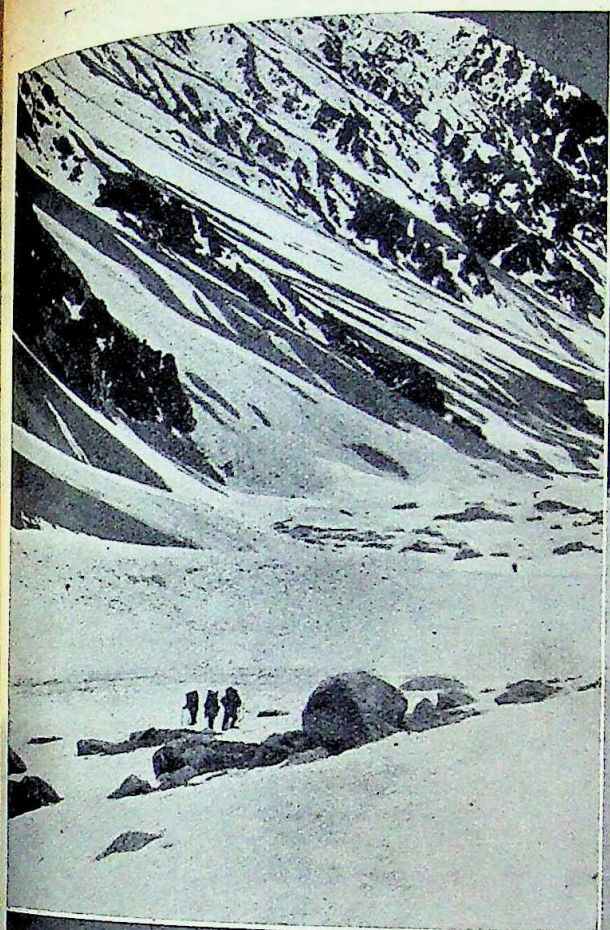
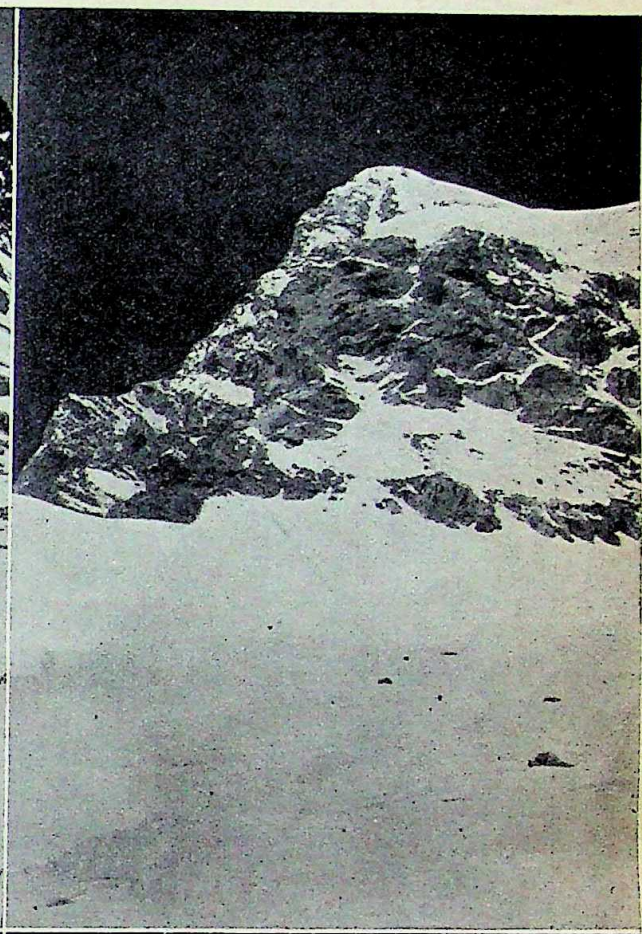
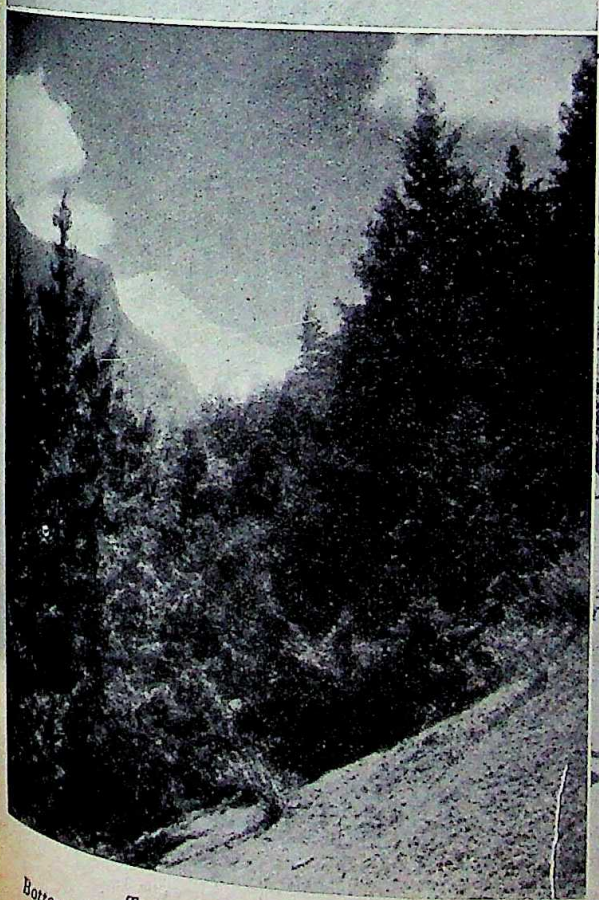
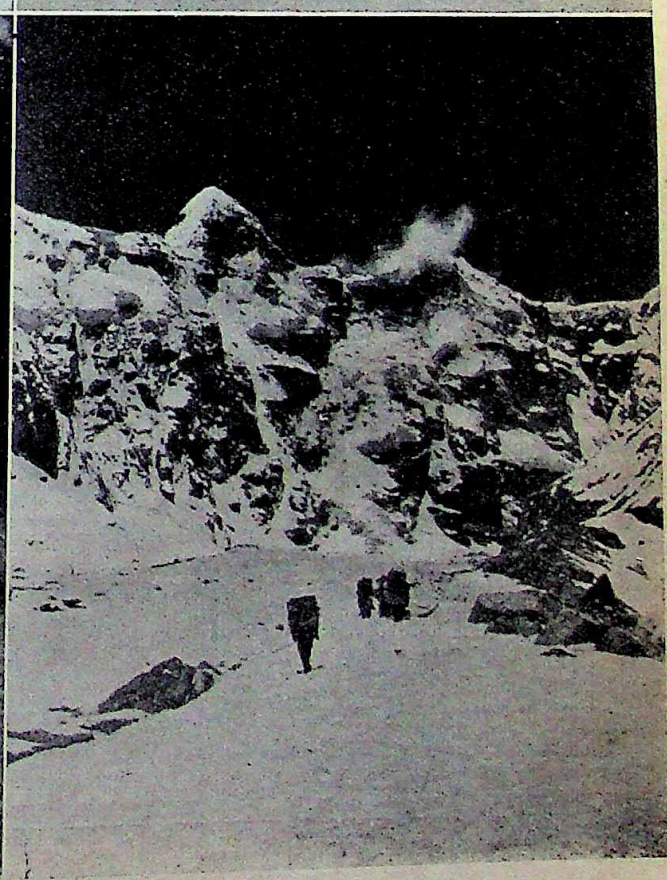
MOUNT KAMET









Top : Left : Towards Camp one *Right :* Kamet from Camp four

Bottom : Left : Subsidiary Valley of the Dhauli *Right :* On the East Kamet Glacier toward Camp three

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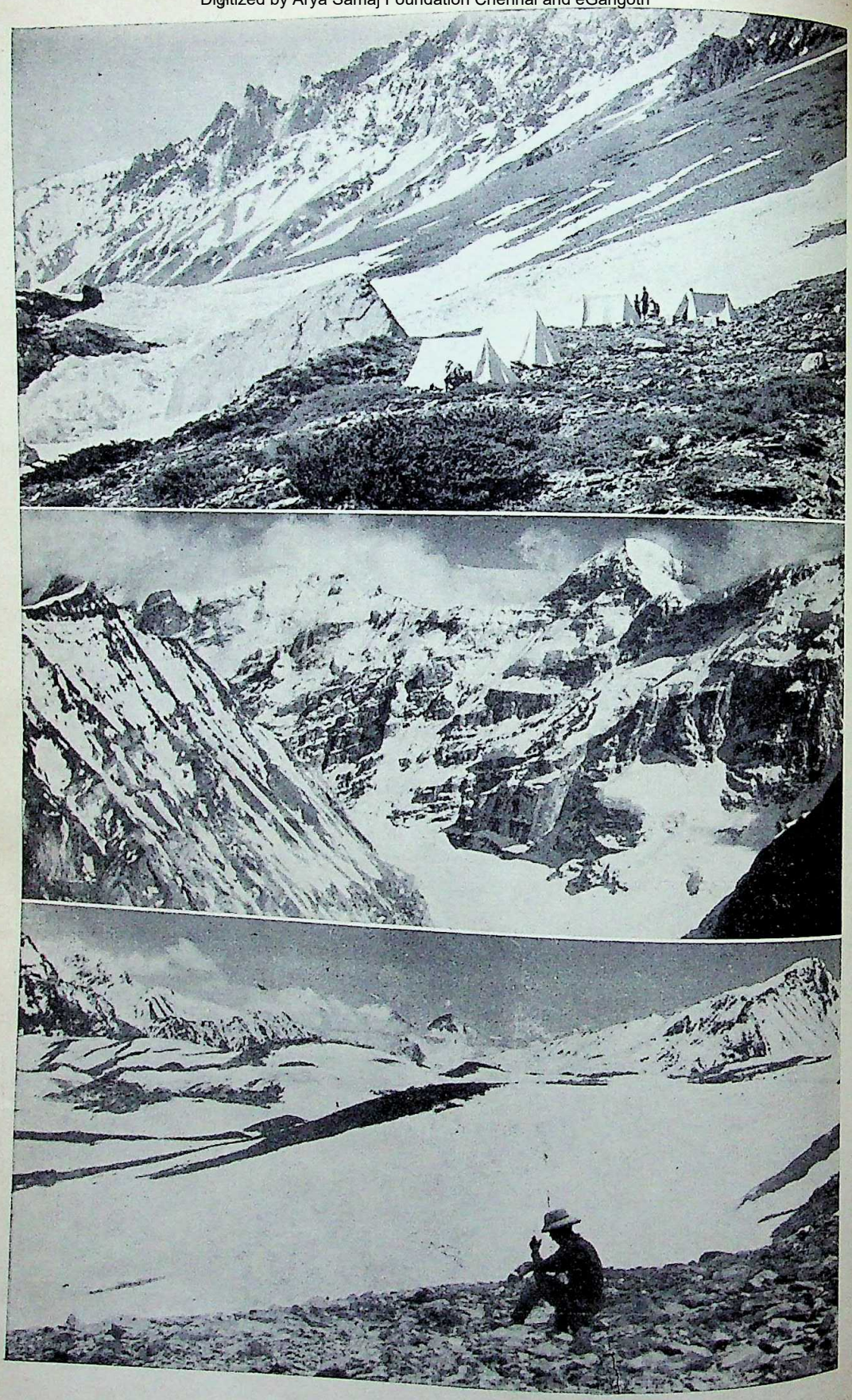

Top : Base Camp in the midst of snow-clad peaks
Middle : The East Kamet Glacier from the Camp four
Bottom : South Col Camp one

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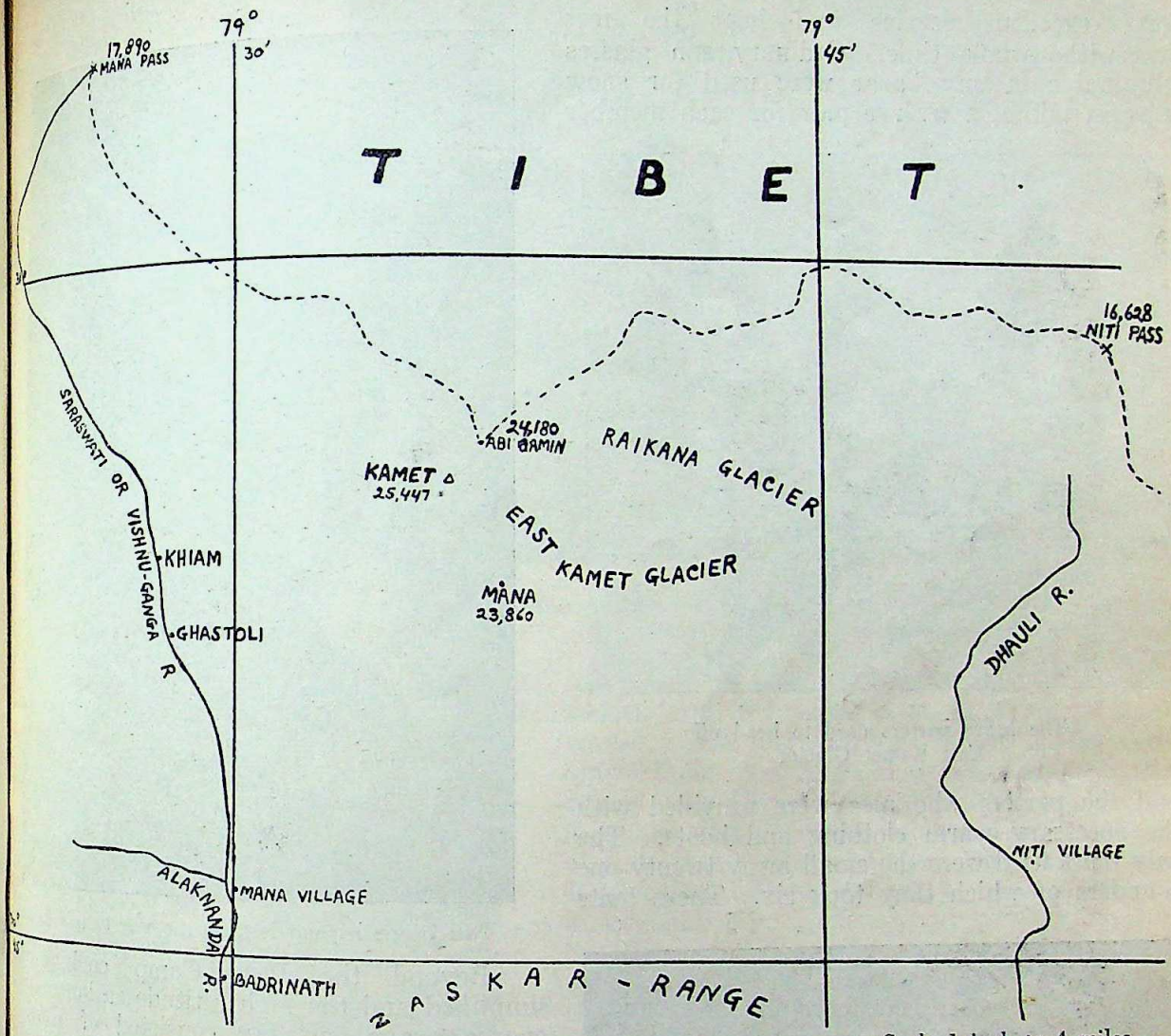

Scale 1 inch to 4 miles

was a magnificent effort against heavy odds, d was unique in many respects.

The party decided to work without the aid porters beyond the head of the East Kamet acier, and therefore they had to keep the eight of stores and other articles down to a inimum. Under such conditions, large supplies food and fuel were not possible. The party fact did not require such, for long besieging ties were no part of their plan. The small- ss of the party did not allow for any system communication between the various camps. e party was reluctant to return from any int they had reached if there was a prolonged ell of bad weather or an illness among the rty. One advantage of such a plan was the lay system of carrying kit and stores made ecessary, which ensures proper acclimatisation each stage of the climb.

In considering the equipment they were to se, the party were forced to act in accordance with the limited funds at their disposal. The type of sleeping bags used consisted of two separate eiderdown-filled bags, with an outer covering of a light waterproof material. The total weight of each complete bed was only six and half pounds, a great advantage where weight must be reduced as much as possible. These bags gave every satisfaction throughout the trip. Practically all their warm clothing was service kit. The following articles were taken by each member of the party for use at high altitudes:—two Balaclava helmets, two flannel shirts, two cardigans, two pairs woollen underpants, three pair socks, one pair woollen gloves, one pair leather gloves and a light over-all of rain and windproof material. Climbing boots were made to their design by the Regimental Mochi; they were made large enough to allow for three pairs of socks. These boots were made of strong waterproof leather and lined with felt. On the heavy side they

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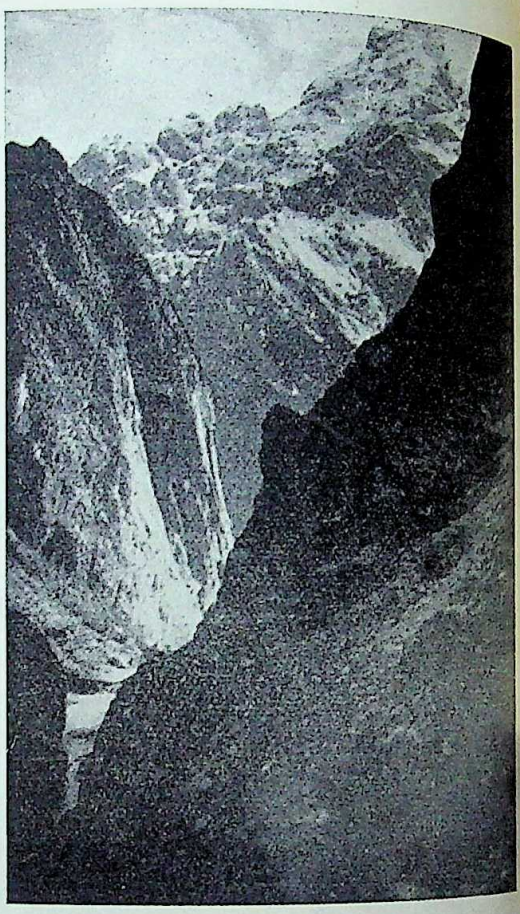
gave excellent service and kept the feet warm the whole time. Ordinary sun glasses obtainable in any bazar were used for snow glasses, taking a reserve pair for each member

The brave porters used to head off East Kamet Glacier

and the porters who also were provided with the necessary warm clothing and boots. The only tents used were the small army twenty-one pounders of which they took six. These tents

Above the Couloir and on the south slopes leading to Meade's Col

can not be described as suitable for use at high altitude but as Meade's or similar pattern tents were not possible, they just had to make the best of things.



Niti Gorge beyond Niti on the way to the Base

Beyond the Base Camp cooking w simplified and the high altitude ration to serv one man for one day consisted of Horlick Malted Milk—4 ozs., chocolate—4 ozs., biscui —8 ozs., tinned meats—4 ozs., Bovril—1 o sugar—3 ozs. The cooking utensils used beyo the Base Camp were two primus stoves, t aluminium cooking pots and enamel plates a mugs. Spoons were taken but no knives forks. Arranging the menu in this mann meant cooking was reduced to merely heati water. As things turned out it was fortuna that the meals required such little preparati for at times even this simple arrangement w very difficult to carry out.

Base Camp

Situated as Kamet is, on the Indian bord a march of nearly two hundred miles fr Ranikhet brought them to the Base Ca which they established on the Raikana Glac at a height of 15,000 feet. Beyond the Ba Camp, two camps on the East Kamet Glac and a further three higher camps were necess ted. It was also found necessary to estab

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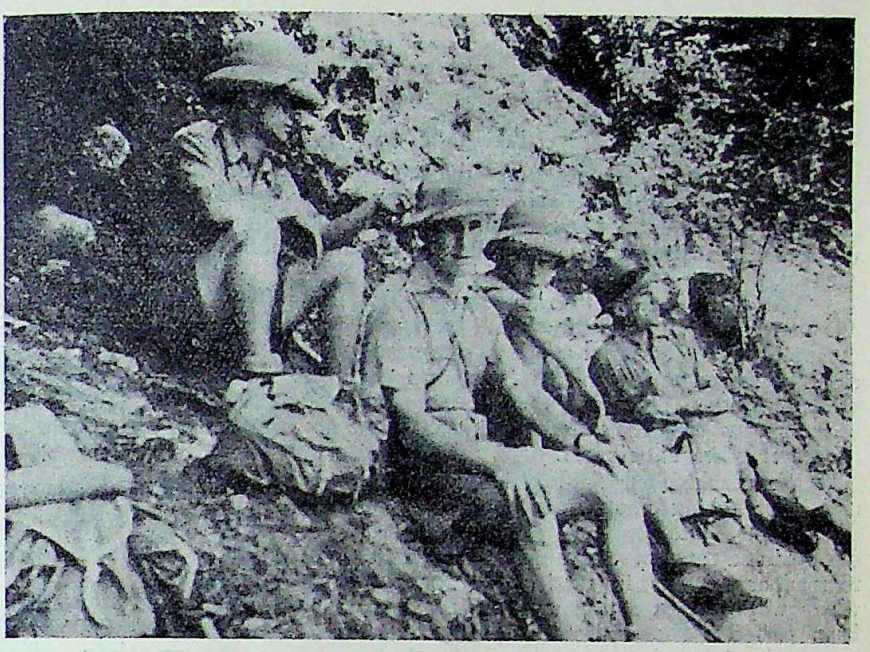
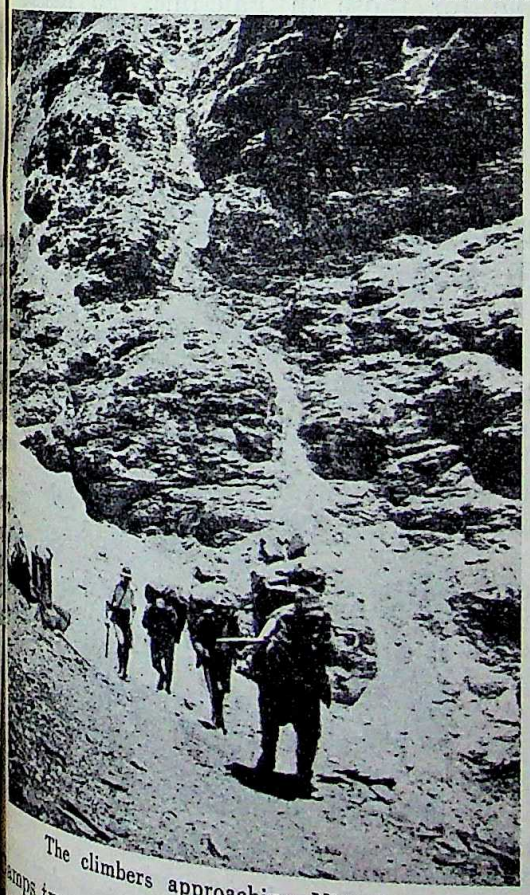
an additional camp on the East Kamet Glacier. Over the last four stages of the march to the base, kit and stores had to be carried in relays. The track had not been repaired after the ravages of the winter snow, and the party had to make a path for their porters themselves, by cutting steps by pick-axes to ensure proper footing.

Camp one was pitched at the junction of the Raikana and East Kamet Glaciers at a height of 16,000 feet. The distance from the base to this point was only about six miles, but the maze of moraine mounds covering the area made the journey very trying. The party carried heavy loads as they used only four porters.



Climbers taking rest in the Pindar Valley during their march to the foothills

The most hazardous part of the route has been between Camps two and four. Between Camps two and three, the party had to traverse a section of the East Kamet Glacier which was more like a narrow trench. The snow was sodden and they sank down in it up to their wastes. The southern wall of the glacier rose above them in a ridge of peaks, ending in the Mana Peak (23,000 feet). From the precipitous sides, hanging glaciers of snow and ice, hundreds of feet thick, threatened them with destruction. It took them over seven hours to cover a distance of five miles.



The climbers approaching Niti Gorge

Between Camps three and four, they had to ascend a gully of snow and ice for some three thousand feet. They were forced to kick and cut steps nearly the whole day. Above them they could hear ominous rumblings of sliding snow and ice, and as the gully was a natural chute for any avalanches that fell into it, it made this part of the route very dangerous. After some three hours toil, they safely reached the ledge at the head of the East Kamet Glacier at a height of 21,000 feet and pitched Camp four there.

For twelve days the party was encamped at 21,000 feet. Unaided by porters they moved their kit by a succession of relays across the great glaciers and precipices of this formidable peak.

A Brilliant Failure

Commenting on the result, Corporal Ridley states:

'Our failure to reach the summit must be attributed to a mistake in tactics. Those who are familiar with the topography of Kamet are aware that the crux of the climb is the ice precipice leading from the glacier

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plateau above East Kamet to the snow slopes ascending to Meade's Col.

'Encamped at the foot of this precipice we made the mistake of attempting a route directly over its face in preference to a steep snow couloir on the right, for the risk of avalanches falling into the couloir from the vertical cliffs of East Ibi Gamin appeared great. Although we actually reached the top of the precipice we found it impossible to get the kit up to establish a camp.

'We now decided to risk the couloir. Our efforts on the ice wall had weakened us and instead of attempting the essential higher camp we decided to climb unloaded and reach as far as we could from our present position. Although the climb up the couloir was by no means easy the risk of avalanches did not appear as great as we anticipated.

'We reached our final point 23,500 feet at 4 P.M. and after taking photographs began to descend. Thus ended our attempt on Kamet. Naturally we feel disappointed at not reaching the summit and deeply regret our mistake in tactics. Excepting for two days when we experienced snow blizzards, the weather has been perfect. The modest equipment that we used, the non-employment of porters above the glacier camps and the fact that this was our first serious attempt at mountaineering combine to make the result a satisfactory one.'

To climb Kamet, or even to fail in the attempt is a glorious feat and a great adventure. It reflects nothing but credit upon the battalion that its soldiers should have been encour to make this notable climb. The party three weeks beyond the Base Camp. greatest height which the expedition rea was 23,500 feet on the last slope of the mou above Meade's Col. The merits of the un taking may be better appraised when considered that apart from Mr. Sym successful ascent in 1931 only one of the previous expeditions succeeded in reach above the Col. The result must rank as object lesson in what can be achieved by a moderately equipped party with only lim means. The total expenses of the party to a little over Rs. 2,000.

Kamet Again

A party of East Surreys, under the lea ship of Corporal Ridley, was coming to another effort this year all the way f Eng'and by car but the latest intima received in India indicates that the expedi was abandoned owing to lack of funds by members at Home and leave not being obt able for those in Palestine. So Kamet repose in peace for a while!

CHINESE MOSLEM LEADER BACK FROM PUBLICITY TOUR ABROAD

From China Information Committee, Hankow

"All Mohammedan countries in the Near East support China and her righteous cause against Japan," declared Mr. Ta Pu-sheng, Mohammedan priest from Shanghai, when interviewed upon his arrival in Hankow from his recent publicity and lecture tour abroad.

The Moslem leader left Shanghai on his publicity tour immediately after the withdrawal of the Chinese forces from that sector. Before that, he had been most actively engaged in refugee relief work and in pushing the sales of the Liberty Bonds among his brethren-in-faith. On the pulpit in his mosque, he preached the righteousness of China's resistance, citing the Koran in which Mohammed, the Prophet, said, "Kill thy enemy that encroaches upon thy rights, and yield thou not one inch of thy territory."

Moved to action by Japan's false propaganda in foreign countries alleging that the Mohammedans in China are disloyal to the Central Government and at loggerheads the other sects of the Chinese race, Mr. Ta Shanghai and travelled at his own expense his self-imposed mission of revealing the state of affairs in China.

He arrived in Egypt early in January. very many occasions he had the opportunity interpreting China's all-front resistance agai Japanese aggression as one solidly backed by all sects of the Chinese race. He atten the royal wedding ceremony on January when he offered the Egyptian King his gr ings on behalf of China.

Following the wedding, the King grante special interview during which Mr. explained in details the struggle of his fa land against Japan's aggression.

"I was very cordially received during interview, and my travel throughout Egypt contacts with the people of that country

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eneral were very encouraging," Mr. Ta stated ring the interview in Hankow.

The relations between China and Egypt, e Chinese Mohammedan leader added, have ways been very cordial. In Egypt, he said, the world's best Mohammedan institution of gher learning to which China sent her first oup of Mohammedan students in 1931. hammedan students from China joining this stitution have been increasing in numbers year er year.

During his lecture tour in Egypt, Mr. Ta stributed tens of thousands of copies of a cular letter entitled "An Admonition to hammedans All Over the World" which he d written in Arabic.

From Egypt, Mr. Ta proceeded to India and Bombay. There he lectured in many centers and attended nine mass meetings. Mohammedan leaders in India promised to translate the circular letter into the Indian language for circulation with a view to intensifying the China-aid campaign which had been afoot at that time.

"Plans were started by various Moslem groups in India," Mr. Ta said, "to send a goodwill delegation to China."

At a recent reception given by various Mohammedan groups in Hankow, the Mohammedan priest was honoured for the well-wishes and assurances of sympathy and support of Mohammedan countries for China's righteous cause which he brought back from his patriotic tour.

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee of Allahabad, who is the first lady graduate of the Rhodara Nagar Caste, is a painter of merit

Srimati Shakuntala Diwanjee

d has exhibited her paintings in different art hibitions at Bombay and Madras. She is also adept in dancing and music.

Srimati Prema Johari, M.A., L.T., Lady Principal of the Municipal Girls' School,

Srimati Prema Johari

Bareilly, has been awarded by the Indian Women's Education Association, London, a scholarship to study abroad the methods of training.

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NOGUCHI'S LETTERS TO TAGORE AND GANDHI AND TAGORE'S REPLY

Letter to Rabindranath Tagore

DEAR RABINDRANATH,

When I visited you at Santiniketan a few years ago, you were troubled with the Ethiopian question, and vehemently condemned Italy. Retiring into your guest chamber that night, I wondered whether you would say the same thing on Japan, if she were equally situated like Italy. I perfectly agreed with your opinion and admired your courage of speaking, when in Tokyo, 1916, you censured the westernization of Japan from a public platform. Not answering back to your words, the intellectual people of my country were conscious of its possible consequence, for, not only staying as unpleasant spectacle, the westernization had every chance for becoming anything awful.

But if you take the present war in China for the criminal outcome of Japan's surrender to the west, you are wrong, because, not being a slaughtering madness, it is, I believe, the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent, where the "principle of live-and-let-live," has to be realized. Believe me, it is the war of "Asia for Asia." With a crusader's determination and with a sense of sacrifice that belongs to a martyr, our young soldiers go to the front. Their minds are light and happy, because the war is not for conquest, but the correction of mistaken idea of China, I mean Kuomintung government, and for uplifting her simple but ignorant masses to better life and wisdom. Borrowing from other countries neither money nor blood, Japan is undertaking this tremendous work single-handed and alone. I do not know why we cannot be praised by your countrymen. But we are terribly blamed by them, as it seems, for our heroism and aim.

Not long ago the Chinese army defeated in Huntung province by Hwang-ho River had cut from desperate madness several places of the river bank; not keeping in check the advancing Japanese army, it only made thirty hundred thousand people drown in the flood and one hundred thousand village houses destroyed. Defending the welfare of its own kinsmen or killing them?—which is the object of the Chinese army, I wonder? It is strange that such an atrocious inhuman conduct ever known in the world history did not become in the west a target of condemnation. Oh where are your humanitarians who profess to be a guardian of humanity? Are they deaf and blind? Besides the Chinese soldiers, miserably paid and poorly clothed, are a habitual criminal of robbery, and then an everlasting menace to the honest hard-working people who cling to the ground. Therefore the Japanese soldiers are followed by them with the paper flags of the Rising Sun in their hands; to a soldiery work we have to add one more endeavour in the relief work of them. You can imagine how expensive is this war for Japan. Putting expenditure out of the question, we are determined to use up our last cent for the final victory that would ensure in the future a great peace of many hundred years.

I received the other day a letter from my western friend, denouncing the world that had gone to Hell. I replied him, saying: "Oh my friend, you should cover your ears when a war bugle rings too wild. Shut your eyes against a picture of your martial cousins becom[illegible] fish salad! Be patient, my friend, for a war is [illegible] spasmodic matter that cannot last long, but will [illegible] one's condition better in the end. You are a co[illegible] you are afraid of it. Nothing worthy will be done [illegible] you pass through a severe trial. And the peac[illegible] follows after a war is most important." For this [illegible] we Japanese are ready to exhaust our resources of [illegible] and blood.

Today we are called under the flag of "S[illegible] making," each person of the country doing his ow[illegible] for the realization of idealism. There was no ti[illegible] today in the whole history of Japan, when all the p[illegible] from the Emperor to a rag-picker in the street, [illegible] solidated together with one mind. And there is no [illegible] foolish supposition as that our financial bankrupt[illegible] thing settled if the war drags on. Since the bes[illegible] of the Chinese continent is already with us in f[illegible] terms, we are not fighting with the whole of China. [illegible] enemy is only the Kuomintung government, a m[illegible] puppet of the west. If Chiang Kai-shek wishes a [illegible] war, we are quite ready for it. Five years? Ten y[illegible] Twenty years?—as long as he desires my friend. [illegible] one year has passed since the first bullet was exch[illegible] between China and Japan; but with a fresh mind a[illegible] sees that the war has just begun, we are now looki[illegible] event in the face. After the fall of Hankow, [illegible] Kuomintung government will retire to a remote pl[illegible] her country; but until the western countries chang[illegible] attitude towards China, we will keep up fighting [illegible] fists or wisdom.

The Japanese poverty is widely advertised in the [illegible] though I do not know how it was started. Japan is [illegible] beyond doubt,—well, according to the measure you [illegible] to apply to. But I think that the Japanese poverty [illegible] fabricated story as much as richness of China. Th[illegible] no country in the world like Japan, where m[illegible] equally divided among the people. Supposing that [illegible] poor, I will say that we are trained to stand the p[illegible] poverty. Japan is very strong in adversity.

But you will be surprised to know that the [illegible] saving of people comes up now to five thousand m[illegible] *yen;* responding to the government's propaga[illegible] economy. For going on, surmounting every difficu[illegible] the war brings in, we are saving every cent and [illegible] making good use of waste scraps. Since the war b[illegible] we grew spiritually strong and true ten times more [illegible] before. There is nothing hard to accomplish to a [illegible] man. Yes, Japan is the land of young men. Acc[illegible] to nature's law, the old has to retire while the [illegible] advances. Behold, the sun is arising, be gone a[illegible] sickly bats and dirty vermins! Cursed be one's [illegible] and empty pride that sin against nature's ru[illegible] justice!

China could very well avoid the war, of co[illegible] Chiang Kai-shek was more sensible with insight. [illegible] ing to an irresponsible third party of the west [illegible] way off, thinking too highly of his own stren[illegible] turned at last his own country, as she is today, [illegible] ruined desert to which fifty years would not be [illegible] for recovery. He never happened to think for a [illegible]

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the friendship of western countries was but a trick their monetary interest itself in his country. And it too late now for Chiang to reproach them for the lessness of their words of promise.

For a long time we had been watching with doubt Chiang's programme, the consolidation of the country, ause the Chinese history had no period when the ntry was unified in the real meaning, and the egation of various war-lords under his flag was ing. Until all the people took an oath of co-operawith him, we thought, his programme was no more a table talk. Being hasty and thoughtless, Chiang to popularize the anti-Japanese movement among students who were pigmy politicians in some ing because he deemed it to be a method for the ly realization of his programme; but he never thought he was erring from the Oriental ethics that preached ne's friendship with the neighbours. Seeing that his egation had too great effect on his young followers, had no way, to keep in check their wild jingoism, and finally made his country roll down along the slope destruction. Chiang is a living example who sold country to the west for nothing, and smeared his with the crime of westernization. Dear Rabindranath, will you say about this Chiang Kai-shek?

Dear poet, today we have to turn our deaf ears ds a lesson of freedom that may come from ica, because the people there already ceased to ve it. The ledger-book diplomacy of England is well-known through the world. I am old enough to from experience that no man is better than others, our country being no more worse than others. gh I admit that Japan is today ruled by militarism, rd to the actual condition of the country, I am glad enough freedom of speaking and acting is allowed to like myself. Japan is fairly liberal in spite of the time. So I can say without fear to be locked up that service-crazy people are drunken, and that a thing e world, great and true, because of its connection the future, only comes from one who hates to be a n human unit, stepping aside so that he can unite lf with Eternity. I believe that such one who withs into a snail's shell for the quest of life's hopeful will be in the end a true patriot, worthy of his nation. Therefore I am able not to disgrace the e of poet, and, to try to live up to the words of ing who made the Grammarian exclaim: "Leave for dogs and apes! Man has Forever."

Yours very sincerely,
Yone Noguchi

41 Sakurayama, Nakano,
Tokyo, July 23, 1938

—Some days ago I presented you one copy of *The Ganges Calls Me* with remembrances old and new.

Rabindranath Tagore's Reply

"Uttarayan"
Santiniketan, Bengal,
September 1, 1938,

Noguchi,

I am profoundly surprised by the letter that you have en to me: neither its temper nor its contents mpathize with the spirit of Japan which I learnt to re in your writings and came to love through my nal contacts with you. It is sad to think that the ion of collective militarism may on occasion helplessly whelm even the creative artists, that genuine intelual power should be led to offer its dignity and truth e sacrificed at the shrine of the dark gods of war.

You seem to agree with me in your condemnation of the massacre of Ethiopia by Fascist Italy—but you would reserve the murderous attack on Chinese millions for judgment under a different category.

But surely judgments are based on principle, and no amount of special pleading can change the fact that in launching a ravening war on Chinese humanity, with all the deadly methods learnt from the West, Japan is infringing every moral principle on which civilization is based. You claim that Japan's situation was unique, forgetting that military situations are always unique, and that pious war-lords, convinced of peculiarly individual justification for their atrocities have never failed to arrange for special alliances with divinity for annihilation and torture on a large-scale.

Humanity, in spite of its many failures, has believed in a fundamental moral structure of society. When you speak, therefore, of "the inevitable means, terrible it is though, for establishing a new great world in the Asiatic continent"—signifying, I suppose, the bombing of Chinese women and children and the desecration of ancient temples and Universities as a means of saving China for Asia—you are ascribing to humanity a way of life which is not even inevitable among the animals and would certainly not apply to the East, in spite of her occasional aberrations.

You are building your conception of an Asia which would be raised on a tower of skulls. I have, as you rightly point out, believed in the message of Asia, but I never dreamt that this message could be identified with deeds which brought exaltation to the heart of Tamer Lane at his terrible efficiency in manslaughter.

When I protested against "Westernization" in my lectures in Japan, I contrasted the rapacious Imperialism which some of the 'Nations' of Europe were cultivating with the ideal of perfection preached by Buddha and Christ, with the great heritages of culture and good neighbourliness that went to the making of Asiatic and other civilizations. I felt it to be my duty to warn the land of Bushido, of great Art and traditions of noble heroism, that this phase of scientific savagery which victimised Western humanity and had led their helpless masses to a moral cannibalism was never to be imitated by a virile people who had entered upon a glorious renascence and had every promise of a creative future before them.

The doctrine of "Asia for Asia" which you enunciate in your letter, as an instrument of political blackmail, has all the virtues of the lesser Europe which I repudiate and nothing of the larger humanity that makes us one across the barriers of political labels and divisions.

I was amused to read the recent statement of a Tokyo politician that the military alliance of Japan with Italy and Germany was made for "highly spiritual and moral reasons" and "had no materialistic considerations behind them." Quite so. What is not amusing is that artists and thinkers should echo such remarkable sentiments that translate military swagger into a spiritual bravado. In the West, even in the critical days of war-madness there is never any dearth of great spirits who can raise their voice above the din of battle, and defy their own war-mongers in the name of humanity. Such men have suffered, but never betrayed the conscience of their peoples which they represented. Asia will not be Westernised if she can learn from such men: I still beleive that there are such souls in Japan, though we do not hear of them in those newspapers that are compelled at the cost of their extinction to reproduce their military masters' voice.

"The betrayal of intellectuals" of which the great

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French writer spoke after the European war, is a dangerous symptom of our age. You speak of the savings of the poor people of Japan, their silent sacrifice and suffering, and take pride in betraying that this pathetic sacrifice is being exploited for gun running and invasion of a neighbour's hearth and home, that human wealth of greatness is pillaged for inhuman purposes. Propaganda, I know, has been reduced to a fine art, and it is almost impossible for people in non-democratic countries to resist hourly doses of poison, but one had imagined that at least the men of intellect and imagination would themselves retain their gift of independent judgment.

Evidently such is not always the case; behind sophisticated arguments seem to lie a mentality of perverted nationalism which makes the "intellectuals" of today go blustering about their "ideologies" dragooning their own "masses" into paths of dissolution.

I have known your people and I hate to believe that they could deliberately participate in the organized drugging of Chinese men and women by opium and heron, but they do not know; in the meanwhile, representatives of Japanese culture in China are busy practising their craft on the multitude caught in the grip of an organization of a wholesale human pollution. Proofs of such forcible drugging in Manchukuo and China have been adduced by unimpeachable authorities. But from Japan there has come no protest, not even from her poets.

Holding such opinion as many of your intellectuals do, I am not surprised that they are left "free" by your Government to express themselves. I hope they enjoy their freedom. Retiring from such freedom into "a snail's shell" in order to savour the bliss of meditation "on life's hopeful future," appears to me to be an unnecessary act, even though you advise Japanese artists to do so by way of change. I cannot accept such separation between an artist's function and his moral conscience. The luxury of enjoying special favouritism by virtue of identity with a Government which is engaged in demolition, in its neighbourhood, of all salient bases of life, and of escaping, at the time, from any direct responsibility by a philosophy of escapism, seem to me to be another authentic symptom of the modern intellectual's betrayal of humanity.

Unfortunately the rest of the world is almost cowardly in any adequate expression of its judgment owing to ugly possibilities that it may be hatching for its own future and those who are bent upon doing mischief are left alone to defile their history and blacken their reputation for all time to come. But such impunity in the long run bodes disaster, like unconsciousness of disease in its painless progress of ravage.

I speak with utter sorrow for your people; your letter has hurt me to the depths of my being. I know that one day the disillusionment of your people will be complete, and through laborious centuries they will have to clear the debris of their civilization wrought to ruin by their own war-lords run amok. They will realise that the aggressive war on China is insignificant as compared to the destruction of the inner spirit of chivalry of Japan which is proceeding with a ferocious severity.

China is unconquerable, her civilization, under the dauntless leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, is displaying marvellous resources; the desperate loyalty of her peoples, united as never before, is creating a new age for that land. Caught unprepared by a gigantic machinery of war hurled upon her peoples, China is holding her own; no temporary defeats can ever crush her fully aroused spirit.

Faced by the borrowed science of Japanese militarism, which is crudely western in character, China's stand reveals an inherently superior moral stature. And I understand more than ever before the meaning of enthusiasm with which the big-hearted Japanese Okakura assured me that "China is great."

You do not realise that you are glorifying neighbour at your own cost. But these are considered on another plane; the sorrow remains that Japan, in words of Madame Chiang Kai-shek which you must read in the *Spectator*, is creating so many Ghosts of immemorial works of Chinese art, of irreplaceable Chinese institutions, of great peace-loving communities drugged, tortured, and destroyed. "Who will lay ghosts?" she asks. Japanese and Chinese people us hope, will join hands together, in no distant future in wiping off memories of a bitter past. True humanity will be reborn. Poets will raise their songs be unshamed, one believes, to declare their faith in a human destiny which cannot admit of a scientific mass production of fratricide.

Yours sincerely,
Rabindranath Tagore

P. S.—I find that you have already released your letter to the Press; I take it that you want me to publish my answer in the same manner.

Letter to the Mahatma

DEAR MAHATMA,

It is difficult to a Japanese today to write a letter not touching the present conflict with China. Though I think I can understand why your people are in sympathy with the Chinese, it is very sad that my own country's standpoint is not equally well studied in India. Being a believer in silence, in action before words, Japan is a propagandist. I myself kept silence towards my Indian friends, because I know that their minds will soon become composed and thoughtful to see a great cause for which Japan is exhausting herself today. Japan is indifferent to criticism of the third party, for she thinks that it is a foolish business of a dog and monkey. It is however, that being backed by the west with common purpose, China, I mean the Kuomintung government became arrogant from flattery or her own pride, broke a neighbourly friendship; taking up an Japanese campaign as the nation's only programme never stopped to think even for a moment what a fist her small island neighbour was hiding.

The results to a country will be plain and clear, see, when she only depended on the west for existence; and if she cannot fight without a western adviser, she is already defeated before she appears in field. The bigness of the country is something of peaceful day; but the most important thing of one's heroism and sense of justice that supports cause. The huge money that the Chinese government borrowed from the west in the past was foolishly for fire-arms, but not for her own people who suffering from poverty and ignorance. I should like know where in the world history is a similar case present war, for we have to help the masses of besides defeating their government. Wherever one the place of the Japanese occupation, he will be sure to see how the Chinese co-operate with our soldiers mending the houses that bullets damaged, and in repairing a railroad bridge that the Chinese soldiers before they ran away. The Chinese masses are because they know that our enemy is only their government.

No one can deny truth in the survival of the One who is morally strong only manages to

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the high officials in China, who grow fat and selfish from bribe-taking and intrigue, have now to answer to god's impeachment. When I say that the present war is a deliberation towards the west to leave hands from Asia, I believe that there are many people in India, who will approve of us.

Dear Mahatma, this letter may sound to you to be something that you do not expect from a poet; but I rely on your noble sense of justice, for the generally kind atmosphere towards Japan in India made us patient. But believe me, I myself still keep enough moment of aloofness to deny the foolishness of mutability and to adapt myself to optimism that fits to my age. If the optimism of my choice has something of martyrdom, that is because I am patriotic in the good old fashion.

And if you open *The Ganges Calls Me*, a book of my Indian poems, that I sent you a few days ago, you will see a Japanese soul in response to nature and life of your country, that uplifted me to a higher spiritual status. Will you accept my sincere greeting in "Mahatma Gandhi"?

Yours very sincerely,
Yone Noguchi

July 20, 1938

THE EUROPEAN TANGLE

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

POLAND is working might and main to prevent Germany going to war with Czecho-Slovakia over the Sudeten German issue. Acting in the closest possible association with her is France. All over Europe the nations are looking to France and England to save them from the threatened beginning of a world war. And in the United States President Roosevelt and the bulk of the American people are lending their powerful moral support.

Nothing in fact has been more striking, during the present crisis, than the way in which Germany's prestige has declined. Her violent propaganda against the Czechs has over-reached itself: it has created the opinion that in this quarrel it is the Germans and not the Czechs who are irreconcilable. Lawless behaviour on the part of Nazis in other foreign countries strengthens this opinion. Such behaviour has undone much of Herr Hitler's careful diplomacy. His famous Non-Aggression Pact with Poland, thanks to Nazi outrages in Poland and above all in Danzig, has now very little value in Polish eyes. Poland instead is turning once more to Geneva and is sending her Foreign Minister to the forthcoming meeting of the League of Nations Assembly. Even Hungary, though her Regent went to be feted in Berlin, took care at the same time to hold one finger out to the Little Entente at Bled. The most, it is said, that she will promise is benevolent neutrality.

If Germany were to make war tomorrow, it is doubtful whether she would have a single important ally except perhaps Italy—and Italy, impoverished by her wars in Abyssinia and Spain, might well prove a liability rather than an asset. In the Far East, no doubt, Japan is at the end of the Berlin-Rome-Tokio triangle. But if Japan were to come to the aid of her German ally she would have to fight two wars: her present war with China and war again with Soviet Russia. And it is interesting to remember that in the recent boundary dispute between Russia and Japan all that Germany would offer Japan, in the event of a war, was "moral" support.

At the moment of writing, the week-end before the Nazi Congress opens at Nuremberg, there is a lull in the political atmosphere. This too in spite of rumours that Herr Hitler, when he saw Herr Henlein yesterday, rejected the Czech proposals for a solution after the Swiss model of cantons—rejected, that is, the third solution which the Czechs have proposed and which is said to go to the extreme limit of concession. Instead he is said to have drawn up his own plan and attached to it a time limit. In the absence of course of definitive news any sort of rumour arises. And one wishes there were more solid grounds for optimism other than the mere fact that fireworks are unlikely until after the Congress has opened. Incidentally a great part of the present campaign is due to a ruse yesterday on the part of the newspapers. They came out with posters proclaiming *Hitler's Message of Peace*. Everyone thought of course that it had immediate relevance to the Sudeten question—and prices on the Stock Exchange firmed up! Actually it was only the report of an interview which Herr Hitler had given *some time ago* to a distinguished

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French writer, was in general terms and chiefly addressed to France, and had no special message for Czecho-Slovakia. Or rather, if it had any message at all, it was an unwelcome one. For it ended with the usual animadversions against Russia—Russia who is the especial ally, the eternal question mark, behind Czecho-Slovakia.

Still if it was a ruse it was a well-intentioned one. And if we want Herr Hitler to speak peace to the nations, we must do all we tactfully can to make it easy for him. He will get no help from the kind of Germans whom he and Dr. Goebbels, his Propaganda Minister, have raised up. They will have to eat so many of their words! What indeed is to be done with a man like Dr. Robert Ley, the leader of the Nazi Labour Front, who has been saying the wildest things to the Conference of Germans Living Abroad which has just been meeting at Stuttgart. An audience of 20,000 men received with "thunderous applause" (says *Reuter*) his assertion that "Geneva no longer exists and Germany has the best army in the world." Dr. Ley glories in brute force, is drunk with it.

"Come what may, we will not yield in anything. A victorious army is never weary. *Our fanaticism does not abate, but is becoming daily even greater. The Swastika has crooked hooks that never let loose, but dig ever deeper into the people.* The German people have put away their slippers and put on marching boots."

It is appalling to think that these words were spoken by the Leader of the Labour Front to Germans gathered from abroad. So wide a range for such terrible words. Incidentally, the part about the Swastika sticking ever deeper into the people, is the kind of sadistic fantasy that makes people outside apprehensive because they realise that they have in fact to deal with men who are not quite normal.

It is not surprising perhaps that German propaganda has not only alienated foreigners but is even antagonising some of the Sudetens themselves. That Germany should want to incorporate them in the Reich, even though it can only be done after a war in which the Sudeten Germans themselves will be the chiefest sufferers, losing their homes and most probably their lives, is asking too much of the times. If it could have been done by superior might, by merely threatening war, well and good. But since it cannot—since if she is invaded Czecho-Slovakia will fight to preserve her territorial integrity, and France will come to her aid, and Russia, and finally England—now is the time to parley. Germany should throw her weight into obtaining the best possible terms for the Sudetens. But instead hitherto, she has talked nothing but war. Her press and her wireless and her spokesmen have all been engaged in working up feeling against Czecho-Slovakia. On the Czech frontiers, the prolonged manoeuvres, German guns thunder as if war had already begun. On the Frenchfrontiers work on the fortifications goes on apace, and Herr Hitler visits them to see how near they are to completion, as if the French Army were already on the march. No wonder there is talk of divisions amongst the Sudetens of increasing accessions to the "moderates." No wonder many of them are beginning to doubt whether they are so much an end in German eyes as the means to an end—the end being German hegemony in Europe. (Why all this pother about *them*? Why doesn't Germany worry about those other Germans similarly stranded and far more repressed in the Italian Tyrol?).

Quite a number of people believe that there will be no war now because Germany could never have succeeded except in a short war, and all these delays have made such a war impossible. France has had time to decide on her line of action. England has made it perfectly clear that she will not allow France to be defeated. Russia is already credited with gun-running. America, in spite of her Neutrality Acts and her Jonson Acts, would lend her powerful aid if Germany made this war which is unnecessary on all counts and denounced by general opinion the whole world over. It is as if the Czechs were unwilling to make concessions. They have proposed concessions which they will be hard put to it to justify to their own peoples. It is not as if there were a third party on the spot, as there is in Lord Runciman, to formulate an agreement which is honourable to all parties. No, if Germany makes war now it will be because she wants war—and everyone knows that and knows who the verdict if history will be on the Nazis.

It would indeed be a reckless gamble if Germany were to begin this war. Times have changed since Italy was able to annex Abyssinia, since Germany over-ran Austria. Even since both Italy and Germany began to intervene in Spain! They thought that England was decadent and they could do as they liked. (They have done as they liked in the matter of bombing British ships trading to Spain and that, no doubt, misled them.) But if they had reflected a little more deeply on the course of English history they would have noted that

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England can never afford to allow any one Power to become too strong on the continent. There always comes a time when she realises that a stand will have to be made. France, also, for that matter, and whatever the odds against her—and in the present situation in Spain and the Mediterranean there are odds to reckon with—is of the same opinion. Indeed few things have been more impressive than France's calm and clear pronouncement on her present case. Said M. Daladier:

"Two possible courses, were open to France. One was to ensure respect of her undertakings and continue to appear before the world as a great nation. The other was to draw back into a sort of neutrality and take no interest in outside events. The first of these courses was the one he had chosen and intended to follow."

Could the issue be better expressed?

All things considered, and contradictory and paradoxical as it may be, we are back in the world of Mr. Eden though Mr. Chamberlain (and the Cliveden set) might not subscribe to that conclusion! Mr. Eden was thrown to the wolves because he believed and said that the time had come to stand up to the Dictators. Because he believed that if such a stand were made Geneva, the nations would rally behind France and England. Everything he said is proving true. As the Americans, who as onlookers see most of the game, are remarking:

"The aggressor nations have profited by hesitancy and divided counsels among other Powers. They have been able to pick off their victims one by one, because it was plain that no hand would restrain them. *Now a new concept seems to be dawning—or rather, the betrayed principle of collective security is being resuscitated . . .*"

All the same, if and when the present crisis passes, can we hope for a revival of the League of Nations? The logic of events may have resuscitated it for a moment, but the same men who betrayed it—the Chamberlains and the Simons will still be in power. In their desire to let the Dictators down gently, will they not send it into cold storage again? One can only hope that events will continue to keep the idea alive. Perhaps France, who in her time has made good use and bad use of the League, will see to it that the present opportunity is not allowed to pass.

It would be a tragic waste of the moment, an *affirmative* moment in which all peoples of goodwill are on the side of the democracies, if a determined effort were not made now to bring the Spanish Civil War to a conclusion. Once the threat of a German-provoked world war is passed no reason can remain for indifference to this other war, especially since, with its German and Italian intervention, it has admittedly been largely a dress-rehearsal for the possible world war. Or rather it has been not so much a dress-rehearsal as a preliminary campaign. In this campaign Germany and Italy hoped to obtain such strategic positions as would (taken in conjunction with the re-fortification of the Rhineland) tie up the French army at her frontiers and in the Mediterranean make the convoy of troops difficult for both France and England. So successful have they imagined themselves to be, so delighted at the way in which Mr. Chamberlain has turned a blind eye to their wave after wave of intervention, that they had come to believe that the world war would not be necessary. England, so determinedly their "friend," even to the extent of refusing to protect her own merchantmen against their cynical depredations, would never have the courage to stand up to them in their next phase. England and France (since in their foreign policy they act as one) would stand aside and let a triumphant Germany trample as she chose over Eastern Europe. Such was the general impression. As a Hungarian, for instance, picked on by a news correspondent to give the impression of the man in the street, remarked the other day:

"We thought for some years that Britain was in decay. We don't think so now."

(For how long have they thought Britain in decay? Is it since the present National Government came into power, and betrayed successively China, Abyssinia, and Spain?).

Mr. Chamberlain must be as sick of the word Spain as ever Mr. Baldwin was sick of the word Coal. He has only one and a *fixed idea* on that subject, that nothing must be done to displease Italy there and so interfere with his Anglo-Italian Agreement. Because Mr. Eden believed that any Anglo-Italian Agreement should be negotiated after Italy had ceased to intervene in Spain, rather than as a bribe while she was still intervening, Mr. Chamberlain got rid of Mr. Eden. To confound Mr. Eden in the House of Commons, he triumphantly assured the House that he had just heard that Signor Mussolini had agreed to the British plan for the withdrawal of the "volunteers" in Spain. To-day, weeks and weeks after the departure of Mr. Eden and that assurance, we know that General Franco has rejected the British plan on the instructions of Signor Mussolini. We know more, that Signor Mussolini has shown himself capable of the utmost perfidy. He no

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longer pretends to conceal his intervention in Spain. He sends his reinforcements and, when questioned in the matter, replies that this is no new intervention, it is merely *filling up the gaps made* in his troops.

So the coming into force of the Anglo-Italian Agreement is as far off as ever, but the price of it has been staggering. The Committee of British Shipowners Trading to Spain have just issued some figures. Fifty British seamen have been killed by Franco's aeroplanes and a hundred and twenty seriously wounded. During the last six months alone eighty-six British ships have been attacked. In hard cash the losses are estimated at £3,500,000.

But the worst feature of it all, of course, is the injustice to Republican Spain. While Germany and Italy have been free to intervene with their aeroplanes and their men and their guns, the Spanish Government have had to fend for themselves unable even to buy arms from France and England—since France and England have scrupulously observed their so-called Non-Intervention undertaking. And, ultimate injustice, they have not been able even to buy arms elsewhere latterly, since, on the representations of England, anxious as ever to do nothing to displease Italy, the French Government has closed its Spanish frontier.

Surely no expediency can justify such injustices! Wrongs like that will one day like chickens come home to roost . . . But the Chamberlains, with their fixed idea about Italy, seem even now to close their eyes to what they are doing in Spain. Only the other day, it was reported, Lady (Austen) Chamberlain had been feted at Burgos, the headquarters of General Franco's Government.

Yet Italy's mischief making, and mischief making which has no other object than to make things difficult for England, shows no signs of abating. Her latest crime is, of course, her decrees outlawing all the Jews who have settled in Italy since the war and, as regards Jews in general in Italy, excluding them from Italian schools, whether as teachers or pupils, and from all "academic, literary and artistic councils." The first reaction to this with most people was that this was but one more proof of Italy's growing subservience to Germany, a subservience she could not avoid from the moment when Herr Hitler marched into Austria and became her powerful neighbour. But it is not as simple as that. The Jews as ever are but a scapegoat. This latest move on the part of Italy is meant to have far-reaching effects. And the real Powers struck at are France in North Africa and Britain and America in Palestine.

Signor Mussolini, we know, has lost prestige in his own and in Italian eyes through the long delay in implementing the Anglo-Italian Agreement. It does not become a Dictator to be kept waiting in this fashion. According a few weeks ago he began to press for a conclusion of the Agreement without this waiting for a "settlement" in Spain. But on this point, at least, opinion in England is too strong for Mr. Chamberlain. So Signor Mussolini then upon began to use threats as to what Britain might expect if she remained in this mood. He might, he said, "be obliged to resume his liberty of action" in the Moslem world. *And that is exactly what he is now doing.*

For some years now Signor Mussolini, the Dictator who once claimed the gratitude of Catholics everywhere for making peace between the Italian State and the Papacy, has assumed the role of Protector of the Moslem World. He saw that by playing such a role in North Africa he could eat away at the French interest there. He saw that by championing the Arabs in Palestine, by subsidising terror, he could make things difficult for Britain who has to administer the Mandate. One Arab leader is reported to have stated that they have available in Palestine an enrolled force of 15,000 men and all the arms they require, so that they can get more! Thanks largely to mischievous Italian activities, matters are coming to a head in Palestine. Partition is to come and with it the setting up of an independent Jewish State. That Jewish State will be on good terms with Britain and the United States—and so it suits the Italian Dictator to make trouble for it in advance by swelling the numbers of Jewish refugees. Indeed, the Jewish State will be of the utmost strategic importance and a perpetual irritant to the Italian Dictator who would like to rule the waves at the end of the Mediterranean.

It only remains to point out that a contingent of Arabs is attending the Nazi Congress at Nuremberg . . . And so, however the present war scare resolves itself, there are webs and webs of German and Italian scheming across the path of France and Britain and America.

But the democracies hold all the cards only they had the wit to realise it! The smaller States in Europe cannot stand on their own feet. That has been proved over and again. They must revolve around some Power. But that arouses the rivalry of

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ther Great Power—and there seems no end to he tug-of-war, no end to the restlessness and eming. A Little Entente may form itself in rope and for a time create the impression at as a bloc of some 50,000,000 peoples it can ntrol its own future. But soon it is revolving und France. Then a Balkan Entente arises, th the same laudable intention in the begin- g of casting off the yoke of the Great wers. It is actually originated by one of the embers of the Little Entente. But soon it so is revolving around a Great Power—this e the Berlin-Rome axis. And so what does e poor remains of the Little Entente, or to be re exact its most vulnerable member, echo-Slovakia, do? It draws closer to Russia. d the only result of these ententes is that e small States are back where they started: h Germany and Russia glaring across them each other.

France must surely have awakened to the that there is no lasting security to be had ough the method of ententes. There is no urity but *collective security*.

If France and Britain, with the moral pport of the United States, begin a back-to- League movement, they will show them- ves able to grasp the present opportunity— d opportunity that may not come again. If cannot bring to an end now the German d Italian war menace in Central Europe and e Mediterranean, we will have scotch'd the ake, not killed it, even though we may pre- nt it from striking for the moment.

The democracies hold all the cards for two asons. In the first place, world opinion is on eir side. In the second, they have all the sources. Italy may make war on Abyssinia; pan may make war on China; Germany may eam of her hegemony in Europe. But Italy nnot develop Abyssinia without credits; nor pan develop China; nor Germany make war ome critics say) for more than a *few weeks* the present state of her finances.

The German hegemony of Europe is a ghtmare to all the Eastern States in Europe. one of them really cares for Germany. The azis with their jack boots and their persecu- on of everyone who thinks differently, whether be Jew or Christian, have seen to that. Nor e Nazi methods of obtaining economic control ything but repellent. They have no money th which to make loans to Balkan countries. at they have devised a clever system of anipulating their clearing arrangements in such a way as to tie these unfortunate people indefinitely to their chariot wheels. One trick, perhaps the meanest and the cleverest, is this. Germany buys far more from a Balkan State than such a State could buy from her. It sounds a good idea to the Balkan State. But when the Balkan exporters ask for payment they are told there is not enough money in the clearing account to pay them. The Balkan State must go on buying German goods until the discrepancy is wiped out! According to Mr. Vernon Bartlett in fact Governments have had to intervene in order to pay their exporters—and Rumania even had to inflate in order to do so.

There seems a field then in the Balkans for British and French and any other proper loans. And especially, it appears, in Rumania. There is a lot to be said, on every count, for giving assistance to Rumania. Situated as she is, it is the easiest thing in the world for reactionaries in that country to raise the Bolshevik bogey. Nothing might bring such an access to Balkan stability as a prosperous Rumania. It is said that she is potentially one of the richest countries in Europe. "According to geologists, no more than 10 per cent of her mineral wealth has yet been tapped."

It is Rumania, or economic control of Rumania, that Germany is out for. That is why she is so hostile to Czecho-Slovakia. Czecho-Slovakia has the temerity to bar her way—and to call in Russia to help bar the way. In the coming days it will be interesting to see what becomes of this Russian protection. Will Czecho-Slovakia be forced or beguiled into giving it up? The Germans themselves make no secret of their determination to get rid of Russian "interference." It is the Russian question which has induced the Sudeten Germans, or the extremists amongst them, to assert that they must have a voice (and they mean a determining voice) in Czecho-Slovakia's foreign policy. They will, if they can, make Czecho-Slovakia revolve round Germany. This was nakedly stated the other day in the German paper *Boersen Zeitung*. It complains:

> "Czecho-Slovakia has usurped the functions of pointer on the scales of the European balance of power and attempted to be a bulwark against the so-called German 'Drang nach Osten' . . ."

We will not quarrel with this description of Czecho-Slovakia's tragedy.

Westminster, London
September 3, 1938

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published. —EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

THE STATUTE OF WESTMINSTER AND DOMINION STATUS: *By K. C. Wheare. Oxford University Press, Oxford, Calcutta, Bombay. Price 10s. net.*

In this volume the author has not attempted an exhaustive examination of the Statute of Westminster, 1931, or of Dominion Status. He has performed the narrower task of explaining what are the effects of the Statute of Westminster upon Dominion Status, which "have often been exaggerated and are occasionally the subject of controversy." So far as India is concerned the subject, though deserving of study and can with advantage be studied from this book, is at present merely of academic interest. For, it is clear from the parliamentary debates and Blue Books preceding the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, as well as from that Act itself, that it is not the intention of the British Parliament and politicians that India should have the status of the Dominions, not to speak of the status of fully independent countries. There is only one sentence in the book, page 90, in which the word India occurs with reference to the classes of persons who can become members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The book contains a table of cases and a table of statutes, and chapters on law and convention, Dominion Status in 1926 (I & II), the special case of the Irish Free State, the scope of the Statute, the Statute and the United Kingdom Parliament, and separate chapters on the Statute and the legal status of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Newfoundland, South Africa and the Irish Free State respectively, a chapter on the Statute and the Monarchy. There is a concluding chapter, in which the author's summing up is that "The Statute of Westminster forms a part and not the whole of the body of rules, legal and non-legal. which define Dominion Status." There are four appendixes containing—The Colonial Laws Validity Act. 1865; The Statute of Westminster, 1931; The Status ol the Union Act, 1934; and The Statute of Westminster Adoption Bill 1937, (Australia).

EMPIRE SOCIAL HYGIENE YEAR-BOOK, 1938-39. *Preface by Mrs. C. Neville-Rolfe, O.B.E., and Dr. T. Drummond Shiels, M. C. Prepared by the British Social Hygiene Council Inc. London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd. 15s. net.*

This is the fifth edition of this useful year-book. In addition to relevant statistics and other information drawn from official sources, the United Kingdom section (occupying the greater portion of the volume) is amplified by a series of authoritative articles on health services, illegitimacy, blind and deaf persons, cripples, ma[illegible] and child welfare, housing, marriage laws, ju[illegible] delinquency and probation, prostitution and ve[illegible] disease, mental illness, mental defectives, tuberc[illegible] education, training in citizenship, and the like. As m[illegible] aspects of social hygiene cannot be satisfactorily pur[illegible] without reference to their international setting, the[illegible] a special section outlining international action in re[illegible] to the welfare of the mercantile marine, the cam[illegible] against traffic in women, the work of the health [illegible] labour organizations, the film, etc.

For England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ire[illegible] statistics are given on all the heads for all counties [illegible] county boroughs. Infant mortality rates are g[illegible] separately for legitimate and illegitimate births. [illegible] indicates that unmarried motherhood is rather co[illegible] but it also is a proof of the humanity which takes [illegible] of illegitimate children. They are not secretly got r[illegible] or seriously neglected.

The information given for other parts of the Em[illegible] including India, is not of course as elaborate as th[illegible] the United Kingdom.

The following figures of the incidence of ve[illegible] diseases in the British Army and the Indian Arm[illegible] India for the year 1935 (the latest given for both [illegible] instructive: British Army—gonorrhœa 25.8 per thou[illegible] syphilis 6 per thousand, soft chancre 6.8 per thou[illegible] Indian Army—gonorrhoea 4.6 per thousand, syphili[illegible] per thousand, soft chancre 1.8 per thousand.

UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII CATALOGUE: [illegible] *the University of Hawaii Bulletin for April [illegible] Pp. 253.*

It contains the Register of Faculty and Student[illegible] 1937-1938 and Announcement of Courses for 1938-[illegible] For a comparatively new University like that of Ha[illegible] the variety and number of courses in various subjects [illegible] truly surprising to those who know how few are [illegible] courses in Indian universities, relatively speaking.

GIRLS' EDUCATION IN INDIA (*In the Secon[illegible] and Collegiate Stages*). *By Miss Jyotiprabha Das[illegible] M.A., B.T., T.D. (London), Viharilal Mitra [illegible] Published by the University of Calcutta.*

Miss Jyotiprabha Dasgupta was entrusted by [illegible] Calcutta University with the work of visiting the im[illegible] institutions for the education of girls in the di[illegible] provinces and the more important Indian States, a[illegible] asked to submit a report thereafter. Her report is [illegible] us. She did her duty with assiduity. The [illegible] is lucid, interesting and informative. It shows cle[illegible] judgment and the power of sober criticism. Clear p[illegible] and a number of illustrations add to the attractiven[illegible] volume. Those who intend to start new institution[illegible]

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...s' education, as well as those who have been conducting ...tutions already in existence may read this report with ...ntage.

MASARYK ON THOUGHT AND LIFE: *Conversa-...s with Karel Capek. Translated from the Czech by ... & R. Weatherall. George Allen and Unwin, London. ...6d. net.*

Readers of *The Modern Review* know who Masaryk ...and what he did. Son of a coachman, apprenticed in ...shed to a blacksmith, he received the advantage of ...versity education and became university professor of ...osophy. But he was also a realist idealist. He took ...prominent part in the struggle for the independence of ...country, and was the liberator, father and creator of ...choslovakian Republic. He was its first President. In ...e conversations with Karel Capek the late President ...aryk speaks with simplicity and intimacy of his own ...n and philosophy which guided him throughout his ...and active life. They cover a wide range of subjects ...ory of knowledge, metaphysics, religion, christianity, ...so-called cultural conflict, politics, nation. Those who ...of a philosophical or religious turn of mind will prize ...majority of chapters printed first. The chapters on ...ics and "nation" will appeal to others most. But in ...also Masaryk appears as an idealist-realist who had ...in the core of religion. *His insistence on both ...ual and cultural endeavours should* convey a lesson ...our leading political speakers and workers and their ...owers.

IDENTIFICATION OF HAWAIIAN PLANTS: *A ...to the Families of Dicotyledons of the Hawaiian ...ds, Descriptions of the Families, and List of the ...ern. By Harold St. John and F. Raymond Fosberg, ...ersity of Hawaii, Honolulu.*

The title of the booklet is a sufficient indication of its ...ents. It will undoubtedly be of considerable use to ...ents of botany in the Hawaii Islands. There ought ...be similar publications by Indian universities for ...al use.

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE'S INDIAN LETTERS. ...ed by Priyaranjan Sen. Illustrated, and with notes ...ppendix. Pp. 67 duodecimo. Published by Mihir ...ar Sen, 1, Dover Lane, Calcutta.

Florence Nightingale deservedly enjoys world-wide ...e for her work for the relief and treatment of the ...ded in the Crimean war and as having assisted in ...ing the Red Cross Society. She formed an institu-...for the training of nurses and gave valuable help in ...reform of army hospitals. So far as India is con-...ed she had been hitherto known as the authoress of ...or Death in India. The letters under notice reveal ...therto unknown aspect of her personality, namely, ...deep interest in the welfare of the poverty-stricken ...ants of India. The sub-title of the book indicates ...it gives "a glimpse into the agitation for tenancy ...rm, Bengal, 1878-1882." The letters show her shrewd-...s integrity, practical compassion, and understanding of ...condition of the peasants. In a full introduction the ...or discusses the problems with which the letters deal.

CAPITAL (KARL MARX'S FAMOUS WORK): *A Critical ...ysis of Capitalist Production, translated from the ...d German edition by Samuel Moore and Edward ...ling and edited by Frederick Engels. A photographic ...int of the stereotyped edition of 1889, with a ...plement including changes made by Engels in the ...rth German edition, and his preface to that edition, ...notes, Marx's preface to the French edition, and notes on the English edition; edited and translated by Dona Torr. Medium 8vo., pp. xxxi+882. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8s. 6d. net.*

Karl Marx, the founder of international socialism, requires no introduction. The name of his epoch-making book *Kapital* is known to many by repute who have not read or even seen it. The publishers have brought it within their reach in a handy form and at a moderate price. The translation given in the volume is the only one edited by Engels. For the first time the translation has a complete List of Authorities, based on that prepared by the Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute of Moscow.

"Since the beginning of literature few books have been written like the first volume of Marx's *Kapital*. It is premature to offer any definitive judgment on his work as revolutionary thinker and agitator, because that is still very far from completion. There need, however, be no hesitation in saying that he, incomparably more than any other man, has influenced the labour movement all over the civilized world; his theories have in a thousand ways already penetrated the different strata of society, even the highest, but most of all the working classes. It may also be safely said that his views can have any hope of realization only after very extensive modification. In many respects the analysis of the economic development of modern society has been justified by subsequent events, but in many also it has been falsified; and it could be shown that he has left out of account some of the decisive factors in social development."

Marx tells us in his preface that the final aim of his great work is to reveal the economic law that moves modern society. He was a man of uncommon knowledge, which he used with masterly skill. To those who understand his terminology, his style is lucid and powerful, though also sometimes tedious owing to the minuteness of his exposition. The march of his thought is enlivened by humour, severe invective, and flashes of light from the most unexpected quarters.

D.

THE SNAKES OF INDIA: *By Lieut.-Colonel K. G. Gharpurey, I.M.S. Published by The Popular Book Depot, Lamington Road, Grant Road, Bombay 7. Pages 165. Price Rs. 3.*

A book like this should have been reviewed by an expert on snakes, though we are not sure if such a reviewer could be easily found. A lay man sees in it a description of the physiology and habits of life of snakes, specially those of India. There is a chapter at the end of the book on 'A World Survey of Dangerous Snakes' from the pen of another writer. We have a classification of snakes into land-snakes, tree-snakes, sea-snakes, &c. There is also a chapter on the treatment of snake-bite and another on protection against snakes. These chapters contain useful, though not absolutely new, information for people living in snake-infested areas. When one remembers that about 20,000 people die every year of snake-bite in British India alone, the value of such information cannot be over-estimated.

There are several illustrations in the book. These, however, as the author himself admits, are not always very clear, 'as they represent specimens of snakes preserved in spirit' (p. ii).

While giving some general information about snakes, the author says: "Nearly all snakes are *cannibals*, that is, they eat other snakes and even those of their own kind" (p. 4; *Cf.* also p. 129). Ordinarily, a cannibal is 'one who eats *human* flesh'. An *animal* feeding on its own species is also sometimes called cannibal; but is this use really very common?

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Snakes, we are told, have no external ear, and hence, 'sounds conducted through the air are not heard by them' (p. 7). And we are further told that one Col. Wall, I.M.S. has conclusively proved this (p. 50). But sounds conducted through solids are heard by snakes. The proposition laid down here is not free from ambiguity. What is sound, after all? Is any vibration that reaches the body sound? And are snakes really unable to hear the flute of the charmer?

Chapter XXXIV (Hindu Mythology: Snakes and Folklore) is rather scanty and could be considerably enriched by more copious references to the ancient literature on snakes, Sanskrit as well as vernacular. Snakes and their controlling deity occupy a considerable section of early Bengali literature.

No one can deny that the Seducer of Eve and the sinister enemy of man deserves study. We congratulate the author on his venture. He has given us an interesting book.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISE IN INDIA: *By Nabagopal Das, Ph.D. (Econ.) (London), I.C.S. Published by Oxford University Press, 1938. Pages 174. Price Rs. 7.*

During the last few years, the problem of industrial development in India has loomed large in all public discussions and the facts and factors that have been found to stand in the way of progress have been widely studied by economists and businessmen. The book under review by Dr. N. G. Das of the Indian Civil Service critically analyses the points of defects and drawbacks that have so far retarded industrial progress in India. The author at the outset deals with the various defects in Indian money conditions in its relation to the financing of industries. He very rightly points out the hindrances in our "System" of Government domination over the money market owing to their rigid control of currency and credit, resulting in a lack of elasticity and stability of the monetary conditions. The establishment of the Reserve Bank of India to a certain extent improved the position, but still, it has much to depend on the Governmental policy. Author's study of the English, American and German system of banking and industrial finance and his suggestions towards reforming the Indian system, deserves careful consideration. In dealing with the system of managing agency, although the author has very little to say, he has nevertheless studied the whole problem from economic and objective point of view. He has also pointed out at great length the very many malpractices in our industrial system. Dr. Das has emphasised, which will be subscribed by all sound thinking men, that economic welfare of a nation depends not so much on the quantity of progress as on the quality of the economic organisations. The book will undoubtedly prove useful.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

INDIAN STATES AND THE NEW REGIME: *By Maharaj-Kumar Raghubir Singh, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., with a Foreword by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, K.C.I.E. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons, and Co., Cloth bound; Pp. xxviii + 469. Price Rs. 10.*

The learned author of the book is no other than the heir-apparent of the Sitamau State in Central India. A work on the new federal constitution of India from the pen of a member of the princely order itself is bound to be of considerable interest to all students of Indian constitutional history. The author has given a masterly survey of the developments relating to the Indian States prior to the passing of the Government of India Act of 1935; and it is refreshing to find that he has taken a sober and dispassionate attitude in his [illegible] of the part played by the Indian Princes in the [illegible] shaping of the federal constitution. The comm[illegible] on the new Government of India Act is detailed [illegible] as critical, and gives evidence of the writer's gr[illegible] the legal and political implications of the federal [illegible] embodied in the new constitution. The author [illegible] shown commendable judgment and breadth of view [illegible] his bold criticism of the attitude of the so-[illegible] smaller Princes who have managed to capture [illegible] Chamber today; and his scheme for strengthening [illegible] reorganizing the Chamber is exceedingly interesting [illegible] deserves close attention of everyone concerned. [illegible] cordially welcome this valuable addition to the liter[illegible] on the Indian States.

NANDALAL CHATTER[illegible]

THE MALERS OF THE RAJMAHAL HI[illegible] *By Sasanka Sekhar Sarkar. Published by The [illegible] Company Ltd., Calcutta. 1938. Pp. XI+129.*

This is a short monograph on the Malers, [illegible] Dravidian speaking tribe living in the Rajmahal, Pa[illegible] and Godda sub-divisions of the Santal Parganas d[illegible] in Bihar. The Malers appear to have moved away [illegible] their original moorings in these parts in compari[illegible] recent times and their contacts with the Hindu po[illegible] tion in the neighbourhood have introduced signi[illegible] changes in their social and economic organi[illegible] There are six short but readable chapters on ge[illegible] considerations, appearance, domestic life, social orga[illegible] tion, ceremonials, religious and magical practices. [illegible] an introduction which sets forth many of the [illegible] conclusions and four brief appendices which com[illegible] the account.

The author points out the cultural differences be[illegible] the Oraons and the Malers and concludes that [illegible] Malers and the Oraons are two independent Dra[illegible] speaking people and they never came into contact [illegible] one another and that the Malers are the autochth[illegible] inhabitants of these hills to which place they are [illegible] confined to in the face of their gradual extinction [illegible] are one of the earliest remnants of the pre-Drav[illegible] in this region." The evidences he has put forw[illegible] not however support his conclusion. He says that [illegible] first thing that strikes one is that the Oraon re[illegible] is essentially communal or tribal whereas the [illegible] religion is purely individualistic (p. 10)." In pa[illegible] commenting on the Maler religion, he says, [illegible] communal worship is done by the village he[illegible] (Manjhee) and in case of individual calamity the [illegible] himself performs the worship." The absence of [illegible] clan system among the Malers has been cited [illegible] author as proof of cultural difference between them [illegible] the Oraons who possess the clan system. In pa[illegible] he writes, "there is a prevailing belief among [illegible] these Paharias that Samria is their clan. Partic[illegible] the Munshi of Karambi explained to the author [illegible] the Paharias are divided into Samria, Malpaharia [illegible] Kumarbagh sections—these he claimed to be d[illegible] like the Santal clans." Writing about the [illegible] cultural outlook of the Malers the author was un[illegible] 'whether the same sort of disintegration has [illegible] occurred with the clan system of these people. A[illegible] who has lived with primitive groups for any le[illegible] time knows how fast social institutions are bein[illegible] integrated among them.

The territorial organization found among the [illegible] their love of finery and flowers, the excessive bri[illegible] which make it difficult for people to marry and settle [illegible] the customs and rites connected with birth, name [illegible]

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marriage and death, the institution of village dormitory among them and the agricultural practices commonly met with unmistakably affiliates them to the Munda-Dravidian cultural pattern. It is only in their religious life that the Malers show some divergent practices but knowing as we do, the contacts these people have with neighbouring Hindu and Hinduised tribal groups, it is no wonder that foreign names have been adopted by them to designate their clan and tribal deities. The evidences provided by the author do not justify the assumption of independent origin of religious traits, for whatever rites and customs may have been borrowed by the Malers, their attitude to these, in other words, the configuration of their culture has not been tremendously affected.

From 1901 to 1931, the Malers have increased from 7,066 to 59,891. Does it show that 'the tribe is becoming gradually extinct'? 'The fecundity of the Maria women seem to be low when compared with those residing in the plains,' p. 71. This statement is important and is expected in a dying tribe, but no data have been cited by the author in support of this conclusion. The 11 genealogical charts do not make a representative sample on which to base the generalization. Investigations into size of families and the fertility rates are necessary before we can accept this. In one page (p. 8) the author writes, "They (Oraons) are roughly an agricultural people and the temporary interment of the dead bodies are due to the lands being under the crops." Does he mean that the custom of burial is a fertility rite or does he mean that land for burial is not available when lands are under crops? He says that 'unmarried girls above the age of 20 are not with among the Malers' but during the long experience of the author, he could get only three cases of these were either deformed, decrepit or guilty of sexual lapses.

Malers are not a primitive people. They represent a blended culture where rites and customs introduced from highly organized societies have mixed with those of primitive or infantile character. It is not a closed one either as interpenetration of culture traits is still going on. It is therefore difficult to distinguish the alien traits from the indigenous ones. Many of the new traits referred to as characteristic of the Maler culture are introduced from alien sources and grafted on their indigenous stem. These are, however the limitations of a monographic method applied to a study of blended cultures and we sympathise with the author in his difficulties. A study of the cultural changes that have taken place would be an important contribution to our knowledge of culture contacts and acculturation. The author may take it up with advantage as he is eminently qualified to do so.

The book is otherwise well written and the author has given evidence of his earnest and careful investigations.

D. N. MAJUMDAR

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RIGVEDIC PANTHEON: *Srimati Akhsaya Kumari Devi. Published by Bijaya Krishna Brothers. 31, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Pages 212. Price Re. 1.*

In this book, as its name implies, the authoress has traced the origin and evolution of as many as 86 deities of the pantheon of the Rigveda, including Buddha, Vishnava and Mahavir. To the Vedic people the stars also were objects of adoration like the sun and the moon; so the majority of Rigvedic divinities were deified stars. The study is based on comparative philology and mythology. It is interesting to know how the conceptions of the gods have evolved through different stages from time to time. Brahman, for example, meant praise, prayer or priest in the Samhita. More than two hundred times this word has been used as prayer or praise in the Rigveda. In the *Aitereya Brahman* it means Holiness and in the Upanishad only it has been identified with the Ultimate Reality.

It must be said to the credit of the authoress that she has succeeded in discovering similar conceptions of Babylonian, Egyptian and Avestic gods thus pointing out clearly the cultural intercourse that must have existed among the ancient nations.

One conclusion of the authoress will, I am afraid, appear startling to a section of the readers. In her opinion, the genesis of *Om*, the sound-symbol of Reality, is not Vedic or Indian but Egyptian for she says that *Om* is not even once found in the Rigveda. There in the sacred Gayatri too is without *Om* which has been added to it much later. As there is an Egyptian god called *Om* representing eternity and immortality, it is very likely, observes the authoress, that *Om* has been adopted from Egyptian mythology.

Original references to the Rigveda and other Vedic literature have enhanced the value and the importance of the book.

We congratulate the learned authoress on her success in this new publication which seems to have surpassed all her previous works in many respects. Few Hindu women of our times have produced such a scholarly book as the one under review.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

VEDA AND VEDANTA: *By Ernest P. Horrwitz. Published by the Advaita Ashrama. Price Rs. 2.*

In this book the author has embodied a series of his lectures delivered at the University of Bombay. In some of the lectures the author has sought to construct a history of the Aryans in the Arctic region as well as of their expansion; while, in the rest, he dealt with the Indian religion and philosophy. His treatment of philosophy consists in vague generalisations clothed in a grandiose style; and his history is based chiefly on philological assumptions. The account of the *Narasimhas*, mighty heroes possessing lion's strength and engaged in bloody battles with the (seven) great polar bears, as well as the story of the exodus of the heroes from the ice-bound north to the Himalayan region, full of Jujube (Badari) trees, are instances to the point.

In order probably to show his originality the author has often done violence to established tradition. Badarayana, we are told, was not originally the name of an acharya but of a school at Badara; Gaudapada is made one of the band of the Gauda Brahmins, who smuggled the 'Buddhist heresy' into the Vedanta; while his disciple, Acharya Govinda, is named Bhagabatpada. These and similar other uncorroborated statements naturally raise doubts in the minds of the readers as to the competency of the author to speak on the philosophy and religion of India. The irrelevent references to Vivekananda are apt illustrations of what is known as the fallacy of *Argumentum ad Hominum.*

SIVA-MAHIMNA STOTRAM: *Edited by Swami Pabitrananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, 4, Wellington Lane, Calcutta. Price annas five only.*

This is a nice edition of the famous hymn, with word notes and English translation. The printing is good and the translation fairly accurate.

ISANCHANDRA RAY

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THE INDIAN INCOME-TAX (AMENDMENT) BILL, 1938: ITS SCOPE AND EFFECT: By *Raghupati Ghatak, M.A., M.L. Calcutta, 1938. Price Rs. 3.*

This timely publication provides a running commentary, clause by clause, on the Income Tax Amendment Bill now before the Central Legislature. Mr. Ghatak's book deserves to be widely read, both in view of the great changes contemplated in the Bill and on its own merits. The author has referred, in appropriate places, to the relevant provisions of English law and practice, on which a number of the contemplated changes are based, and has very cogently commented, where necessary, on the differences between England and this country in these matters. The book contains, besides, references to the case-law on the subject and to those court decisions in view of which it has become incumbent to make revisions in the existing law. On the important issue relating to the vesting of Income-Tax officers with wide powers for penalising assessees who fail to make the statutory return of income, Mr. Ghatak points out that the Bill goes much beyond the English law, and that it would involve an amount of trouble to tax-prayers and to the administrative authorities, hardly commensurate with the financial results likely to be achieved. His comments on these inquisitorial provisions are indeed mildly worded. We cannot however, agree with his view that "To define 'Income' by an enumeration of particular cases, inconsistent with the fundamental principles of English Jurisprudence, as developed by great jurists, is sure to lead to difficulties in future," for, in the first place, there is no practicable alternative to it, and, in the second place, this is the usual practice in most countries. In fact, difficulties would of course arise, but they are unavoidable. Mr. Ghatak's observations on the provision for the joint assessment of husband and wife on their individual incomes deserve careful consideration by the legislators. He points out that the proposed amendment goes against the Law of *Stridhan* in Hindu Law, the Law of Dower in Mahomedan Law, and the Married Women's Property Act, 1883, and he cites the British Royal Commission on the Income Tax, 1920, against too sweeping an application of the joint assessment principle. Mr. Ghatak doubts whether any advantage will result from the 'carrying forward of losses' contemplated in the Bill, but he does not seem to have dealt with the question adequately. The need for such a provision was recognized by the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee, 1925, and the present Bill has been worded so as to extend the benefit to the income from professions and vocations, the reservations embodied being necessitated by practical considerations. The general public would have welcomed a more extended discussion of the "Slab" system.

On the whole, the author is to be complimented on his able discussion of the Bill, written in such a short span of time.

P. CHAKRABARTY

THE ARYA MARRIAGE VALIDATION ACT, XIX of 1937, *with appendices. By C. L. Mathur, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), B.Sc. (Panj.). Barrister-at-Law, Reader, Law College, Lahore. Published by The University Book Agency, Law Book-sellers. Kacheri Road, Lahore. Price Re. 1.*

This Act has been placed on the Statute Book in order to legalise inter-caste marriages among Arya Samajists and to confer validity on such marriages celebrated prior to the Act.

During the last seventy years Social Reformers have been waging a ceaseless war against the Institution of Caste and as the out-come of this movement several have been passed by the Indian Legislature for facilitating inter-caste marriages amongst the Hindus, and last Act of the series is the Arya Marriage Validation Act of 1937. The question of inter-marriages among various castes has for some time been seriously agitating the minds of the younger generation. Tradition and some extent public opinion amongst Hindus of the generation have been fighting against this innovation but the greatest obstacle was the legal one. difficulty has now been completely removed in the of Arya Samajists by the Act of 1937. This Act clearly defined the position of the Arya Samajists in Hindu social system by giving statutory recognition the same by the said Act. According to this Act, Arya Samajists have been classed as Hindus.

The learned author has very clearly dealt with whole subject in a very able manner and has reproduced all the Acts relating to this subject in the book review. We thank the learned author for giving historical summary of the legislation from the beginning.

JITENDRANATH BOSE

LOVE SONNETS AND OTHER POEMS: By *Krishnamurti. Published by Basil Blackwell, Oxford. 56. Price not stated.*

This neatly got-up little book contains a sequence of unrhymed sonnets followed by a number of other poems. One wonders why a poet who chooses such inelastic verse-form as the sonnet shies at the bondage of rhyme, especially as Mr. Krishnamurti seem to obtain quite pleasing effects with his verses though the theme is often slight enough and the conclusions even banal sometimes. Only occasionally a sparkling figure or an unusual but apt simile calls forth that poignant delight which is, or should be, the raison *d'etre* of lyrical poetry.

It is satisfying to realize that though writing English Mr. Krishnamurti is thoroughly Indian in spirit. It is the virgin simplicity of a Hindu faith as well a Hindu charity that gives a touch of pathos to many his poems. Perhaps the best example of his poetry his shortest poem 'Quest':

I came to seek my love
My love has found me
My morning dream clouds are chased
By the blue of eternity.

THIS CIVILIZATION: *By P. R. Kaikini. Published by New Book Company, Kitab Mahal, Bombay. Pages 44. Price 1-8.*

The dominant colour in this little collection of poems is a murky grey. Most of the poems affect a very bad disillusionment of the postwar type, and some also on the diagrammatic form in which the European war generation sought to piece together its shattered emotional apparatus. Michael Roberts speaks, with high approbation, of Kaikini's verse as being 'different most of the Indian poetry I have seen': the difference lies in the fact that there is precious little here that characteristically Indian, except the author's passionate sense of right and wrong and his intense moral horror the ruthlessness of modern civilization—neither of which, by the way, accord very well with the pose of cynical detachment which he inherits from his western predecessors. Not only the thought but even the imagery is foreign—the peasant girl takes 'bacon and bread and butter and tea' and talks brave love-words after D. Lawrence.

The sophisticated, however, will respond enthusiastically

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ally to some of the poems—*Slaughter House, The Pit, Workshop* expressing the dazed confusion of modern life; *Arab Woman* with its forceful epigrammatic conclusion:

In return
She receives
Devoted protection
Enough food
Enough work
Unremitting love
And a child every summer—

and one or two other pieces.

S. H. V.

BENGALI

SHISHU-BHARATI: *Eight Volumes, from Volume one to Volume eight. To be completed in two more volumes. Edited by Jogendranath Gupta. Indian Publishing House, 22/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4 per Volume.*

The Indian Publishing House has added substantially to the joy of Bengali-reading children and to their means of acquiring knowledge by the publication of *Shishu-Bharati*. It began to be published serially in monthly numbers priced 12 annas each several years ago and will soon be complete. It may be called the children's encyclopædia or the children's treasure-house of knowledge. The editor has shown considerable resource and enterprise in getting together articles on a great variety of subjects and illustrating them profusely. The illustrations include many printed in many colours. The eight Volumes so far published contain 3,200 pages of the size of *The Modern Review* printed neatly on thicker paper than is ordinarily used in monthly magazines in India. A list of all the subjects on which articles are included in these Volumes would be too long for this brief notice. The first Volume alone contains Sections devoted to the lives of great men, astronomy, primitive man, our country India, light, geography, history, life of plants, select poems, cereals, legends and stories, water, national songs, animals, life and chemical activity, foreign lands, the shape and location of the earth, ages of the world, the air, introduction to science, world-literature, course of human life, sound, the development of art, music and crafts, selections, and literature.

SENJUTI ("The Evening Lamp"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price one rupee.*

This is the first edition of the latest book of poems by Rabindranath Tagore. It is dedicated in a fine sonnet to Dr. Sir Nilratan Sircar under whose and whose colleagues' treatment he was during last serious illness. The first poem, "Janma-din" (Birthday), was written on his first birthday after recovery from that illness. It is a great poem, in which the poet sings mostly of the ages of all time, laughing to scorn at the same time the hungry inhumanity to man. There is another poem on Birthday in this book in which the poet longs to be included among those who are unknown to fame. Lovers of his poetry will welcome this volume for its own sake as well as because it is a sure earnest of more poems to come.

BIDAYA-ABHISHAP ("Curse at Farewell): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visva-bharati Bookshop, 210 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price three annas.*

This is the fourth reprint of the poet's famous poem on the mythological story of Kacha and Devayani. Kacha, son of Vrihaspati, the preceptor of the gods, came to the hermitage of Shukra, the preceptor of the Daityas, to learn from him the art of restoring life. With the help of Devayani, Shukra's daughter, whose favour he had won, he succeeded in learning the art. The conversation between him and her which is the theme of the poem, takes place on his coming to bid farewell to her. He does so like one entirely fancy-free, as it were. Devayani is deeply mortified and curses him that he will not be able to apply the art he has learnt. The story is an illustration, hoary with antiquity, of the dictum,

"Man's love is of man's life a thing apart,
'Tis woman's whole existence."

VISVA-PARICHAYA ("Introduction to the Universe"): *By Rabindranath Tagore. Third edition, revised and enlarged, and fourth reprint. Illustrated. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This book, which we have noticed thrice already, has been printed four times in the course of one year. In this edition the author has corrected certain errors pointed out by Professor Bibhutibhushan Sen of Krishnanagar College and Sriyukta Indramohan Som of Bombay, to whom he has expressed his great gratitude.

SHYAMALI: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Second reprint. Visva-bharati Bookshop. Price Re. 1.*

This is a volume of prose-poems, which we have noticed before. The only poem in verse in it is the dedication addressed to Srimati Rani Mahalanobis. Reading over again some of the stanzas of some poems in this volume we felt that true poets are endowed with youth everlasting.

D.

CHALAR PATH (THE WAY): *By Dr. Nishi Kanta Ganguly, M.A. Saraswati Library, Calcutta. Re. 1.*

This Bengali book of 115 pages is worthy of note for certain reasons. The author, we are told, was in-charge of a Vedantic Monastery of Bengal, arrested and detained for seven years in jails and detention camps. Out of his experience was born this book—his thoughts on 'The Way of Life' on its four stages, that of Brahmacharya, Vivaha, Samaj and Mukti (*i. e.*, Training Period, Married Life, Social Life, and generally, the Life of Emancipation). The division is not orthodox, neither is the treatment orthodox, as would be expected from a member of a monastic order. He sets quite sane and rational value on the common life of the ordinary citizen who marries and settles down and fights his way through life in joy and sorrow among his own dear and near ones. It does not deny life, it accepts that, and then tries to raise it to a higher level by an application to it of the scientific knowledge of the modern times and of the spiritual heritage of India. It reveals a fair attempt at a synthesis of the old thought and the new challenge, and deserves serious study by all—old or new.

"ACHAL"

HINDI

LONDON MEN BHARATIYA VIDYARTHI: *By Rajkumar Man Singh, Vidyabhushan, Bar-at-Law. Published by the Rajasthan Sahitya Mandal, Ajmer. Pp. 250. Price Re. 1-4.*

This is no book of travels and impressions in the ordinary sense. The life of an Indian student in London is depicted in story form, which will be found to be interesting and instructive. The author has ably drawn the picture of extra-university life of an average Indian student, which is not without pathos, humour and romance. The book may be an eye-opener to many.

RAMES BASU

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GUJARATI

RAGHUVAMSHA: *By Nagandas Amarji Pandya, B.A. Printed at the Yashwant Printing Press, Joravarnagar, (Wadhwan). Illustrated. Cloth bound Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-0-0 (1937).*

So far as we know this is the first attempt to render into Gujarati verse (*Samasholaki* translation) the very well-known Sanskrit poem of Kalidas. It is at all times a difficult task to render such poems into a vernacular so as to bring out and preserve the beauty and charm of the original classical text: it is rendered more difficult when one has to deal with classics of such acknowledged superiority as the one under notice. By means of illustrations and footnotes the translator has tried his best to bring home to the reader the underlying beauty of the original verses but as he himself candidly admits, it is but a dim picture that he has been able to paint. The reader can merely have a "peep" at the original through his rendering. We agree with him. A scholarly introduction from the pen of Shastri Durgashankar Kevalram on the time when Kalidas flourished is a welcome feature of the book.

ELEVEN BOOKS

The Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad has presented its members with eleven books brought out during the course of 1937 which comprise:

(1) DARSHANIK KOSHA: *By Chhotalal Narbheram Bhatta. Price Re. 1-0-0.*

It is the first part, and displays the very intimate knowledge that the compiler of the Kosha possesses of the Darshan philosophical works in Sanskrit. It is the first of its kind.

(2) PRAJA JIVAN NI DRISHTIYE DUDHA ANE GHEE (Milk and Ghee viewed from the popular eye): *By Dr. Hariprasad V. Desai. Prise 0-2-0.*

A most useful work as it treats the subject both from the popular and scientific point of view.

(3) LIMBU ANE TENI JATNAN FALO NO UDYOG (Lemon and other fruits belonging to the same species, such as oranges, sweet limes and grape fruit): *By Maganlal Gajjar. Price 0-4-0.*

In a small compass the writer has treated the subject of the growth and rearing of these fruits successfully from the grower's and the trader's as well as the householder's point of view.

(4) GUJARATIOYE HINDI SAHITYAMAN APELO FALO (Contribution of Gujarati writers to Hindi Literature): *By D. P. Derasari, Barrister-at-Law. Price 0-4-0.*

It is a most informative work. Vraj or Hindi was always studied by Gujarati scholars of old, mediæval and even modern times, as much of religious and devotional literature was found in it, and it was this literature which was the staple food of the poets. Beginning from Bhalan, of the fifteenth century and Mira Bai, right up to the present times, a large number of Gujaratis have written in Hindi, and a collection of their efforts such as is to be found here, is bound to prove impressive, showing as it does, that Gujarati writers were as much at home in Hindi as in their mother tongue. It must have cost much labour to Mr. Derasari to collect all these materials and put them together.

(5) NITISHAHSTRA: *By Prahlad A. Dhruva, B.A., LLB. Advocate. Price 0-12-0.*

It is a translation of Prof. Moore's Book *Ethics* from the series "The Home University Library of Modern Knowledge." The translation, looking to the [illegible] nature of the subject, is indeed well done.

(6) TUSKEGA ANE TENA MANASO: *By A[illegible] Chunilal Modi, B.A. Price 0-10-0.*

Booker T. Washington's practical methods to [illegible] about the uplift of the American Negroes are know[illegible] this time all over the world. They have been desc[illegible] in a volume written by A. J. Scott, Secretary of [illegible] Tuskegee Institute, that looks after the welfare of [illegible] community. The contents of the book are very inter[illegible] and furnish a good guide to those who desire to w[illegible] in the same direction.

(7) PLATONUN ADARSHA NAGAR, Vol. I, P[illegible] to 5: *By Pranjivan V. Pathak, M.A. Price Re. [illegible]*

Prof. Javett's translation of Plato's Re[illegible] (*literally* City States)—has been taken as his te[illegible] Mr. P. V. Pathak, a distiguished student of Philo[illegible] He has done his work, because of his great fam[illegible] with the subject, very intelligently and ably and [illegible] the time comes to study such subjects in one's [illegible] mother tongue, the book will surely prove of much [illegible]

(8) GUJARATNO MADHYAKALIN RAJ[illegible] ITIHAS: *By Durgashankar Kevalram Shastri. P[illegible] Re. 1-0-0.*

The chronicles of the medieval Rajpu[illegible] Gujarat, Part I, begin from the Vedic times, wh[illegible] Aryas had not penetrated as far as Gujarat, [illegible] traversing the later period, come up in this volu[illegible] the reign of Siddharaj Jayasinh. The chronicle[illegible] based on authentic sources, and certainly throw a [illegible] of light on a subject which has not yet sh[illegible] obscurity. It is an addition of great value to the historical literature of the province.

(9) MANO MUKUR, Vol. III: *By the [illegible] Narsinhrao Bholanath Divatia, B.A. Price Re. 1-[illegible]*

It is a collection of sixteen essays written by [illegible] veteran poet and critic at different times on literary [illegible] other subjects. They required to be preserved [illegible] collective form and that has been done. Thanks to [illegible] G. V. Society.

(10) GRANTH ANE GRANTHAKAR, PART VI[illegible]
(11) ARVACHIN GUJARAT NUN REKHADARS[illegible]
By Hiralal T. Parekh, B.A., the Assistant Secretary [illegible] the Society. Price each Re. 1.

Mr. Parekh comprises in him the [illegible] qualities of an ambitious thinker and a practical [illegible] putting the thoughts thought out by him into exe[illegible] He conceived the idea of collecting and printing [illegible] biographies of *all* writers in Gujarati and has been [illegible] to carry it out and spread it over eight volumes.

In each volume appears also an essay on a [illegible] or allied subject and a classified list of books [illegible] useful magazine articles published during the past [illegible] The volumes therefore prove useful not only [illegible] contemporary reference but also for reference to [illegible] generations. This time there is an erudite [illegible] tribution on the present state of novel writing [illegible] Gujarati by Surendra Pandya and 40 pages of [illegible] poems written in 1936. Outlines of Modern G[illegible] (No. 11) is an equally useful and praiseworthy [illegible] betraying the writer's deep love of research and [illegible] to marshall intelligently the facts resulting fro[illegible] research. All that one wants to know about G[illegible] its literature, its domestic and social conditions [illegible] educational activites and particulars of the [illegible] those who have worked or are working for the [illegible]

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Province, are to be found in this small but encyclo- the hand-book. It is styled, *Vyaktitwa*, the individuality Gujarat. The contents justify the title. It deals with the period 1908-1936. K. M. J.

TELUGU

MEGHA SANDESAM : *By M. M. Venkatachari, B.A., Guntur. Pages 67. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author.*

A Telegu rendering of Kalidas's immortal classic Meghadutam.

JATAKA RAJAM : *By Singayarya. No. 1 of Ganga Grandhamala, Tenali. Pages VIII+244. Price Rs. 2*

A treatise on astrology comprising of over six hundred sutras in Sanskrit, with Telugu commentaries by Messrs. Chitara Venkayya Sidhanti and Viswanatha Sastri.

SUBHAS CHANDRA BOSE : LIFE AND LECTURES : *By Komaduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 107. Price annas six. Can be had of the author, Coconada.*

The work records the landmarks in the life of Babu Subhas Chandra Bose, the young President of the Indian National Congress. The personality of the foremost politician of the younger generation. is presented in an intimate way throughout these pages.

NEHRU CHARITRAM : *By Komanduri Satagopachari, M.A., B.L. Pages 192. Price annas eight. Can be had of the author, Coconada.*

The work records the biography of Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. This edition is commendably revised, enlarged and illustrated.

RAJATVA POURATVAMULU : (SOVEREIGN POWER AND CITIZENSHIP) : *By T. Sivasankaram, with a foreword by Sir K. V. Reddi Naidu. Pages 109. Price Re. 1. Sadhana Press, Anantapur.*

The work is an attempt at presentation of both sides of the shield, State and Citizenship. The limitations and obligations of each are fully dealt with. The author deplores the lack of civic sense among us in all walks of life. His criticism of the nationalistic arguments should be toned down. The work on the whole is commendable, though it suffers much from the use of local idiom.

R. S. BHARADWAJ

WORLD AFFAIRS

THESE are fateful days for Europe. The "hour decision" for people and their leaders is about to arrive—decision for war or peace. May it is being forced on nations by the will of a single man in whom a mass frenzy finds its long-denied focal point of suppressed nationalist expression. In bated breath the world awaits the Nuremberg speech of the Fuehrer. Legions stand by for the word of command. The vigil for the Czecho-Slovak liberty is long and painful as the future grows more and more uncertain. The people require self-control more than ever. But it is become increasingly difficult. For nerves have been tried by a continuously long process of provocation. Tempers are frayed and it makes the position gloomier in Central Europe. All Europe is reacting to its affairs in the same way. The French army is prepared. Silently it goes to the fateful fortifications of the Maginot line; across the Mediterranean the coloured forces are drawn for the probable danger that threatens France on the Rhine. The British fleet is ready as well, and the Cabinet meets in anxious mood to know the developments from hour to hour, and to repeat appeals and counsels, which it realizes have very little effect on the peoples and parties at the hour. Naturally even the Fascist dictator and the Japanese militarists no longer occupy the world-stage. They are being denied today the blaze of political footlight which they still could claim with equal force. In these first days of September they have all paled into insignificance—the Russo-Japanese frontier clash is almost forgotten; the reply of General Franco, practically refusing to fulfil the agreement for evacuation of volunteers from Spain, is no longer worthy of remark; of course, the Palestine of Arab guerillas, or the French Moroccan Arab restlessness is in comparison with things about to happen of no account. The Mexican expropriation of British and American oil interests by Cardenas, or the Japanese exclusion of the foreign trade and commercial interests from the Chinese territories occupied by them fail to raise the issues to the plane that in other times they would do easily. For, even as the Japanese are now battering one Chinese line of defence after another around Hankow, the Central European unrest is reaching a climax; the barometers there record a rise and fall incalculable to all except to Herr Hitler, the Dictator of Europe. Important as it was, the Balkan Entente that struck an agreement with Bulgaria, removing the disability regarding rearmament imposed on her so long by the treaty of Neuilly, fails to secure the notice that is its due as a practical demonstration of peaceful diplomatic settlement in presentday Europe. The defensive alliance entered into by the Little Entente with the Hungarians, who have nursed

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their war-wounds,—or peacewounds,—imposed by these powers, was the only break in an ever-deepening gloom around the Danubian states, in particular as the Entente has Czecho-Slovakia as one of the members. For it is the fate of Czecho-Slovakia that now hangs by a narrow thread which the breath of a Fuehrer can blow away or the rising temper of an over-wrought people can snap at any hour. Emotional tension of the Germans and the Czechs is at the breaking point now. A declaration for a plebiscite in the Sudeten areas may bring matters to a head. For, the result is foregone—Germans would no longer desire full autonomy in the State, but merger in the Third Reich. Events have emboldened them to claim nothing less even though Henlein programme, drawn in April, it should be remembered, was more moderate. So, the world may be said to be gathered at Nuremberg as the Fuehrer would pass his decree on Czecho-Slovakia. The hour is drawing near. Lives and fortunes of millions besides the Czech or the Sedeten Deutsch are about to be affected in course of the next few days.

Czech Concessions

Lord Runciman's mission of mediation has progressed almost as foretold by the critics of British policy. The Czech authorities have produced at least four schemes of concessions in succession, each more liberal than the other. With the advice of the mediator to guide them and the vast war preparations of the Nazi Dictator to launch a *putsch* if the independent and disinterested counsels of the British mediator do not accomplish the Nazi end there, the Czecho-Slovak authorities could not afford to be in any other frame of mind. The threat of a *putsch* and the pressure of advice for a peaceful solution has had their weight in framing these last proposals (September 7, '38).

The latest Czech proposals to the Sudetens contain the following points :

Firstly, recommendation of the principle of proportional employment of officials, according to population;

Secondly, employment of officials in districts of their own nationality;

Thirdly, division of security services so that local regions may have police of their own nationality;

Fourthly, a new linguistic law based on complete equality of language;

Fifthly, assistance to industrial life in German districts, which are most affected by the crisis, including a loan of 700,000,000 crowns on advantageous terms;

Sixthly, the creation of equality of national status on the basis of national autonomy by the introduction of the system of cantons, whereby Germans are in the majority. All questions not concerning national unity to be dealt with locally. The integrity of the [illegible] and unity of the state to be effectively guaranteed.

Seventhly, special sections for cantons to be [illegible] in all central administrations, which can be [illegible] nationals, who will deal with matters affecting the[illegible] nationality;

Eightly, national right of citizens to be protected special laws, and the elected representatives of [illegible] nationalities in various representative bodies to have right to complain against any interference with [illegible] interests of their nationals. A special register [illegible] established for each nationality;

Ninthly, immediate steps to be taken to [illegible] agreement on those points which do not [illegible] legislation.

In effect this would mean cantonal Go[illegible]ment, only the frontier and defence and fi[illegible] being reserved for the centre. In other tim[illegible] other ciriumstances, terms like these [illegible] satisfy the Sudeten Germans easily. For the[illegible] certainly a long way to meet the Ca[illegible] demands put forward by Henlein on Apr[illegible] last. We may repeat them for comparis[illegible] the Sudeten Deutsch representatives in [illegible] negotiation with the Czecho-Slovak autho[illegible] have stuck to these as their basic condi[illegible] to be guaranteed at any cost.

The eight demands are:—

1. Full equality of status for the Czechs [illegible] Germans.
2. A guarantee for this equality by the reco[illegible] of the Sudeten Germans as a legal body incorpora[illegible]
3. Determination and legal recognition of [illegible] German area within the State.
4. Full recognition of the German areas.
5. Legal protection for every citizen living [illegible] the area of his own nationality.
6. Removal of injustices inflicted since 191[illegible] reparation of the damages thereby caused.
7. Recognition of the principle : within the Ge[illegible] area German officials.
8. Full liberty to profess German nationality [illegible] German political philosophy.

Perhaps the world outside would subs[illegible] to the Czech and French view that the lim[illegible] concessions has been reached, if, of cours[illegible] maintains that the Czecho-Slovakia State [illegible] the right to exist as sovereign power and r[illegible] its territorial integrity by refusing to cre[illegible] 'state within a state.' That however, we k[illegible] is the very intention of the Sudeten Ge[illegible] movement, which contemplates a final me[illegible] in the Third Reich. For the present how[illegible] the proposals fail to satisfy the Germans [illegible] they hold that these grant only local r[illegible] and no power to make decision over [illegible] important questions, in the Central Go[illegible] ment. This is not the German conceptio[illegible] autonomy—at this moment at any rate. [illegible] withdrawal of the Czechs from the Su[illegible] services is to be spread over a decade, a[illegible] Government contemplate; over the police [illegible]

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e postal departments German control is not
ceded; the right to profess Nazi philosophy
not, it is said, refused, but neither is it
icitly recognized. It is unknown therefore
w far the proposals grant the three main
mands *viz.*, full equality of status between
Czechs and Germans, guarantee for the
e by a recognition of the Sudeten Germans
the legal body incorporate, and recognition
ciple within the German areas German
tials. Naturally, Herr Kundt and Herr
ckowoski and the Sudeten German
ders replied with the curt *communique*:
l reports go to show that the dispute
be settled only by comprehensive and
d realization of the Carlsbad demands.'

Runciman Mission

It is evident that the Czecho-Slovak State
Masaryk is in danger of slow dismember-
t. For, the dread is growing into a
inty. After three hundred years of long
y and the brief and glorious twenty years
berty and reconstruction, of days of proud
evement and noble promise—of democratic
ancement and progress, when Fascist reaction
lfs the peoples around it—the Czechs may
l to keep their heads cool when they know
t they are about to lose, and, especially,
they know what the powers that advise
ence and reasonableness and sacrifice mean
that. The new terms were in the hands of
Sudeten representatives, and the British
diator was in Prague to persuade the Czecho-
vak authorities to concede, and still to
cede, when *The Times* suggested (Sept. 7.)
leading article the secession of the Sudeten
stricts as possible solution of the problem.

The paper says that if the Sudetens now ask for
then the Czech Government are apparently ready
ve, it can only be inferred that the Germans are
beyond the mere removal of disabilities and will
find themselves at ease within the Czechoslovak
public.

In that case it might be worth while for the Czech
ernment to consider whether they should exclude
gether the project, which has found favour in some
ters of making Czechoslovakia a more homogeneous
e by the secession of the Sudeten Districts.
The paper adds that in any case, the wishes
the population concerned, would seem to be a
tively important element in any solution that can be
rded as permanent.

The official circles in Britain disclaimed
such plan, or to have tendered any such
vice, but a suggestion from *The Times* at
very hour betrayed probably the inner
ught of the well-known group of British
ing class that gathers at the Cleveland House
and among them the editor of *The Times* and the British Premier and the Foreign Secretary are counted as prominent members. No wonder if the official denial was not believed in Prague, which remembered the Halifax visit of friendship to Berlin, the Wiedeman mission of goodwill to Halifax, the British ruling class admiration for the Fuehrer as the saviour of their class interests which might be swept off by new and popular socio-economic forces. This might serve at least as a feeler for a plebiscite in the area to be proposed by Britain if the Fuehrer is bent on military aggression. The practical result of such a plebiscite would be satisfying to all except to the Czechs—Hitler will get all he wants; the British avoid a war which was likely to bring them on the side of France and Soviet Russia, against Hitler and Mussolini—and possibly Japan (her Chinese engagements would permit this only partially). Only the Czechs will be thrown to the wolf. The Czecho-Slovak spokesman had to admit, probably not referring merely to the activities in Germany, "The new proposals have only been made because of foreign pressure, urged to a degree that has surprised, and even pained us." The Runciman mission is apparently succeeding and *The Times* spoke not merely for itself. Much as the Britisher would see the Czecho-Slovak State to live—of course away from the Moscow contagion—as a bulwark against a German *Mitteleuropa*, he is neither in a position to displease the Nazi warlord nor willing to question his ends and means. As a mediator Britain is to give Hitler what he wants and keep her friend France too away from a war against Germany that may involve Britain.

The Czech Temper

Nerves have been set at edge for too long a time for the Czechs to maintain quiet. The Sudeten and Nazi challenges are intended to provoke them to deeds of violence. The foreign pressure must have sent them to despair and desperation. Every day 'incidents'—a memorable word in the modern world since the Japanese meant it to signify their 'stabilization' efforts in China—incidents, however, 'occur in a bigger scale and ever widening field', as we are told. Following the Maehrischostrau incident (in which two Sudeten German deputies were alleged to have been shot by the Czech police) the Sudeten Deputies were about to break off the negotiations when the terms were being offered. The Czech Premier promised immediate inquiry. Quick

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steps have been taken in anxiety to appease the Sudetens and to demonstrate that Prague can guarantee peace and order. For, the German press utilzed the occasion, and every other imaginary and actual occurrence, to play the old card it showed on the eve of the Austrian *coup*—the state is too weak to cope with the trouble and to protect the German minorities. The Third Reich alone can guarantee that as the Third Reich is the natural destiny of the German people everywhere. "Blood was stronger than enemy power and that which was German must belong to Germany," significantly declared Herr Hitler at the German youth parade at Nuremberg. And in the Sudeten areas the Germans similarly declared their will. While their leaders still openly professed themselves to be not separatists or Nazis, the people sang the forbidden Horst Wessel song, shouted 'We want our Fuehrer', and cried, as at the Nazi occupation of Austria, 'Ein Folk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer.' What is there in the whole Czecho-Slovak situation to help the long tried Czech temper not to rise into desperation and fury as their days of liberty appear to be numbered through a conspiracy of the mighty powers of Europe? Other minorities, they know, are only waiting—the Slovaks, the Magyars, the Poles, and even the Rumanians. The Czech, therefore, are in no peaceful mood. Yet this is not likely to save their State. It is feared that the concessions announced, if accepted by the Sudeten Germans, would bring a fall of the present Czech Government in their Parliament.

In the face of all this the broadcast of Dr. Benes has more than its moral value. A note of dignified calm worthy of a tragic character—worthy of the man and scholar, who helped to make twenty years ago the State out of the debris of the Hapsburg Empire—runs through the brief report that the News Service offers.

Dr. Benes broadcast an appeal for a calm and dispassionate judgment on the international crisis at Prague today.

He described the present international difficulties as "the most serious since the war," and added:

"For 20 years the Republic has developed quietly and progressively. Political democracy, freedom, economic prosperity, religious tolerance and social justice have been achieved without crises, upheavals or revolutions.

"What in other countries caused dangerous upheavals, was in our country reasonably, dispassionately and practically resolved.

"This is a sincere and fruitful effort on our part to achieve as great a degree of political justice as is politically and practically possible. This must be done in the spirit of true and sincere democracy.

"In this spirit we opened negotiations with different nationalities of our Republic. We have begun with the Sudeten Germans as the most important group but proposals apply to all citizens of the State."

The Czech President expressed the belief that proposals would be beneficial to the State and its and also by renewing co-operation between all nationalities. Even in the present period of difficulties could threaten their unity and integrity.

"We want" he said, "to contribute to a settlement of the European problems generally and the establishment of good relations with all our neighbours, especially Greater Germany."

"We want to prove to Europe and America, above all to England and France, that we understand duties imposed upon us and we shall fulfil these as as the needs of the State allow us."

As the President of the Republic Dr. B recommended the solution to the population, alth he said, it entailed heavy sacrifice.

Dr. Benes concluded: "We must re-establish confidence and co-operation between the two nationalities of the Republic, and thus ensure inter calm, peace and peaceful development."

Still unrest is abroad and incidents daily occurrences. A serious incident may feared in such circumstances.

The possibility of some serious incident between Sudeten Germans and Czechs and the animosities by the weeks and months of constant propaganda by Reich newspapers and broadcasts cannot be overlooked.

Ever since the Sudeten leaders withdrew the to their followers not to offend or be provocative, a Prague message, a complete change has come the Sudetens who almost go out of their way to offensive.

And an incident would serve to offer H the occasion for "intervention" (B distinguishes between 'intervention' 'invasion'. The world has already known in Spanish affairs that 'non-intervention' in 'invasion,' in Czecho-Slovak affairs 'in vention' may come to mean, however, same thing). He, it is thought, considers this be the Nazi solution of the problem. Co quences are being carefully weighed no d The manœuvres have left in his hands German army ready for action. The te of the people is warlike. The press has whi them into a frenzy. The last Austrian su has intoxicated the nation, and the little Pr 'pigmies' are considered too insignificant to any trouble to the Fuehrer's people. Have not the best army, the biggest air fleet, the disciplined people organised under a tota rian State on basis of autarchy (though may be no sure foundation as the B proves, its very cracks require to be s by a foreign adventure now. Trouble at is best met by big adventures abroad)?

The rejection of the Czech plan is fore most probable though the negotiations been resumed.

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French and British Attitude

Three hundred thousand French troops ...ving to man the Frontier, hundreds of ...servists arriving at Metz daily, thousands in ...e subterranean burrows of the Maginot line, ...the rear, in the huts and camps of the ...rests nearby, the Atlantic fleet of more than ... ships ready (Sept. 9) to put to sea with ...nitions and supplies—behind the apparent ...lm of French life these movements leave no ...ght that France would not allow Berlin to ...ide the fate of Prague and simply look on. ... is apparent that, if necessity arises, she ...ll act alone. This strong stand on the part ... France will go a long way to determine the ...itish attitude too. There has been a lack of ...termination in that quarters in this respect ...th a desire to see the Czechs peacefully yield ... the Fuehrer what would satisfy him. Peace-...ly—for war would mean the French interven-...n on behalf of the Czechs and an obligation ...we said, on the part of Britain to follow ...nce. For, the British frontier is on the ...ine now. In the present state of warfare and ...ence France forms practically the first line ... strategic stand for Britain. So, the pro-...rman and pro-Fascist British foreign policy ...on its trial. It is going to be unmasked, or, ...l in a line with France after exhausting all ...orts at persuasion in Prague for peaceful ...mission and appeal in Berlin against the ...gressive line of solution. Downing Street is ...sy and the diplomatic correspondents speak ... the decision of Britain not to stand away ...m Czecho-Slovakia if Hitler disregards the ...rning. But to think of Britain throwing ...self in a fight against the Fascists and that ... the side of Soviet Russia! Can the British ...binet do it?

The situation is recognized as serious, and, naturally, ...xiety is evident, pending Herr Hitler's declaration ...orrow (Sept. 13).

It is felt that it is of first importance that the ...itish Government should not assume that a brief, ...ccessful campaign against Czechoslovakia could safely ... embarked on without danger of the intervention, first ... France, and, later, of Britain.

The Government have taken special pains to keep ... the closest touch with the Dominions.

The gap between the Sudetens and Czech Government ... considered to have been appreciably narrowed by the ...test Czech proposals. It is considered that, although ... may be necessary for a good many more negotiations ... take place for the elucidation and modification of the ...proposals, there could be no justification now for the ...andonment of the negotiations in favour of a more ...ident solution.

It is realized that there may be further setbacks to the negotiations, though the British view is that there is no reason why efforts by mediation, or, otherwise, to find a peaceful solution should be abandoned.

Any great European conflict is regarded as a tragic disaster, which is avoidable, and British Ministers will spare no effort to avert it.

On The War-Path ?

So the question of opening the Pyrenees is put aside by France to the disadvantage of the Spanish republicans. In the Ebro sector they are being forced to abandon the territories they won. Silently therefore Mussolini's plans are succeeding. In the present crisis the Italian voice was heard only once—Signor Gayda advising the Germans to accept the fourth offer of the Czechs. Naturally. For, 'Ein Folk, Ein Reich, Ein Fuehrer' is not a delightful music to the ear of the Fascist dictator, all whose efforts at Italianization of the 2,30,000 Germans in Tyrol have not succeeded and must one day be accounted for when the Fuehrer is freed from the Sudeten and other eastern complications. As yet Mussolini is silent and secure; his ambitions in Spain promise to mature without French murmurs. Similarly, the Palestine situation, which is nothing short of an open revolt now, is passed by and the fierce fight around Hankow in which the toll of war on both sides was heavy, can not be adequately appraised to see the full significance of these. A more dreadful chapter is about to open in Europe. The Continent is being pushed to the edge of a precipice. A man like Lord Grey might say again, "The lamps are going out all over Europe; they will not be lit again in our time." Mankind is about to plunge again in the maelstorm of death and destruction, but it could still be saved from the calamity. As the gathering darkness is shot by sinister flashes of lightnings, man feels more and more a victim to forces before which he is helpless. Yet this catastrophe is by no means unavoidable or inevitable. Could not the situation be straightened ? If not, is it but a proof that in the texture of the life of humanity passions and interests have been so blindly woven into wild and planless patches that our reason and intelligence are left helpless to bring design of pattern into it. We are blind enough to be victims of the blind destiny —victims to our racial pride and prejudice, our garbled self-interests and group-interests, and to the fever of our hate and the hunger of gold and power.

G. H.

September 12, 1938

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Mahatma's Creed and "Hind Swaraj"

In making an estimate of Gandhiji's creed and of his book *Hind Swaraj,* the English edition of which is a translation of the original in Gujarati, Hugh I'A. Fausset observes in *The Aryan Path*:

Hind Swaraj was written in 1908 in answer to those Indians who preached violence as a remedy for their country's ills. It was published serially in *Indian Opinion* and later in book form. But for some years it has been out of print. It is now issued in Mr. Gandhi's own English translation at a price within the reach of everyone and at a time when we in the West are more ready to listen to its revolutionary message than we were when it originally appeared. Our self-complacence has received some rude shocks since then and we are being compelled by events to recognize the truth of Mr. Gandhi's claim that civilization requires the use of a different and higher weapon for self-protection than that of brute-force. This in fact is a profoundly revolutionary little book and the fact that it is addressed to Indians and concerned with their specific problems does not make it less relevant to Englishmen, though it may be harder for them to accept it. *For the whole purpose of the book is to save India, not from Englishmen, but from the modern civilization which is eating into the vitals of the West.* Today Mr. Gandhi's conviction of the disease of modern civilization is deeper than ever. But while continuing to work individually for the ideal self-rule pictured in these articles, he admits that it requires a higher simplicity and renunciation than the people are today prepared for. And so he is ready to tolerate Parliamentary Home Rule, railways, hospitals, law courts, machinery and mills as at best necessary evils which will die a natural death when enough people come into possession of their true selves. It is likely, even in India, to be a long and painful process and for the Westerner in particular the problem, though fundamentally a spiritual and moral one, is perplexingly involved in the question whether we can use or must abandon the machine.

For Mr. Gandhi no compromise is ultimately possible with that Frankenstein's Monster. He applauds the wisdom of his ancestors who saw that our real happiness and health consisted in a proper use of our hands and feet and so rejected anything which would curtail that use. "Machinery," he wrote, "has begun to desolate Europe. Ruination is now knocking at the English gates. Machinery is the chief symbol of modern civilization, it represents a great sin." And he would reject outright the suggestion that it may be used eventually for the spiritual and material benefit of all.

In surveying the contents of the same book in the same magazine Professor Frederick Soddy expresses the following views:

How far it is to be regarded as a complete or abiding philosophy and how far a temporary political weapon of expedience, the reader must decide for himself. The author evidently believes in it in the first sense more than ever and says, in a preface, that India has nothing to fear or lose and all to gain by discarding "modern civilization," whilst admitting that the time is not yet ripe for it. But one would have thought it was even less ripe in 1938 than in 1908, and, short of time going backward or a similar miracle, the likelihood of India ultimately doing so seems remote. Certain features, even the whole of the philosophy may survive, as founded on one of the eternal verities, incorporated with the positive achievements of modern civilization which, just as much as they, are also founded on the eternal verities. The days when this self-satisfied assumption of the superiority of one sort of truth over another was considered the highest form of it seem to have passed away.

The Social Implications of Science

The present dislocation in the entire world is the result of maladjustment between scientific development on the one hand and social and international relationships on the other. Efforts are now being made to make scientists, who as a class have not tried to inform and train the public mind, conscious of the duty they owe to society in this regard. *Science and Culture* writes editorially:

The International Council of Scientific Unions set up last year a Committee on Science and its Social Relations, which was instructed to prepare a report on the effects of science on human life and social relationships and present its report in 1940. For this work the Committee is expected to receive collaboration from national correspondents and scientific societies in various countries. The Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science has also formally pointed out in a resolution the changes in the physical and mental environment of man and the complexities in social, economic and political relations that are being brought about by science and technology. Both the British Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Association are seriously considering the social problems created by science. Views of representative scientific men in Great Britian on this question were sought recently by *Nature* and there seems to be a general concensus of opinion that a society for the study of the social relations of science is needed. A concrete scheme for the organization of such a society and for lines of work is naturally more difficult of formulation but it constitutes at least a re-assuring symptom of the growing awareness of scientific minds to the urgency of the question.

We consider it desirable that the Indian Science Congress Association should discuss this question in plenary session in the forthcoming Lahore Congress

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and if necessary, organize a Committee for the study of this question. The social implications of science are even more ignored in this country than elsewhere, as the mass of the people is ignorant and illiterate. But India is as much within the orbit of the action of deadly scientific weapons as any other country. India, as a nation, is really at the threshold of her scientific career, and if her scientific men organize their thoughts betimes with regard to social, economic and political questions, it may be possible to arrest drift and guide her destinies in the direction of social progress and peace. India, like many other countries, abounds in quacks—medical, political and spiritual and the help of sincere scientists trained to study problem with objectivity and without prejudice may help to steer her course evenly in a sea of passion and unscientific thought.

Idealism and Realism

In the course of his article in *Prabuddha Bharata* on the fulfilment of Beauty, Dr. Cousins makes the following observations on idealism and realism, two forms that have mixed and erroneous connotations in their general use :

Both idealism and realism, as generally thought of, involve a mutual deficiency, in the exclusiveness of the one towards the other. To the extent that idealism concerns itself with the relatively permanent things of life—with aspiration, intuition, imagination, and the higher mind—those things that liberate the consciousness from the dictatorship of its physical agents, into the aristocracy of the spirit, it may be regarded as of greater importance than realism. Realism concerns itself with the objective things in life, which, by their intimacy with time and space, partake of the transiency of the latter, and by their pre-occupation with the modes and implements of expression, and the relatively lower things of life, tend to reduce the consciousness to servitude under its own agents.

But when idealism turns itself outwards towards expression, when it immerses itself in the successively lower strata of feeling, thought, succession, design, language, verbal or artistic, and instrumentality, it cannot retain its idealistic purity, for its expression must take on the inevitable limitations of its media. It is in order that the limitations of expression—limitations of definiteness as well as of indefiniteness—may be surmounted, that the utterances of vision and intuition have to be interpreted and reinterpreted; that the Sermon on the Mount has to be followed by the Epistles and Commentaries; and the Vedas by the Upanishads and Puranas. Either can expressive idealism ignore the available media of expression and their natural limitations, otherwise it would not find expression. Idealism cannot exist without realism.

On the other hand, realism can have no relationship with reality while it seeks to live without the imagination and the higher experiences of consciousness. The attempt to eliminate everything but direct perception of objects cannot make even a beginning in the visual arts, sculpture and painting, since we literally "walk by faith," faith in experience that enables us to correct the upside-down and inside-out retinal pictures, and through an incalculable number of inferences put the world in its proper position. This is a subjective experience. A purely objective thing is an impossibility : realism cannot exist without idealism.

Congress Ministry

In comparing the case of the Punjab with that of Bengal in *The Hindustan Review*, Nagendra Nath Gupta incidentally makes the following remarks on the communal decision:

Of the four provinces which do not possess a Congress Ministry, the Punjab is one. This fact by itself is no reproach, for Bengal, which claims a lead in all national movements, has no Congress Ministry. This is due to the majority of the electors being Mussalmans in Bengal just as they are in a majority in the Punjab. The communal problem owes its acuteness mainly to the formation of communal electorates in India. It has been accentuated by the communal award made by the late Mr. MacDonald. To hedge in the right of vote by religion is really a denial of that right. Why must a Mussalman voter vote for a Mussalman, or a Hindu for a Hindu ? Has any one ever thought for a moment that if there had been such a distinction in England, Dadabhai Naoroji or Bhownagree could never have been elected to the House of Commons ? There can be no doubt that the government which introduced the communal electorates in India intended to keep the Hindus and Mussalmans apart and prevent a national political fusion among them and in this they have succeeded.

Congress High-Commands and the Question of Cow-slaughter

According to the editor of the *National Wealth*, the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter is an imperious necessity from the standpoint of national wealth and health of teeming millions of India irrespective of any religious differences and interests. He observes:

The famous fourteen points of Mr. Jinnah which have practically become the Scriptures of the communal problem had been the subject of an unusually elaborate correspondence between their tenacious author and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the ex-President of the Congress. The way of approach of the Congress veteran was undoubtedly a conciliatory one, that of granting concessions to Muslims as far as possible or even beyond, with a view to bring them over or anyhow appease them. But the Muslims remained obdurate and implacable, their points increased in quantity and intensity until at last they gnawed at the very soul and self-respect of the Congress. All these events have led to the present impasse.

In order to avoid this undesirable contingency the Congress high-command with the necessary approval of the Wardha Whitehall proferred many concessions which the Congress as representing the Hindus was not strictly entitled to concede. One such horrible concession is the "right to cow-slaughter" granted or allowed to continue in its enjoyment, to the Muslims. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in his letter of the 6th of April, 1938, to Mr. Jinnah says :

"As regards cow-slaughter there has been a great deal of entirely false and unfounded propaganda against the Congress suggesting that the Congress was going to stop it forcibly by legislation. The Congress does not wish to undertake any legislative action in this matter to restrict the established rights of the Muslims."

We are simply at our wit's end to know that cow-slaughter is being turned into a right and that of an established character as if the right to kill a cow is a

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fundamental right under the constitution. Does it not mark the height of presumption and the implacability of the Muslim League leaders which demands a right, which goes against public policy and national welfare? Are the Muslims demanding a right to slaughter the best cattle-wealth of the country, to annihilate national wealth and national prosperity, to set fire to happy homes and peasants' huts, to impoverish agriculture and create a scarcity of food-stuffs and to starve their own dear little children by refusing them the milk of the mother cow, telling their innocent little angels that cow-milk can no longer be had because they kill cows? Apart from the higher national ideal which every community worth the name should put before it, is this not a perfectly self-destructive policy?

But unfortunately, it is one of the tragic ironies of time that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had to confess that the Congress does not wish to undertake any measure to stop cow-slaughter.

It is a matter of the greatest regret that the present president of the Congress Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose should also follow in the same trail as Jawaharlalji, thus shaking rudely the foundations of liberty of thought.

If the Congress does not intend to undertake any measure to enact the statutory prohibition of cow-slaughter, let it at least support a private measure to that effect. Then alone the Congress would have acted rightly and in the best interests of the nation.

My Experiences in the Welfare Works for the Blind abroad

Subodh Chandra Roy who has distinguished himself as a scholar inspite of his visual handicap, writes in *The Calcutta Review*:

During my study trips to Europe, America, Canada and Japan, I was pleased to note that the stamp of each country's peculiar genius was definitely recognisable in its welfare works for the blind. It may be said, as a rather broad statement, that Great Britain and the United States of America have influenced directly or indirectly the works for the blind throughout the world; but the evidences of adaptations by each country to its peculiar needs and environmental demands are unmistakably noticeable.

After recounting his experiences regarding what other countries are doing in order to ameliorate the lot of the sightless community, he goes on to remark:

It will be seen from the above dissertation that the visually handicapped persons are taken care of by those societies from the time they are born until they die. As a matter of fact, the societies in the West have become definitely conscious of the sacred responsibility towards their handicapped members. The doctrine of *laissez-faire* in this matter is considered to be very dangerous and has been abondoned by all civilized countries. It has been realised that society cannot progress very well if the handicapped persons belonging to different groups are allowed to remain as permanent drags on it.

I am positive that our society in India is making a great economic waste by not educating and not employing its blind individuals. Our society has to bear the burden for these people anyhow; then why should it not take something out of them? Besides, in certain spheres of activity, the blind individuals can render better and more efficient service than even the seeing. The Western societies have realised this truth and have been prompt to take advantage of it.

There is another way of looking at the same [illegible]. Real sympathy is shown to the blind persons not by feeding them at public expense and keeping them [illegible] at home, but by giving them education and burdening them with work and responsibility. This truth has been realized in India and all efforts in helping the blind have thus been misguided and abortive. Dr. G. [illegible], Professor of Psychology at Teachers' College, Columbia University, has rightly said: "For an individual to be a member of a society and yet have no responsible [illegible] in its activities is a form of social ostracism that has disastrous spiritual consequences." In my opinion, the blind people have a more urgent need for education than even the seeing.

Francisco Franco

There are some who consider General Franco as the saviour of Spain. There are others who consider him merely a rebel pushed on by Mussolini and Hitler. Prof. P. L. Stephen gives a short sketch of his life in *The Indian Review*:

Born forty-five years ago in a family of adventurous mariners at El Ferrol, Francisco Franco chose to serve his country through the army. After his [illegible] studies he joined the Military Academy at Toledo, and graduated from there in 1910 with the rank of second lieutenant.

The young lieutenant was eager for service and glory; and he naturally turned to Morocco where Spanish arms were then faring none too well. The native tribes were carrying on a vigorous uprising.

It was then that Damaso Berenguer conceived the idea of forming the Native Regulars of Melilla—a force of men consisting of Moors commanded by Spanish officers. Franco was one of the first who volunteered to serve under Berenguer.

At the battles of Yadumen and Izarduy, his fearless courage and skill astonished the officers. He seemed to have a charmed life. Men and officers standing by his side fell shot dead.

Franco's great triumphs were obtained as Commander of the famous Foreign Legion. This Legion consisted of adventurers who refused to recognize [illegible] and who asked for the most dangerous posts. They were the shock troops in every engagement, always in the vanguard and at the most dangerous places. When the Legion was formed by Lt.-Colonel Astray in 1920, Franco was the first Commander chosen by Astray. The Legion was responsible for the success of many engagements, as the battles of Beni Aros and of Sele, and the re-conquest of Melilla and Segangen.

He was unanimously chosen Commander-in-Chief of the Legion when he was only thirty years old. Soon after this appointment, he left for the Peninsula to celebrate his marriage. This was the fulfilment of a long deferred desire, often postponed on account of the exigencies of military service. He had met Carmen when she was only fifteen, and he twenty.

By 1925, Franco effected a few operations which brought the rebellion to an end. With the last flare up of the rebellion in Africa, Franco was [illegible] to go back to Spain. Primo de Rivera, the Dictator, appreciated Franco's character and ability, and

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appointed him Director of the General Military Academy of Spain.

But after the death of Rivera, Governments changed and the fortunes of Franco also underwent constant changes. The Socialist Ministry had no trust in him, and he was sent away as Commander of the Balearic Islands. The next Ministry, however, had him back at Madrid as Division General of the army, and it was when he helped to scotch the Communist revolution of October 1934. Again in 1936 February the elections brought the Communists to power, and this time Franco was got away to the Canaries as Military Commander there. But his active mind was vigorously at work.

A vigorous propaganda was carried on, and all those who opposed Communism joined up. The result was the uprising which began on the 18th of July 1936, and still continues without any sign of abating until the side or the other wins outright.

Features of Orissa's Temples

Nirmal Kumar Bose introduces his article "Features of Orissa's Temple" in the *Current Thoirs* with the following paragraph:

In different parts of Orissa, there are living even some of the descendents of the artists who built the great temples of Puri, Konarak and Bhuvaneswar. These *silpins* have preserved in palmleaf manuscripts fragments of the science of architecture; and when we study them with the help of the craftsmen, they almost open up a new world of science to us. One particular manuscript seems to have been very popular throughout Orissa, and that was named the *Bhubanapradipa*. But we also hear of others named the *Rajaballava* and *Prakara*, which yet remain to be properly edited and translated. These canonical books give us a description of different kinds of temples, their specifications, the position of their different parts and so on. The *Bhubanapradipa* tells us of four orders of temples named as Rekha, Bhadra, Khakhara and Gaudiya. Of these the Gaudiya occurs as an exotic type in some limited portions of northern Orissa and Puri. The Bhadra and Khakhara are more numerous; but the Rekha alone seems to have been the most important architectural order in ancient Kalinga.

The form of the Rekha is familiar to all, for the great temples of Bhuvaneswar and Puri belong to this order.

In conclusion he says:

It is necessary that we should measure the temples of Orissa very carefully and see how far they actually conform to the canonical rules. This will help us in two ways. The fragmentary books of architecture do not record all the phases of the evolution of temples; they merely record one phase of it. A field-study of proportions would firstly help us in fixing the approximate date of the *silpa sastras*, while it will also help us in tracing with some degree of confidence the actual course of evolution followed by Orissan temples through several centuries.

Fruit or Pan?

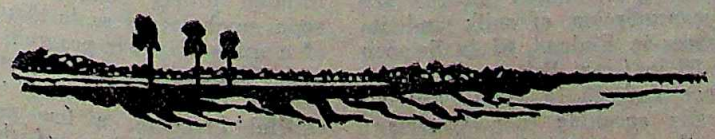
The Oriental Watchman and Herald of Health makes an extract from a book entitled *The Rural Uplift Education* by Dr. S. S. Nehru, of Manipuri. Regarding the relative value of fruit and *pan* Dr. Nehru observes:

The Western fancy may boggle at this quaint choice between fruit or *pan*, but here is a conflict of tastes if not a clash of culture. In the West a true complement to a good meal is the apple; the finish to the feast is the fruit; so much so that while Nordic countries have their puddings, the Latin lands have their fruit baskets as the last taste of sweet. Here in India, especially rural India which carries an extra hard crust of conservatism, the grand finale of the feast is the ubiquitous *pan*—a betal leaf rolled into a lozenge and filled with a mass of limewash, *catechu*, and betel-nut. The finer specimens have also wet tobacco rolled with molasses. The finest specimens carry cocaine—this is a costly speciality for the townsman. The rolling of the betel leaf into a diamond nugget—in shape not colour—is an art comparable with flower arrangement in Japan. The rolling of a cigarette is mere child's play. The *pan* cone is prized for properties which are precious at first glimpse but poisonous at the last. For, patently, the *pan* provides something astringent to chew; it promotes salivation and the digestion, and lends the mouth, tongue, and lips a lustre which puts in the shade the finest vermeil tint of the lipstick which only dyes the outer fringe of the lips and causes the victim to keep the mouth prized apart and the lips needlessly turned up and down. The victim of the *pan* suffers very much, if less obviously. The teeth are eaten and eroded to stumps. Further they are blackened. Finally they are rotted, and then the poison is spread to the bowels through pyorrhœa.

Distinctly, the *pan* is a menace. Dwell a little longer on the slippery weed and the unsavoury mess it prepares, causing dry-rot in the teeth, red-rot in the throat, brown-rot in the bowels. It recalls tea, but goes beyond it in the uses, and indeed misuse, not to say abuse. If tea is a slow poison, *pan* is a *sure* one. Tea is partaken three or four times a day, if the quantity at a time is apt to double or treble itself, but *pan* is partaken at all times, before meals, after meals, at visits, at partings, on rising, sleeping,—every time.

True, the afternoon garden party and at-home ceremonial functions have caught on; but the *pan-supari* persists.

How can fruit displace such a hoary sinner as the *pan* in the rural area? By producing more fruit, better fruit. richer fruit, newer fruit, and seeing that it is consumed in the village. In one word, with the fruit-eating habit.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Cattle Drain in India

According to a recent estimate India maintains 215,000,000 cattle out of the world's total cattle population of 690,000,000. In spite of certain valuable qualities, the cattle of India, judged by economic returns, are poorest in the world. Dr. Sam Higginbottom, president of Allahabad Christian College and principal of its Agricultural Institute, writes in the *Asia* :

The Indian cow usually matures slowly, and may not give her first calf till between four and five years of age, as compared with maturity at two or three years for the breeds of temperate climes. This late maturity almost doubles the cost of raising a cow to the income-producing stage. Fortunately, the milk of Indian cows is fairly high in butter-fat content, but the average yearly yield is estimated at no more than from 600 to 750 pounds. It is difficult to see how such an amount of milk, only about a quart a day for the three hundred days of the lactation period, will pay for the cow's food and care.

India today is estimated to produce annually approximately 29,000,000 long tons (a long ton is 2,240 pounds) of milk from her 80,000,000 odd cows in milk, or about 750 pounds of milk per cow per year. Another estimate arrived at in a different way gives the average yield per cow in India as 600 pounds of milk per lactation. Both these figures reveal the poor average milk-giving capacity of the Indian cow. Both estimates bear out the results of my own inquiries and observations over the past thirty-five years, that is, that over 90 per cent of the cows of India do not pay for their keep. They are an economic drain on the country.

It is axiomatic that low-yielding, small-value cows produce expensive milk, whereas high milk-capacity, high-value cows produce cheap milk. Milk in most parts of India at wholesale is much more expensive than in the United States, Canada or the dairy countries of Europe, or in Australia or New Zealand. And it is almost impossible to buy sanitary milk in any one place in India in amounts sufficiently large to allow a butter, cheese or condensed-milk factory to run at a profit. Yet, with better quality cows and scientific feeding, India could produce milk as cheaply as any country in the world. India can graze her cattle for twelve months in the year, if the grazing area is properly rotated and managed, and she has some of the best grasses in the world if properly treated.

Recent estimates give the average per capita consumption of milk and its products in India at 7 ounces per day. India is very largely a vegetarian country : for most of the people, milk is the only source of animal protein. In seventeen countries for which records are available, the per capita consumption of milk and its products varies from 63 ounces in Finland, 61 in Sweden and 56 in New Zealand to 39 in Great Britain, 35 in the United States, 30 in France and 10 in Italy. But all these countries are, generally speaking, non-vegetarian; hence milk does not have the same relative importance in their diet as it does in vegetarian India. For health needs to be met in any reasonable manner, her consumption of milk should be raised anywhere five- to seven- fold, the higher the better. May there not be some relationship between expectancy of life and average milk consumption? The three nations that consume the most milk have the greatest expectancy of life of any people in the world, all of them over years, whereas the countries with the lowest expectancy of life (India, twenty-six years) have the lowest average consumption of milk.

Difference of opinion exists in India as to what next step should be in cattle improvement. Some breeders think that no more foreign cattle should be imported but instead all efforts should be concentrated on improving the Indian breeds of cattle, which have already adapted themselves to the environment and can live and thrive under conditions where imported cattle suffer and deteriorate. There is much to be said for this viewpoint, for it is true that imported cattle and cross-bred cattle have so far not accomplished as much of permanent value as was expected. It is risky and expensive to import cattle. Many of the imported animals have died before they have had any opportunity to leave progeny. Many of the half-breeds of the first generation have been good cows but could not transmit improvement to their descendants. Succeeding generations have grown progressively worse. Another objection is that the cross-bred bullock is alleged not to be as good as the purely Indian. Some matings of exotic breeds of foreign with indigenous cattle result in bullocks which cannot stand the climate as well as local ox, and rapidly lose constitution, although the combinations seem almost or entirely equal to pure-blooded Indian cattle.

It is now seen that what is needed to establish a new breed having the immunity to disease, ability to stand the climate and high digestive capacity of Indian cattle, plus the milk inheritance and early maturity of the West, is to import not only foreign cows but also a few foreign cows, which could be mated to the best bulls of Indian breeds. The half-bred bull from a mating of Indian sire and imported high milk-yielding dam would carry his mother's high milk-capacity. If he were mated to a half-bred daughter of an imported bull and an Indian cow, both of these breeds, having in their inheritance the characters of milk capacity and early maturity, on both sides, would pass it on to their progeny.

The writer suggests that two policies might well be carried out simultaneously with regard to further improvement of Indian cattle:

The improvement of the existing Indian breeds through proper selection and care and proper feeding on a much larger scale than at present, and the start of a cross-breeding program of mating both foreign and a limited number of foreign cows with Indian bulls. If the latter experiment were kept in the hands of skillful breeders, a few years would show whether a new breed made up of the imported and the

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...ed could be established in India, which would have ...ctically all the advantages of the Indian animal, plus ...e great advantage of early maturity in the cow and ...ough milk to make a profit under Indian conditions. ...e resulting gain for India, in physical health and ...nomic well-being, would indeed be great.

China's Staying Power

C. Kuangson Young, until recently ...anaging Director and Editor of *The China* ...ess, Shanghai, analyzes, in a paper contributed ...*The Asiatic Review*, China's staying power—...man, territorial and financial.

China's human power is almost inexhaus-...le, says the writer :

Four months after the fall of Nanking in December, ...na was able to inflict the first serious defeat known ...the modern military annals of Japan. Forty-two ...sand of a Japanese army of 65,000 perished in the ...cle of Taierchwang at the beginning of April.

Since then, with considerable reinforcements, the ...nese armies from North China and the Yangtse Delta ...been advancing. At their disposal is the most modern ...ipment for destruction and death, but the Chinese ...ders have held on. When forced to retreat, they ...eated only to resist another day. Their morale has ...ained excellent, their determination unchanged. For ...first time in China's history one sees unmistakable ...ence that her teeming millions have found a director ...organizer.

China's human power has found direction and ...nization at this crucial moment in the soldier-states-...Chiang Kai-shek.

China's new army is growing daily. It is replenished ...recruits from the interior provinces of Kwangsi, ...nan, Hunan, Szechwan, and elsewhere. Several ...ions are undergoing the various stages of training. ...in another year 10,000,000 men, trained and ade-...ly armed, will have found their way to the fronts. ...e struggle continues, another 10,000,000 men will be ...e forward to fill the gaps left by the fallen.

A million Japanese soldiers are now on Chinese soil. ...hundred thousand are being kept in Manchuria. ...nese casualties are estimated to be already over ...000. How long can Japan stand the drain on her ...an power?

China's space is a favourable factor :

Japan's hold on the so-called occupied areas is ...arious. True it is that many large cities are within ...r military control. The Shanghai-Nanking railway, ...Tientsin-Pukow railway, the Peiping-Mukden railway ...e passed into their hands. But these are only dots ...lines in an ocean of a hostile population and of ...stable mobile units.

China's financial and economic staying ...wer depends on the factors noted below :

First and foremost, China is an agricultural country. ...nomic interdependence of the various regions exists in ...ther negligible degree. There is individual, district, ...sectional self-sufficiency. The stress of war has not ...ted to any appreciable extent the economic life of ...tories outside the actual theatre of hostilities.

The nationalization of silver has enabled the Chinese Government to have within its control, both abroad and at home, huge stocks of silver which have kept China's financial Maginot Line intact. It is quite well realized that a breach in the financial front will result in the collapse of the military.

It is a remarkable fact that the Chinese Government has not imposed new taxation to finance the war.

Islam and Bolshevism

What Bolshevism has done to the Christian Church in the Russian Empire finds frequent reference even in the daily press, but we seldom hear what Bolshevism has done to the millions of Muslims who formerly dwelt within that empire. Arthur Jeffery reviews in *The International Review of Missions* a book on the subject by Von Gottfried Simon :

It comes somewhat as a surprise to many people to realize how great a Muslim power Russia has been. Turkestan was one of the early centres of Islamic power and in the period of Russian expansion great areas of Turkestan came under the dominion of the Czar, and from Turkestan there was considerable penetration into European Russia. It was natural that when Bolshevism came to power these Muslim communities of the empire should be sovietized.

Islam presented a peculiar problem to the Bolshevik leaders and they have dealt with it with great skill. The first card they played was self-determination. Muslims in Russian Turkestan were at one with Muslims living under Englsih, French, Dutch or other Christian domination, in their resentment at being subject to a non-Muslim power. Soviet leaders played on this and made a bid for enthusiastic support from the Muslim communities by announcing that each community was given the right of self-determination, and no community need any longer feel under the domination of any other. Added to this was their interest in the vernaculars and the local culture. Further, they quickly made capital out of the Qur'anic teaching where the Prophet tirades against the rich of his day, condemning their injustice, their oppression of the poor, their pride and arrogance in their riches. This, they said, proved that Islam and Bolshevism were fundamentally the same. The terrible disaster which overtook the Orthodox Church at the hands of the Soviet Commissars was also a thing pleasing to the Muslim communities.

Thus in the early years of Bolshevik power there were many pious Muslim leaders who hailed the new regime as that of a power wholly favourable to Muslim objectives, and thus to be whole-heartedly supported by the Muslim peoples. It was not long, however, before the anti-religious bias of the movement became evident, but by that time the Soviet power was too firmly established among the Muslim communities for any revolt to be successful. They have had to watch their mosques and schools go the way of the Christian churches and schools, and see their faith just as harshly outlawed as the Orthodox faith. Great masses of them seem to have accepted secularization, but there is still an element, particularly in Turkestan, which is maintaining the fight for the maintenance of the Muslim religion.

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Food Planning For 400,000,000

The following extracts are made from a review, appearing in the *Journal of The Royal Society of Arts*, of Dr. Radhakamal Mukerjee's book with the above title:

Agriculture in India must be approached from a new angle in the future so as to ensure the most economical use of the land; it must attract the most gifted brains, British and Indian; it must include a new population policy and systematic food and crop and labour planning.

Even if India can bring her yields up to the best standards of other heavily-populated eastern countries, certain problems will remain—one being the attitude of the peasants towards the maintenance of uneconomical and useless cattle which amount to 125,000,000, and another that, assuming the present rate of increase of population which may well be realized under the improving conditions, India's population by the middle of the century will in all probability overstep 447,000,000, which is said to be her ultimate population capacity.

The average Englishman, even though he grows today less than half the food he eats, is largely unaware that these problems of population pressure exists in the East. There is no hope of India being able to import food from foreign countries in exchange for her manufactures; Japan and, to some extent, China are already ahead of her in this respect, and their population pressure is likely to become even heavier than that of India. Even in these countries the food production, though high per acre, is low per human hour of production. Hence wages are small in industry and manufacturing costs low in comparison with Europe.

What is the solution? We give it in the words of the author: "The future population adjustment thus seems to lie more in the directions of of judicious combination of food and industrial cropping than in subsistence farming, more in agricultural than in general industrialization, and above all more in the restriction of numbers than in the diversification of employment."

Professor Mukerjee reminds us that Malthus first enunciated the law of diminishing returns, so important for India, and that in Asia 1,000,000,000 people live in an area which is one-sixth of that occupied by 600,000,000 people in Europe and America. In the Ganges plain over 80 per cent of the total cultivable area is cultivated, and in some districts 96 per cent is cultivated; here the density of population exceeds 1,000 per square mile! Under such conditions there is necessarily no fallowing, the soil becomes depleted, and the general costs of cultivation is increased.

The Negro in America

Writing in the *World Order*, James A. Scott presents an over-view of social practices which block the American Negro's exertions in almost every worthwhile direction.

In the fourteen states where they live in largest numbers an elaborate though somewhat flexible etiquette deeply intrenched in law and custom governs every detail of inter-racial association. Under no conditions, it prescribes, is a Negro to be addressed as "Mr." or "Mrs." Never is he to sit on a bench in a public park or read as a patron in a public library. He must enter and leave a street car by a designated door—in some localities the front, in others the rear—and sit in a designated section. Unless a servant of some white passenger, he must travel in a jim-crow compartment; frequently a division of the baggage car—and at railroad stations he must use separate waiting rooms. When he has business at a hotel, he is generally required to use the freight elevator. In the matter of residence he is relegated *en masse* to undesirable quarters on the "other side of the tracks" where insanitation prevails and such services as garbage collections are woefully inadequate because he cannot vote. Above all, he must not commit the offense of dining with a white man.

Nowhere is the Negro more fundamentally handicapped, the writer points out, than in the lack of educational opportunities:

According to statistics issued by the Department of the Interior, the *per capita* expenditure for public school education for each child in the nation in 1930 was $99.00; for each white child in the South, $44.31; for each Negro child in the South, $12.57. In one state the expenditure per white child was $45.34; per Negro child $5.45; in another the expenditure per white child $35.42; per Negro child $6.38. The salaries of Negro teachers averaged 47 per cent those of the white. The value of school plant and equipment per white pupil in the South was $157.00; per Negro pupil $37.00.

When suspected of crime, he is more than occasionally tortured, murdered, and dismembered by maniacal mobs which undergo no observable remorse or conscience if they subsequently learn that the offense with which the victim of their orgiastic holiday was charged was the crime of a white man who had chalked his face. More generally than that, where he is granted trial it is in many instances in an atmosphere so electric with mob spirit and before a tribunal so biased by pre-convictions that the whole procedure is lynching legalized.

War and Youth

Robert James, Freshman at the University of California, Los Angeles, observes in the *Atlantic Monthly*:

Today war is coming. The same selfish forces that asked the young of another generation to lie beneath white crosses in Flanders fields are talking again of saving democracy and of preserving international morality. Our elders are listening to glib tongues and are being bitter little by little, day by day, against the rulers of the earth under immoral dictators. Is it moral to subjugate half of the peoples of the world to the end that they turn to half-mad leaders for succor? Is it democratic to use force to maintain an unjust peace? Can't you solve the world's difficulties through understanding and good will? Can't you prevent war by giving a little of life to the oppressed peoples of the world? . . . If there is no other way we must give up our dream of life and breathe the stench of gas in trenches before falling, a half-destroyed, shapeless mass, education gone through the power of a hand grenade, dreams drowned in the clatter of a machine gun. As our studies we wonder at the things happening around us. War is coming and we are twenty. Will you let us, too, to die?

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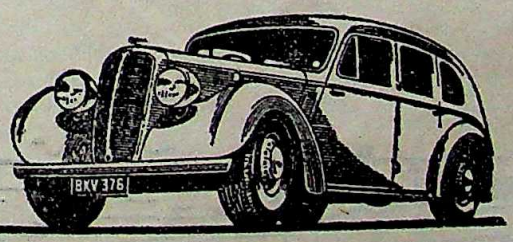

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Dictators and Mass Psychology

The New York Times has the following note on the dictators of to-day:

The new totalitarian masters in Europe have established a grasp on the minds and feelings of their subjects which the old despots of history might well envy. Louis XIV said, "I am the State." Mussolini goes much farther and says to his people, "I am your state of mind." Thus it will happen that on Monday afternoon the Italian people hate England and love Hitler. By 10 a.m. Tuesday they are decidedly cool to Hitler and recall the old ties of friendship between Italy and Great Britain. In between somebody has issued orders.

The Republic of Cuba

Juan-Manuel Planas writes in *La Nature*, Paris :

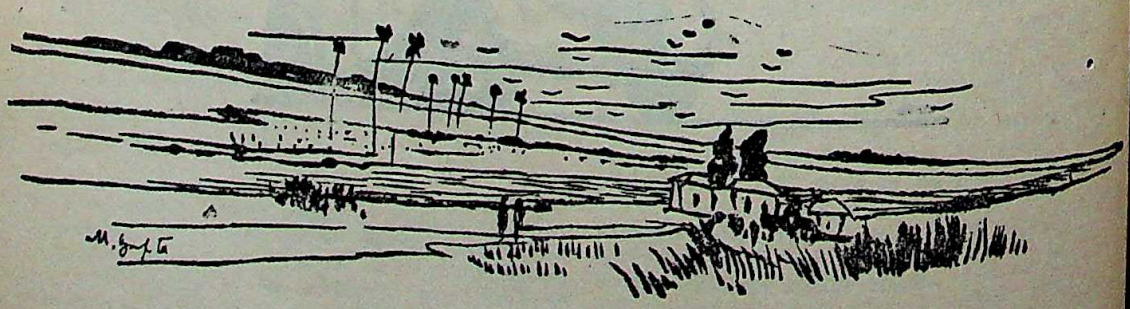
The Republic of Cuba includes not only the Island of Cuba, but also the Pine Island and several other large and small islands lying around it which altogether make up an area of 114,524, sq. kilom. for the whole Republic. When Columbus discovered the Island of Cuba on 27th. Oct. 1492, he found there Red Indians of a kind and mild temperament, standing on a low cultural level. To-day, in contrast with the Middle and South America and Mexico, there are no Indians left in Cuba. After its discovery, this land was conquered and colonised by Spain. As the natives perished, the colonists imported Negro slaves from Africa and also allowed the Chinese to immigrate. When the Edict of Nantes was cancelled, and again when France gave over Louisiana to the United States in 1803, French colonists came over to Cuba and settled there as planters. It was a Franch general in the Spanish army, Lo[illegible] Clouet, who was responsible for founding the c[illegible] Cienfuegoes and settling many French families [illegible] Thus the majority of the population of Cuba is [illegible] made up of Spaniards, black slaves, French, and C[illegible] people. The number of the Chinese and Spaniards, w[illegible] attracted by the fertile soil, is still on the increase. [illegible] the war, a large number of Poles, Czechs, Lithuanian[illegible] Russians, most of whom were Jews, have immigrated. [illegible] 600 out of 4,000 students of the University of Havana [illegible] Jews born in Cuba. The Chinese own two big [illegible] newspapers, whereas there are nine Spanish peri[illegible] in Havanna . . . The population of the Republic is [illegible] four millions, of which the white population (inclu[illegible] foreigners) is estimated to be 72 p.c. The dens[illegible] population is 35 inhabitants per sqr. kilometer.

It is not known well enough that the Wa[illegible] Independence fought by Cuba against the m[illegible] country, Spain, were not fought by Red Indians ag[illegible] their conquerors, because the native element had al[illegible] become extinct, but by the descendents of the Sp[illegible] colonists, supported by French settlers, Negroes and Chinese. The last War of Independence gave ri[illegible] the Spanish-American War of 1898, which ended [illegible] the defeat of Spain in Cuba and the establishment of [illegible] Republic of Cuba on 20th May, 1902, after an Am[illegible] government for three years . . . The Republic of C[illegible] is divided into six provinces. The capital, Havanna, [illegible] a population of 5,52,000 inhabitants, and there [illegible] besides, 18 cities with more than 50,000 inhabi[illegible] Since Dr. Finlay of Cuba discovered that yellow [illegible] is transmitted through mosquitoes, the hygienic con[illegible] in the land have improved, and it has been possible [illegible] the Americans to complete the construction of the Pa[illegible] Canal . . . Cuba, which was formerly a centre of [illegible] tions, has now become a paradise and one of [illegible] healthiest lands of the world.

TRS. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

Key to the Frontispiece

The artist has in view the Mogul Emperor, Akbar, and his Rajput wife, Jodh Bai. Accurate portraiture, however, has not been aimed at.



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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

One More Solution for the Problem of Communalism

shrewd rulers or the Saint of Shegaon, whoever be the inspirer of the idea of no Swaraj without Hindu-Muslim unity, it is a fact that at present there is a big section of people in the country who are out to use the *chhota bhai* at any cost. To add to the already suggested numerous measures, Prof. Bhuban Mohan Sen has suggested a new one.

In the August issue of *The Modern Review* Prof. Sen has published an article, with a view to exploring the rock-bottom of communalism and advocating the use of re-writing history. But his failure in the attempt is pathetic. It is an irony of fate that he aimed at excavating the rock-bottom but his soaring imagination landed him in fairy-land instead, where realism lost its semblance. Hence, though the article is full of pious wishes, it is equally full of misconceptions and erroneous statements.

In order to substantiate my remarks I first propose to enumerate the points dealt with by Prof. Sen and then to examine them, one by one.

At the outset he has referred to communalism in India. Secondly, he writes about the futility of pacts in bringing communal harmony. Then he proceeds to discuss the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. After this he has made broad suggestions as to how the history of the Hindu period and the Muslim period should be re-written. Then he presents an outline for the same purpose, and concludes by quoting Principal Sheshadri for support.

Prof. Sen has begun by stating that the absence of problems in India would not have placed us in any better situation than the present one. The division of Indian society into majorities and minorities, due to castes and sub-castes or the racial difference, *viz.*, Aryan and non-Aryan, would have played its part in the destruction of social harmony. Though by reference to castes and sub-castes, or the racial colouring Prof. Sen suggests that in writing this article he has all sorts of communal problems in view, from his further writing it is obvious that it is not so, and that his attention is centred around the red rag of the Hindu-Moslem problem. I don't want to blame him for this. Because it is quite natural that this question should be uppermost in every one's mind, as one cannot open one's daily papers without having to read of a kidnapping of some Hindu woman, or looting of a Hindu merchant or of a Hindu-Muslim riot, in some part of the country or other. Even though Prof. Sen has grouped all communal problems together, I would like to state here that the solution of the Hindu-Moslem problem, shall have to be completely different from that of the other communal problems of castes and sub-castes. Prof. Sen says that communalism is rampant in India. What he says is a fact, and every one in India must be prepared to meet communalism and all 'isms' on a square front.

Now let us turn to the second point, *viz.*, the futility of pacts and agreements as solutions for communal problems. Here I am glad to state that I quite agree with Prof. Sen on this point of futility of pacts and agreements, though my reasons for it are different. He says: "I have no objection to secure communal harmony by a policy of give and take." I ask who can possibly have any objection to this policy? No one can. The theory is quite all right, but if we look at the state of affairs carefully we find that it is not give and take, but it is only give. Further he writes: "Whether we wish such a patch-work or not, it is inevitably coming; for there is the dominant party in Indian politics who are pursuing Swaraj at any cost." This means, in spite of his no faith in the patch-work Prof. Sen is prepared not only to let it go unopposed, but to suggest a measure of re-writing history to smoothen its course. In this I differ from him and I am of opinion that, though some unwise things are being carried on by a section of people in the country, on the strength of majority for some time, they cannot last and continue long, if opposed by educated people. And I think every educated person is duty bound to oppose any action which in his eyes is harmful to the nation, even if he is in the minority. The dominant party, as Prof. Sen says, is out to enter into pacts and agreements based on the policy of give and take. The party may be free to give, but what has it that can make others to reciprocate. Can the dominant party force others to give if they do not do it voluntarily? The answer is, nay. It means that the dominant party is out to give only. And this should be prevented because in this case when the two contracting parties are not equally strong to enforce reciprocation the taking party will never be satisfied unless it takes all. All the above will make it clear that the real solution of this problem lies in nothing else but in both the communities being strong and organized.

Now we come to the more important point dealing with the effect of teachings of history on Indian students. In this connection Prof. Sen after stating that in order to secure communal harmony, history of all the communities must be rewritten, tells us of Englishmen participating in the Washington memorial meetings, and joining the Wallace and Robert Bruce anniversaries with sincere enthusiasm. Does he thereby mean to suggest that this good feeling between the English and others is an outcome of rewritten history? I don't believe that Prof. Sen will dare to answer this in the affirmative. But then if he answers in the negative, he will at once have to admit that rewriting of history is not at all necessary for the creation of such good feeling. In fact history has nothing to do with this. Prof. Sen writes: "When the Hindu lad leaves the school, he is for all his life obsessed with Alauddin and Padmini, and Alauddin and his assassinated uncle." This certainly cannot be attributed to history taught in the class-room. For where's the need of reading history for this, when many contemporary Alauddins in many villages and towns frequently corroborate this failing of their co-religionist. Can all the good done by Alauddin Khilji make the Hindu lad blind to the present? Can the 'Dream in the marble'—the Taj, enable him to turn a deaf ear to the rueful tale of Ajanta or Ellora and many other similar places? Evidently it cannot. After describing the effect of history on a Hindu lad Prof. Sen

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proceeds to describe the effect of reading the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and Puranas on a Muslim student. I am sure Prof. Sen must surely have been in the realm of dreamland while writing this. I have not so far heard of schools where the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, etc., are taught by way of history. If Prof. Sen is referring to boys reading these outside the class-rooms I think it cannot be helped, unless Prof. Sen suggests to proscribe the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. I do not think that he will go that length. Morever, I can assure Prof. Sen of complete safety in this affair, without this drastic measure of proscribing, for I would sooner believe Prof. Sen being a convert to Muslim faith than Muslim lads reading the Ramayana and the Mahabharata.

Having thus clearly shown that history taught in class-rooms has little or no share in fostering communalism, it would not be out of place here to discuss the question of rewriting history, from the theoretical point of view. The primary consideration in this matter is, as to what purpose this branch of learning is expected to serve. In my opinion, the study of this subject is promulgated with the object of making the past a guide for the present and future life, by a race or nation, and I think there can be no two opinions on this point. In this, it is presumed that history is a correct, faithful and complete account of the peoples' past collective life in its various aspects. If it is agreed that history is to serve no other than the abovementioned purpose, it should be in conformity with the above description. Any movement or project undertaken by the leaders for the betterment of the people, but not in keeping with their characteristics and traditions, has always and everywhere failed. The guidance of the unfaithfully and incompletely represented past is sure to lead a nation or race to a disastrous end. I may be excused for quoting the following lengthy but convincing passage from *Hindu Polity* by the learned author, the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, in support of my above statement.

"But when there was a Hindu revival in the time of Sivaji and the Sikhs, the Sikhs as a polity failed. They failed because they could not connect themselves with the past. They followed a system which prevailed around them and established a polity of one man's rule; Guru Govind wanted to remedy it but the attempt brought about no-man's rule. It was the Padshahi, the Moghul form, in success and defeat, in rise and in fall. But the movement in the Maratha country had a different history. There they looked into the past history and drew up a constitution and founded a polity on materials that were easily available to them, but the materials which connected them with the past. They consulted the Mahabharata and the Shukraniti and that the King should reign but not rule, that government should be vested in a ministry of eight ministers they founded the Ashta-pradhana. They searched technical terms from the political literature of the country and drew up a Raj-kosh or a book of state terms. the system tried was only one portion of Hindu one-half of the whole body. They had the Paridhi they had not the Paura-janapada. To their great it must, however, be said that in modern times they the first to realize that one man's rule was not also by the wisdom and the experience of their forefathers that it was foreign to the genius of their Sastras. limitations were the limitations of darkness and ignorance about the constitutional history of the country, a darkness which we have not yet fully removed three centuries after."

The concrete incidents from past history cited and compared in the above passage will not leave shred of doubt in anyone's mind as to the manner presentation of history and its purpose. Hence let it be of a nation or a race, of a sect or a community of even a movement or an agitation, must be presented in a faithful and complete manner, and it should be tampered with even by omissions.

Now let us look at this question with reference different communities whose lots are cast together. Just as in case of individuals, in order that two or culturally different communities living together develop intimacy to the extent of being co-sharers in sorrows and joys, in successes and defeats, hardships as well as affluence, the condition precedent of absolute confidence in each other. And such confidence can never be inspired in each other unless each knows the other thoroughly and completely. For this it is absolutely necessary that both must be aware of each other's merits and demerits, virtues and vices, characteristics, traditions, idiosyncrasies, and what not. Does this not mean that faithful and complete presentation of history is equally essential in this as well as in the case of peoples or communities living by themselves?

All the discussion made so far ultimately brings us to the conclusion that there is one and only one way in which history can be presented, if it is to serve the desired end about which there is no difference of opinion. As this conclusion leaves no scope for re-writing history to Prof. Sen's taste I very much regret that his labour in presenting an outline for the purpose of re-writing history, should, in my opinion, remain unfruitful.

D. R. Bhagat

Dhulia

The Modern Review for September, 1938:

p 312, 2nd. column, line 12, *read* 'dialectal' *for* '*dialectual*'

p 313, 1st. column, line 29, *read* '1911-21' *for* '1911-12'

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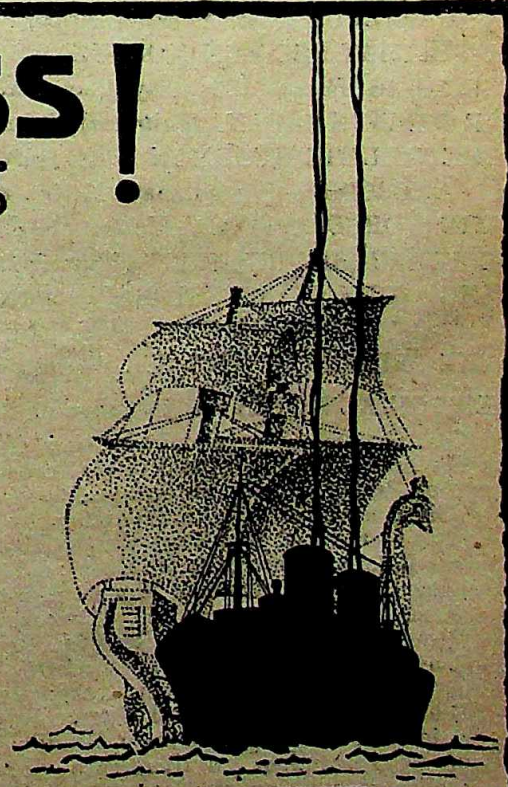

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THE LETTER-MESSENGER (*Poem*)—Rabindranath Tagore
TO THE LADY WITH NO ADDRESS—Rabindranath Tagore
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CHANDALIKA—Srimati Pratima Tagore
"NO" (*Short Story*)—Tarasankar Banerjee
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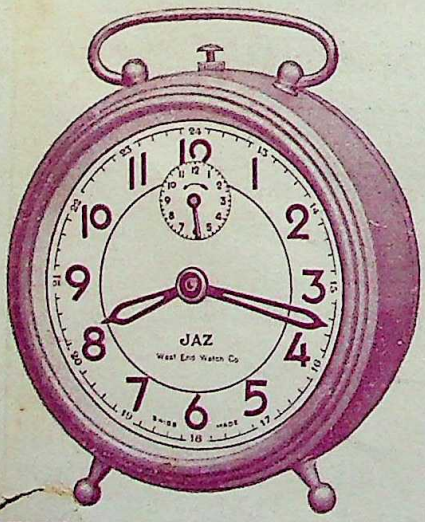

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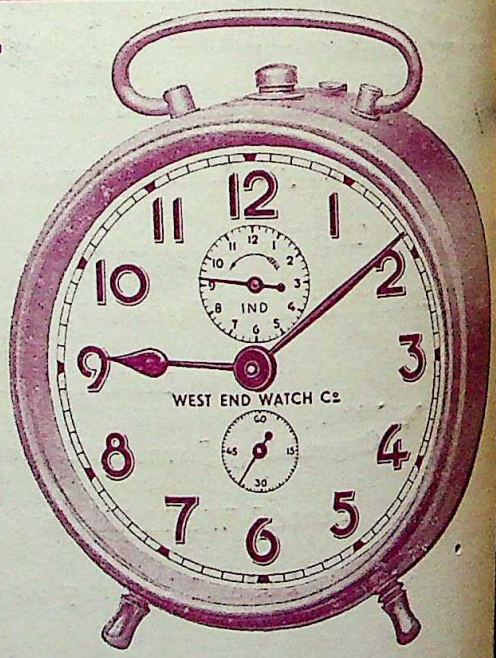

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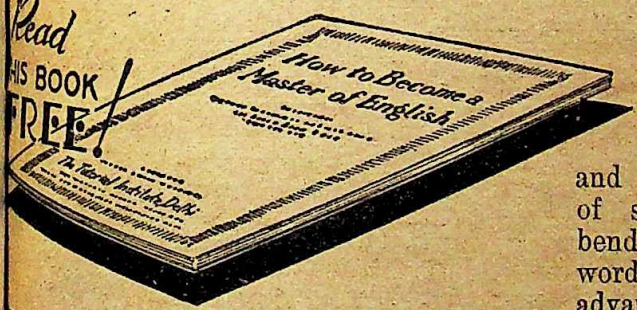

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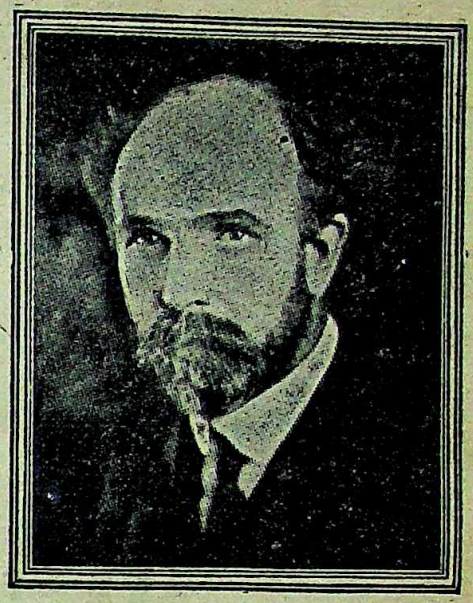

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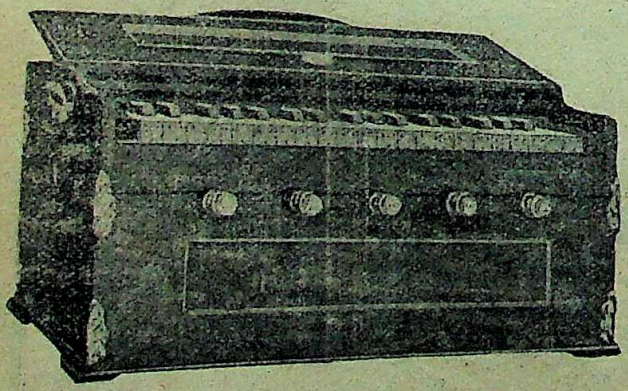

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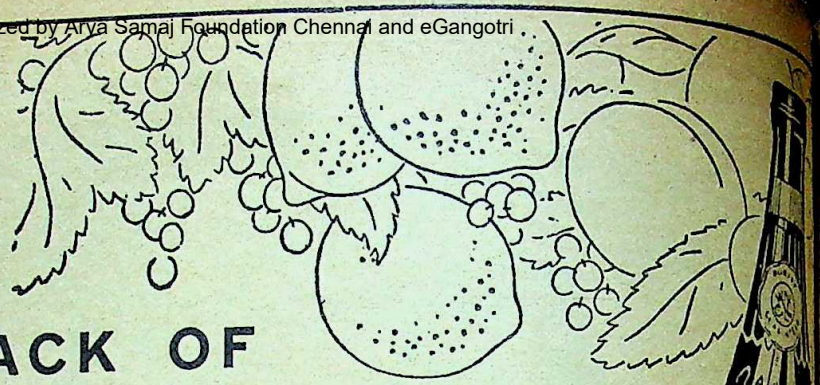

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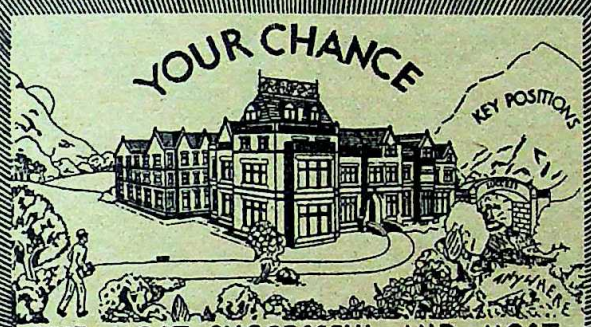

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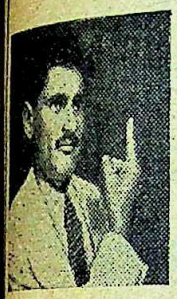

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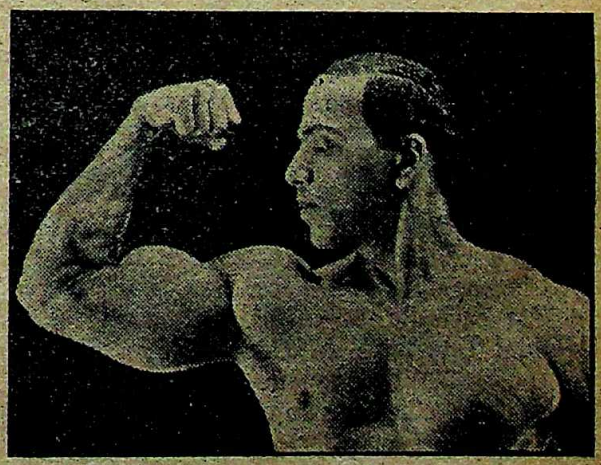

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THE MODERN REVIEW

Vol. LXIV., No. 5 Whole No. 383

CONTENTS FOR NOVEMBER, 1938

		Page
NOTES		5[illegible]
PEACE—WITH DISHONOUR	*Major D. Graham Pole*	5[illegible]
MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATEST WEAPON (*illust.*)	*C. F. Andrews*	5[illegible]
THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS	*C. F. Andrews*	5[illegible]
D'ANNUNZIO AND THE ITALIAN THEATRE (*illust.*)	*Monindramohan Moulik, D.Sc., Pol. (Rome)*	5[illegible]
[illegible]AI (*illust.*)	*S. R. Tikekar*	5[illegible]
CHATTERJEE'S PICTURE	*Manindralal Bose*	5[illegible]
[illegible] TO HITLER	*Chaman Lal*	5[illegible]
[illegible]ITY	*D. V. Divekar*	5[illegible]
[illegible]HE JUVENILE AND [illegible]ENGAL	*Miss Usha Biswas, M.A., B.T.*	5[illegible]
[illegible] DEMAND	*V. B. Kulkarni*	5[illegible]
[illegible]GRESS	*Satya N. Mukerji, M.A.*	5[illegible]
[illegible]L RELATIONS		5[illegible]
[illegible]ANTS IN AMERICA	*Ramlal B. Bajpai*	5[illegible]
FUTURE AND [illegible]AND WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?	*X.*	5[illegible]
THE GUJARATI THEATRE	*Prof. Hiralal Godiwala, B.A.*	5[illegible]
KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND "NATION-BUILDING"	*Ramananda Chatterjee*	6[illegible]
MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR	*Dr. Saiyid Mahmud*	6[illegible]
COMMENT AND CRITICISM		6[illegible]
AN EXHIBITION OF MADAME SMULDERS' PAINTINGS IN PHNOM-PENH, CAMBODIA		6[illegible]

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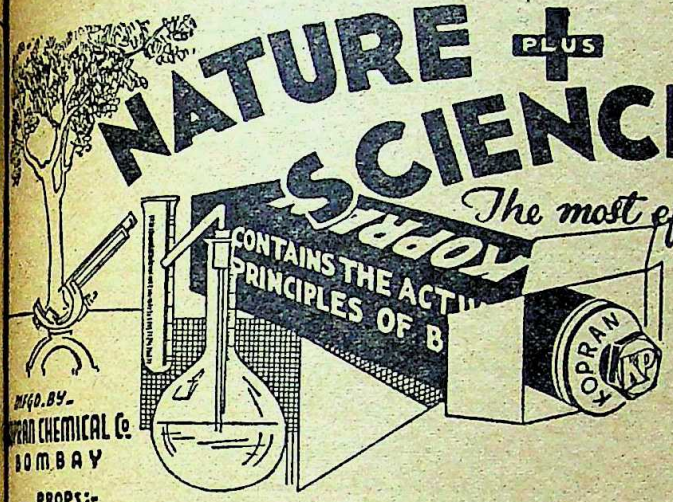

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CONTENTS—(Contd.)

		Page
BOOK REVIEWS	*X., D., Sukumar Ranjan Das, Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Swami Jagadiswarananda, Nirmal Kumar Bose, P. K. Guha, Dhurjati Mukerji, Isan Chandra Ray, Rajendranath Ghose, K. M. J., T. P.*	609—616
DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION	*Dr. Bool Chand, Ph.D. (Lond.) M. A.*	617
WORLD AFFAIRS	*G. H.*	624
INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)		627
AN ASSAMESE HISTORIAN'S SUCCESS (*illust.*)		628
INDIAN PERIODICALS:		
The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi		629
The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha		629
Federalism		630
Nature in Bankim Chandra's Novels		630
Modernism: An Oriental Interpretation		631
A Constituency for Dumb Animals		631
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:		
Keshub Chunder Sen		632
Iqbal, India's Muslim Poet		632
RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO YONE NOGUCHI		636

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THE VILLAGE MINSTREL
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THE MODERN REVIEW

NOVEMBER 1938

Vol. LXIV, No. 5 Whole No. 383

NOTES

e Industrialization of India

Though agriculture is also an industry, the er word is generally used to denote manu- uring industries.

At present India is no doubt mainly an icultural country. But it would be a mistake assume that in the pre-British period also was in all ages a merely agricultural ntry. Even a cursory persusal of the intro- tory chapters of Major B. D. Basu's *Ruin Indian Trade and Industries* would show India was an industrial country, too, and in addition to supplying her own require- ts of manufactured goods, she exported such les to foreign countries. She can again be strialized. But it is neither desirable practicable to make her mainly an industrial ntry, as, for example, Britain is. Industri- ation of India in that sense is not, we eve, aimed at by any political or other party India. A proper balance between agriculture manufacturing industry should and must maintained. In fact the intensification and nsion of agriculture in many directions will required, if only for an adequate supply of materials for many kinds of new and already sting industries.

When the industrialization of Russia is ken of as an example of what ought to be e in India, it is so said with reference to the gress made by Russia during the last twenty rs in manufacturing industries. It is forgot- or not known that in agriculture, too, she has de equally great progress and improvement. As the authors of the recently published book, *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, say:

> "Although, as we have shown, the aim to industrialize the U. S. S. R. has been attained during the twenty years of the existence of the Soviet Government, agriculture has by no means been neglected; *indeed it may be that the verdict of history will be that it is in the solution of the agricultural question that the U. S. S. R. has made the greatest and most original contribution to world economic history.*" Page 152.

The industrialization of India has engaged the attention of Indians for many decades past —especially after the starting of the Swadeshi movement. Indeed long before that movement, the founders and conductors of the Hindu Mela in the late sixties and early seventies of the last century made the advancement of indigenous industries one of the objects of the Mela.

The Swadeshi movement has given rise to many industries directly and indirectly.

In recent years Sir M. Visweswarayya has written a book on the reconstruction of India advocating industrialization. Sir P. C. Ray, noted both as a scientist and a practical industrialist, has been for decades harping on the subject in our English and Bengali monthlies and dailies. In June last we planned to issue a special industrial and economic number, and were able to make it ready on the 30th July for publication as our August number. It contained articles by such prominent scientists and industrialists as Sir P. C. Ray, Dr. M. N. Saha, Dr. S. S. Bhatnagar, G. L. Mehta, D. P. Khaitan, A. R. Dalal, Prof. V. Subrahmanyan, and others.

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At the sitting of the Congress Working Committee on the 25th of July last it passed a resolution on the development of industries in the provinces,

> authorizing the Congress President to convene a conference of Ministers of Industry at an early date and call for a report of the existing industries operating in different provinces and the need and possibilities of new ones as preliminary to the appointment of the Expert Committee to explore possibilities of an All-India industrial plan.

Accordingly the Congress President called a conference of the Industries Ministers of the Congress provinces, to which the Industries Ministers of the non-Congress provinces might also have been invited and they might have accepted the invitation. The President's views on industrialization were known even before the conference. He made them known at a meeting of scientists at the Calcutta Univertisy Science College in reply to questions put by Dr. M. N. Saha. This was directly or indirectly the result of Dr. Saha's paper in the August number of *The Modern Review* having been criticized by Mr. Kumarappa in some newspapers. At the conference at Delhi on October 2nd President Subhas Chandra Bose declared that industrialization and that by "forced marches as in Russia" was essentially necessary for India. "In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition." He is also of the opinion that if industrialization be an evil, it is a necessary evil, [which it is not,] and that the remedy is to mitigate the evils of industrialization, not to resist the process itself.

The experts committee has been appointed by the President. His choice of the personnel has much to commend itself. It cannot and should not be contended that all the prominent scientists and industrialists should have been in the Committee.

Industrialization includes within its scope large scale heavy industries, smaller power industries, and cottage industries. No class of industries need be shut out. Many European countries—France, Scandinavia, etc.—and Japan are noted for their cottage industries. In Japan many cottage industries serve as feeders to bigger ones.

We do not know how the industries are going to be financed. State socialism in the sphere of industries, as in Soviet Russia, is, of course, out of the question now. But some kind of economic nationalism will have to be advocated. In any case, the provincial governments must aid the industries in some way or other and see that they are properly financed. President Bose is an avowed socialist. But need not on that account fight shy of capital *at this stage*. We read in Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*:

> "He (Marx) was able to show that capitalism in its early stages, despite wholesale cruelty and hardship, was nevertheless a progressive force, driving through competition to continual development of the productive forces, enlargement of the scale of production, concentration of capital and increasing of the numbers of the proletariat."—Page 13.

Even in industrialized countries of the West and in Japan "wholesale cruelty and hardship" are no longer associated with capitalism, and labour legislation in India have made this impossible.

At the Conference both Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's opening address and the resolutions agreed on the fundamental proposition that every scheme should be planned on an India scale including the Indian States, that early start should be made with certain industries of national importance and that a comprehensive programme should be drawn by a National Planning Commission. Now key industries, such as power supply, mining production, heavy machinery and tools, chemicals and fertilisers, transport and communication industries, etc., require much capital. Hence the co-operation of capitalists must be secured.

It is a pleasure to note that the centre has decided that every scheme is to be planned on an All-India basis, including the Indian States. A month earlier, on the 2nd September, Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered an address on the prospects of Industrialization in India at Gwalior on the occasion of the Ganesh Festival at the invitation of the Gwalior Durbar. He concluded by observing:

> A very large measure of inter-provincial co-operation between the States and British India would be needed to direct our industrial development along sound lines. We must evolve a common policy and technique. Government encouragement and assistance and we must also devise some effective method of mutual assistance in industrial financing. In these matters we cannot act with British India. Our efforts should also embrace the Indian States many of which have to some extent adopted policies suitable to their peculiar circumstances and have acquired valuable experience in regard to the nature and extent of state assistance that are likely to yield the best results. We may have several political boundaries, but in matters economic I can only see one boundary—the boundary of India.

Whatever plan of industrialization is adopted, the rights of Labour are surely to be safeguarded. Dr. A. K. Saha with his

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experience and Mr. V. V. Giri with his experience as a Labour leader will help the committee to do it.

A Tribute of Praise to the Congress Ministries and The Congress High Command

In the October number of *The International Review of Missions*, which is a leading British quarterly, the Rev. J. S. M. Hooper pays the Congress ministries and the Congress high command the following tribute of praise:

One thing may be said with confidence, while recognizing that at any moment the position may change: a good start has been made, after the preliminary months' manœuvring for position and the clarification of issues that resulted from it; the conditions of continued success are present in the spirit of co-operation and of eager service that has been shown by the governors of the provinces, the members of the services and the newly appointed ministers. Speaking generally and keeping clear of the ungrateful task of criticism of details here and there, most of the ministers have approached the tasks of administration with humility and courage, and with a determination to deal thoroughly with the real problems of the country. The necessary emphasis on the purely constitutional questions that have been so much debated for many years, some of the greatest of which—notably that of the position of the autocratic Indian states in a federal system—are still unsolved, should not obscure the fact that the Indian governments in power are using that power for the service of the people. It is at the least a gesture of significance that the Congress governments are working on a sacrificial basis: by their action the monthly salaries of ministers have been limited to five hundred rupees (£450 per annum). Where there has been any hint of corruption strong steps have been taken to correct it, the Congress high command exercising at this stage a salutary influence on the provincial governments, in helping them to maintain a high standard of probity against local forces that might otherwise prove too strong.

The central Congress authority has been further praised for its work in the following passage:

How to reconcile the responsibility of each provincial Congress government to this Congress higher command, with the responsibility to the electorate whose votes have put it in office, is one of the major problems that the Congress party will have to solve. Meanwhile, however, the central Congress authority is discharging a most vital and necessary function, so that in spite of local difficulties and the fact that some Congress men are apparently looking for trouble, it may be said that the responsible leaders have shown that they are eager to serve what they believe to be the true interests of the country and that they recognize the magnitude of their task.

"America's War on China"

This is the heading of an editorial note in *The Christian Register* of Boston, which is "a journal of Free Churches." The heading is startling. But read the following:

Not only the liberals and the radicals but all the decent people who, so far as we have heard or read, have expressed themselves on the subject, sympathize with China in the present undeclared war. With unanimity they condemn the aggressor and his methods. Even when they admit that the Japanese were themselves in many ways the victims of a bad international situation, they still condemn the unchivalrous—to put it mildly—way in which Japan has carried on her "war."

But the voice of the people, as a nation of ethical individuals, is not the voice of the people as a state or as an assemblage of economic corporations. We are sending to Japan over half of the material which she is using in her Chinese offensives.

That means, of course, that we are accomplices with Japan in her raids upon Chinese territory. If her actions are criminal we are accessory to the crime. Even if the actions were not criminal our participation in them would mean that we were ruining a potential customer and strengthening a potential economic and military rival—that we were giving ourselves good reasons for the building of more battleships.

Our supplying Japan with 54.4 of her war material is also a reduction to absurdity of our policy of neutrality, and the invocation of the neutrality act would not help in that respect: for then China would be barred from purchase of munitions, but Japan would not be barred from purchase of raw materials and machinery.

"American Committee for Non-participation in Japanese Aggression"

Though the American *State* has been, indirectly, making war on China, *right-minded people* in America are trying to right the wrong done, by organizing the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression."

The only decent course for America to pursue is to withdraw her economic co-operation with Japan. To this end there has just been organized in New York the "American Committee for Non-Participation in Japanese Aggression." The personnel of the committee is not complete, but already it includes Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr; Dr. Edward H. Hume, director of Christian Medical Council for Overseas Work; Professor Harry B. Price of Yenching University; T. A. Bisson of the Foreign Policy Association, and a number of others the majority of whom have special knowledge of the Orient.

The committee has initiated its work by issuing a pamphlet, "America's Share in Japan's War Guilt" (15 cents a copy), which may be obtained by addressing the committee at 8 West 40th Street, New York. The pamphlet contains factual material on what we are doing to aid Japan as well as a number of opinions by statesmen and publicists which show that the demand to cease trading with Japan does not come from any one quarter but is voiced by conservatives and radicals alike, by the Churches, Catholic and Protestant, by labor, by women's clubs.

The committee seeks larger membership and financial contributions.

This American Committee has set an example which other peoples, particularly those who are free, ought to follow.

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British "Empire's Largest Steel Plant Now Headed by Indian"

World Youth for September 10 last contains an article with this caption. It is said therein:

The largest steel plant of the British Empire, the Tata Iron and Steel Company, of Calcutta, India, has recently appointed the first Indian to be its General Manager—Mr. J. J. Ghandy. Mr. Ghandy took his Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Science degrees in Bombay and in 1918 began work in the Tata Company. After three years he went to the United States for graduate study in various subjects which would further fit him for the steel business, taking degrees at Columbia University and the Carnegie Institute of Technology at Pittsburg. After returning to the Tata Company he made several subsequent trips to Europe and America to study the steel trade and has now been made General Manager, a position previously held by Americans.

An account is then given of the Tata Iron and Steel Company in a few sentences.

The Tata Iron and Steel Company was organized over thirty years ago by two brothers, Jamshedji and Dadabhai Tata. The family had previously owned extensive cotton mills near Bombay and had made the present development of hydro-electricity in Bombay Presidency. Up to the beginning of Jamshedji Tata's excursion into it, mining in India had been confined to precious metals and gems. It was Jamshedji who had a vision of the development of ore mining and the manufacture of steel. He was greatly assisted by an American steel-captain who worked out plans by which the Tata Company was launched. Today it stands as the largest single unit of its kind in the British Empire.

The output of the Company for the month of January, 1938, was 216,500 tons of finished and semi-finished steel products.

In India, largely in its own mines, the Company finds all but two of the raw materials required. Sulphur is purchased from Japan and fluorspar from Germany. Some of the ores, in particular chrome, come from Indian jungles where malaria and black-water fever abound. When a new mine is discovered the Company sends medical experts at once to ascertain what diseases must be combated, and precautions are immediately taken for the protection of the laborers.

The late Mr. P. N. Bose, but for whose discovery of the iron mines in Mayurbhanj, the Jamshedpur Iron and Steel Works could hardly have been started, ought to have been given due credit in this connection.

In conclusion, due meed of praise is given to the Parsees.

Although Americans have played a great part in developing the Tata Company, and money and labor from all communities in India are invested in it, the dominating atmosphere of Jamshedpur is Parsee. The Parsees are numerically a small community, but they are comparable in business acumen to the Jewish people of other nations, and they dominate the financial life of a large part of India.

Parsees are Persians who migrated to India some thirteen hundred years ago, and are Zoroastrian by religion. Education is more widely spread among them than among any other people in India. The percentage of literacy among Parsee women is even greater than that of Christian women. They are a philanthropic people. The Tatas have devoted their vast wealth to the advancement of India along constructive lines. They early urged upon the Government the enactment of such tariff regulations as would promote Indian industry.

Lenin and University Education

In *The Life and Teachings of V. I. Lenin* by R. Palme Dutt, published by the International Publishers of New York, we are told that Lenin's father was an inspector of schools, who had "two sons and four daughters *all studied deeply* and *were all revolutionaries*" (p. 21). This shows—whatever some Indian revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries and some of their leaders may say—that there is no incompatibility between deep study and revolutionary mentality.

The same book states:

"In 1887 Lenin, then aged seventeen, was expelled from Kazan University, which he had just entered as a student, for participation in a revolutionary demonstration."—P. 21.

This was long before the Bolshevik revolution, and Kazan University was a Czarist imperialist university. The other universities in Russia were all at that time imperialist universities. Politically they were not better than our Indian universities. Nevertheless, the young revolutionary Lenin "continued his studies, and took his degree in law at Petersburg in 1891." Evidently this taking of a degree at an imperialist university did not make a slave of him.

No one in India is or can be a greater revolutionary than Lenin. We are not followers of Lenin, and cannot ask anybody to be a follower of him. What we say is that even those of our students who may want to become Leninists need not give up or neglect their studies. On the contrary, following his example they should study deeply and take their degrees if they can.

Communism and "The Whole Inheritance of Human Knowledge"

We learn from Mr. R. Palme Dutt's *Life and Teachings of Lenin*, published by the International Publishers, New York:

"Lenin constantly insisted that communism cannot be regarded as a special body of doctrines or dogmas, 'ready-made conclusions' to be learnt from text-books but can only be understood as the outcome of the whole of human science and culture, on the basis of an exact study of all that previous ages, including especially capitalist society, had acheved."—P. 63.

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Communism is popularly believed to be a subversion of all previous "isms", including even socialism and the principles of the French Revolution. So, if even communism stands in need of acquiring the accumulated knowledge of ages, India's revolutionaries or would-be revolutionaries of all kinds need not confine their activities to strikes, flag-hoisting, and the shouting of all the various kinds of "Zindabads," and the like, but may safely study "the whole of human science and culture."

Speaking to the Third Congress of the Communist Youth in Russia in 1920, Lenin said:

"It would be a very serious mistake to suppose that one can become a Communist without making one's own the treasures of human knowledge. It would be mistaken to imagine that it is enough to adopt the Communist formulae and conclusions of Communist science without mastering that sum-total of different branches of knowledge, the final outcome of which is communism . . . "Communism becomes an empty phrase, a mere slogan, and the communist a mere bluffer, if he has not worked over in his consciousness the whole inheritance of human knowledge." Pp. 63-64.

Therefore he urged the youth

to acquire the whole sum of human knowledge, and to acquire it in such a way that communism will not be something learnt by heart, but something which you have thought out yourselves, something which forms the inevitable conclusion from the point of view of modern education."—P. 64.

In the same way Lenin wrote with reference to the controversy on "proletarian culture":

"Marxism won its world-historic significance as the ideology of the revolutionary proletariat, because it did not reject out and out the most valuable achievements of the bourgeois epoch, but on the contrary made its own and worked over anew all that was of value in the more than two thousand years of development of human thought" ("Draft Resolution on Proletarian Culture,") P. 64.

Therefore, as both Marxism and Leninism are in favour of mastering the sum-total of human knowledge, all our students, whether inclined to be revolutionaries or not, should go in for deep study and extensive study. They will not be outcasted by non-revolutionaries, and they cannot be outcasted by any "bluffer," who is himself not "a mere slogan" in the words of Lenin!

"Gandhi to Tagore"

Our attention has been drawn recently to the English translation of René Fülöp-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi* published by G. P. Putnam's Sons. The introduction bears the date, Vienna, March, 1927, and the popular edition of the translation is dated 1930. The section of the book devoted to Mahatma Gandhi is prefaced by the following passage ascribed to the Mahatma:

"True to his poetic instinct, the poet lives for the morrow, and would have us do likewise. He presents to our admiring gaze the beautiful picture of the birds in the early morning singing hymns of praise as they soar into the sky. These birds had their day's food, and soared with rested wings in whose veins new blood had flown from the previous night. But I have the pain of watching birds who for want of strength could not be coaxed even into a flutter of their wings. The human bird under the Indian sky gets up weaker than when he pretended to retire. For millions it is an eternal vigil or an eternal trance. It is an indescribably painful state which has to be experienced to be realized. I have found it impossible to soothe suffering patients with a song. The hungry millions ask for one poem, invigorating food."

We do not know when and where Mahatma Gandhi expressed these opinions in writing or speech—with reference to Poet Tagore, we take it, if he did so at all. But whether they are his opinions or not, they give an utterly inadequate and wrong idea of Rabindranath Tagore as a poet, a thinker and a social worker. As a poet he is concerned not merely or mainly with the singing of birds, but with many more things, which are human in a very comprehensive sense. Of them all, this is not the occasion to speak. Suffice it to say here, that in numerous poems and stories of his he has made himself one with the sufferings and joys of the poor dwelling in villages, as well as in towns, but mostly with those of rural folk. And this sympathy is not merely that of the artist. He has tried to bring relief (including "invigorating food") to sufferers by the revival of village crafts, by village sanitation, by improved methods of agriculture, by bringing medical aid to patients by co-operative methods, by rural co-operative banks, by the Sikshā-satra scheme of education for village boys, started in 1922, which the Wardha scheme closely resembles in its educational aspect, and in other ways. His scheme of constructive self-reliance, in education, revival of village crafts, and other methods of village reconstruction, is to be found in his lecture on Swadeshi Samaj, delivered on 22nd July, 1904, and in his presidential address at the Bengal Provincial Conference at Pabna, 1908. He has tried for decades to give effect to his scheme in his ancestral estate. It has formed for decades an important part of the plan of work of the Village Reconstruction Department of Visvabharati. He has given us songs which can "soothe suffering patients," but he has tried to give them invigorating food

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also. He lives for today as well as "for the morrow."

Our readers may obtain a somewhat more adequate idea of the Poet's personality as a practical idealist from our article on him in the last June number of *The Modern Review*.

Great importance is rightly attached to Mahatma Gandhi's opinions. Hence, it is likely that readers of *Lenin and Gandhi*, particularly those outside India who know little of Rabindranath Tagore's life and poetry, may be misled by the passage quoted above into thinking that India's greatest living author does nothing but sing and sings only of birds, "careless of mankind" like the lotus-eaters. That would be a misconception.

It is probable that Mahatma Gandhi is now possessed of more correct and adequate information relating to the Poet.

Gandhiji For Dropping "Mahatma" Before His Name

Of the seven complaints made to Mahatma Gandhi by a Muslim friend, the seventh was as follows:

> 7. Your title as Mahatma is officially recognized by a Government circular, your birthday declared as a holiday, and consequently the Local Board in Amraoti has issued orders to take your image in a procession and to worship your image. Gandhiji, you may permit me to say, we are not idolatrous and we do not recognize you as Mahatma or our religious and political leader."

With reference to this complaint Mahatmaji writes in *Harijan*:

> 7. This is a complaint and an assertion. With both I am in hearty concurrence. It was wrong to give 'Mahatma' official recognition. I registered my protest as soon as it was brought to my notice. I would support any movement to drop altogether the use of the word 'Mahatma' before my name. My simple name sounds sweet without the adjective. The latter often stinks as when it is applied to promote violence or untruth, smoking or drinking or the sale of spurious khadi. To declare my birthday a holiday should be classified as a cognizable offence. The only use of my birthday that I have approved of is intensive spinning or some such national service. That day must be all work and no play. I cannot imagine any Local Board being so foolish as to issue orders to take my image in procession and worship it. I am hoping that my correspondent was wholly misinformed. I should imagine that the issue of such orders would be illegal. As to the assertions and repudiation, I tender my congratulations to my correspondent for them, for I have never aspired after leadership, whether religious or political.

It was quite unnecessary to give the use of 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name official recognition, and it was wrong to this extent that it may lead people to think that, even when people spontaneously called him 'Mahatma', they were doing so on account official prescription. We are not for dropping the use of the word 'Mahatma' before Gandhiji's name altogether. Those who honour him should be allowed to do so by using that word.

Mahatmaji's reply is quite characteristic and does him credit.

Gandhiji On Students' Active Participation in Politics

In the course of an article in *Harijan* of the 15th October last Mahatma Gandhi writes:

> "I think I have written often enough against action by students and pupils except on the rarest of occasions. I hold it to be quite wrong on the part of students and pupils to take part in political demonstrations and politics. Such ferment interferes with serious study and unfits students for solid work as future citizens."

This has always been our opinion, to which we have repeatedly expressed in "Prabāsi" and "The Modern Review."

"One Thing For Which It is the Duty of Students and Pupils To Strike"

In the same article from which we have made an extract above, Mahatma Gandhi writes:

> There is one thing, however, for which it is the duty of students and pupils to strike. I have received a letter from the Hon. Secretary, Youths' Welfare Association, Lahore, giving copious specimens of obscene and erotic passages from the text-books prescribed by various universities. They make sickening reading. Though they are from prescribed text-books, I would not soil my columns with a reproduction of the extracts. I have never come across such filth in all the literature that I have read. The extracts are impartially given both from Sanskrit, Persian and Hindi poets.

Mahatma Gandhi observes in conclusion:

> It is one thing to defend the liberty to read what one likes. But it is a wholly different thing to force young minds acquaintance with literature that cannot but excite their animal passions and an unhealthy curiosity about things which, in due course and to the extent necessary, they are bound to learn. The evil becomes accentuated when it comes in the guise of innocent literature bearing the *imprimatur* of the universities.
>
> An orderly strike on the part of students is the quickest way of bringing about the much-needed reform. Such a strike would not be boisterous. It would consist in the students notifying boycott of examinations which require a study of objectionable literature. It is the duty of every pure-minded student to rebel against obscenity.
>
> The Association asks me to appeal to the Congress Ministers to take such steps as may be possible to remove text-books or passages which are objectionable. I gladly make the appeal hereby not only to these but the Education Ministers in all the provinces. Surely they are equally interested in the healthy growth of the student mind.

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So far as our knowledge goes, the books prescribed by the Calcutta and Dacca Universities and the Bengal Education Department do not contain "filth" of the kind referred to by Gandhiji. We do not know anything about the books prescribed in other provinces.

Rammohun Roy Death Anniversary

As in previous years, the anniversary of the death of Raja Rammohun Roy was celebrated on the 27th September last in many places in India, and in Bristol in England. The proceedings of these anniversary meetings have appeared in various newspapers.

Mr. C. F. Andrews on Rammohun Roy

At the Rammohun Roy Anniversary meeting at Bangalore Mr. C. F. Andrews delivered an eloquent and inspiring address. He began by quoting the words of Mr. William Adam, who knew Raja Rammohun Roy very well indeed through a long personal friendship and association with him in his great work of religious teaching and social reform." Mr. Adam wrote as follows:

"I was never more thoroughly, deeply, and constantly impressed than when in the presence of Rammohun Roy and in friendly and confidential converse with him, that I was in the presence of a man of natural and inherent genius, of powerful understanding, and of determined will,—a will determined, with singular energy and self-direction, to lofty and generous purposes. He seemed to feel, to think, to speak, to act, as if he could not but do all this, and that he must do it only in and from and through himself, and that the application of any external influence, distinct from his own strong will, would be the annihilation of his being and identity. *He would be free, or not be at all! . . . The love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought. . . .* This tenacity of personal independence, this sensitive, jealousy of the slightest approach of an encroachment on his mental freedom, was accompanied with a very nice perception of the equal rights of others, even of those who differed most widely from him."

Mr. Andrews continued:

"The greatest of all things in Raja Rammohun Roy was his profound religious and moral character, which gave to everything which he did a lasting value. Intellectually, he was a giant; his whole intellectual outlook was far beyond that of his contemporaries. Indeed very few in the West, as well as in the East, could meet him and compare with him on the intellectual level. But if that had been his only qualification, he might have become nothing more than a clever sophist. It was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth, that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Europe and European thought also. He has supreme interest for us also because he began by giving a marvellous exposition of the highest teaching of Islam, which was contained in his first book, written when he was still extremely young. His next achievement, and it was equally a great one, was to publish another book called "The Moral Precepts of Jesus," which spoke in the highest terms of the moral greatness of the Christian faith. The third book, which he published, gave his own exposition of the Vedanta, describing for the first time in the modern age the supreme beauty of the philosophy which was behind the Hindu civilization. He thus was able to appreciate historically and to put on record in writing in a very profound manner the greatness of the three religious cultures with which he came intimately into contact."

Proceeding Mr. Andrews added:

"He studied Persian and Arabic and was profoundly influenced by Islam. To this he gave full expression in his first book. Next he came very strongly under the influence of a noble gentleman of the West, Mr. Digby, and studied the Christian civilization and culture. He found its details fully expressed in the Sermon On The Mount and wrote that second book. He returned from these studies to his own ancient scriptures and gave the background that lay behind them all in the Vedanta. In these ways he laid a firm foundation in the East, especially in his own country, which all through the 19th century bore wonderful fruit. Not merely there in the religious sense of the word taking it in its exclusive meaning but also in the social political and national life of the country; for it was from these beginnings of thought which were in the 19th century and were profoundly exemplified by Raja Rammohun Roy that India through the 19th century advanced immensely in a kind of new renaissance of thought and life which changed not merely the intellectual but also the social and political and national life of the country. He has been rightly called "The Father of the Indian Renaissance" and a "Prophet of Indian Nationalism." It is of that great soul we hope to hear today from our different speakers."

Mrs. C. Tucker, Swami Tyagishananda and Mr. Muhammad Hanif then addresed the meeting.

Mr. Andrews, who was not in good health, asked to be allowed to remain seated as he delivered his concluding speech, observing:

"This thought has come to me, that surely this meeting itself is a parable. It is a parable of the unity of man and the unity of God, which Raja Rammohun Roy himself exemplified both in his religious ideal and also in his practical life. For we have had three speakers representing the three different religious faiths, which Rammohun Roy studied most. All of his thoughts tell of the Unity of God and the Unity of Man. Here tonight we have had Christian, Muslim, Hindu,—men, women,—all meeting on this platform to do homage to his great soul."

The speaker passed on to give another 'parable':

"If you will allow me, I will give you another parable, which you may take away with you. This *dhoti* and *chadder* which I am wearing, were given to me by the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore. He gave them to me, at the beginning of this year, to wear at the Convocation

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of Calcutta University, where I had to give the Address. We all remember, at Santiniketan, that Raja Rammohun Roy was the Guru of the father of our Gurudev—that Maharshi Debendranath Tagore was the disciple of Raja Rammohun Roy. Our Gurudev, Rabindranath Tagore, who gave me this very dress that I am wearing, was the son of Maharshi."

Mr. Andrews dwelt for a while on this moral and spiritual succession of three great men.

"Here is a moral succession of very great men, in that great country of Bengal. Perhaps, in no other country of the world is there to be found such a succession of greatness, from Raja Rammohun Roy through Maharshi to Gurudev. Such a line of succession has gone on now for well over a whole century. We may say that modern India, as it were, has sprung out of that wonderful line—the Raja himself, the Maharshi, our Gurudev. So the one great and marvellous spirit is passed on from one generation to another."

Mr. Andrews passed on to those at Santiniketan who are continuing that succession.

When I go back to Santiniketan, I shall find there those who are still continuing that great succession to another generation throughout this twentieth century of confusion and storm. While there is world disaster confronting us on every side, and while we look to the papers everyday, and wonder whether we are going to begin another war, we turn away from these dreaded aspects of the outer world into that inner world of spirit. We find there, in that eternal region of the soul, a permanence, a reality, an infinity, ideal, beauty, which these temporary passions of mankind cannot shake. It is in that eternity of God who is both Unity, and Love, that we put our trust, knowing that though the waves of passion rise higher and higher and are cruelly destructive of beauty, yet God Himself in His infinity of goodness, forgives and restores and creates the fair and lovely things of life which man destroys. Out of all this confusion the spiritual alone remains and ever will remain.

We come now to Mr. Andrews' closing thought.

"That is the one thought that I would like to close with today, while we look back over a hundred years. Raja Rammohun Roy, who seems to be with us today, seems in his spirit to have reached such a height, that we ourselves can hardly contemplate. But we know that, as we come close to him in the wonderful depth of his personality, we shall ourselves carry on to a new generation, here in this country, that great spiritual heritage which he has handed down to us so that India may even now lead the world forward in the power of the Spirit while we learn more and more to revere the Unity of God and the Brotherhood of Man."

A Spanish Publication Dedicated to Rammohun Roy

In the course of his Bangalore address on Raja Rammohun Roy, Mr. C. F. Andrews observed that "it was his supreme moral and spiritual genius that made him (Rammohun Roy) one of the heroes of humanity, who more than any other living soul shaped the course of human history in Asia at the beginning of the 19th century. Indeed, it may be said with truth that his character and personality changed the face of Asia and profoundly influenced Eastern and European thought also." This is not the first time that Mr. Andrews has made such observation.

Those who are acquainted with Rammohun Roy's life know that his mind had international contacts. Not to speak of countries nearer India, such as Afghanistan, Persia and China, he was deeply interested in the politics of even far-off South America. On the receipt of the news of the successful rising of the Spanish Colonies in South America against the authority of Spain, he gave a public dinner at the Town Hall in Calcutta.

Recently a Spanish publication has been brought to light which appears to show that Rammohun Roy was very well known in Spain and perhaps also in the then Spanish Colony of the Philippine Islands. This Spanish publication was exhibited at the last Rammohun Roy anniversary meeting in Calcutta in the Rammohun Library hall by Professor Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, who was one of the speakers. This Spanish volume, the Constitution of the Spanish Monarchy promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812, has been presented to the Rammohun Library by Professor Kshitish Prasad Chattopādhyāy, who is descended from Rammohun Roy's grand-daughter. The cover of the volume, originally beautiful with gilt decorations, measures 16 inches by [illegible]. The volume is now worm-eaten, as the marks on the reduced facsimiles of the printed matter of three of its pages would show. The pages measure 15½ inches by 9¾ inches.

The printed matter on the dedication page measures 11 inches by 6. The dedication is to the Philippine Company "to the most free souled, noble, wise and virtuous Brahman Rammohun Roy." The printed matter on the title page measures 10¾ inches by 6¼ inches. This shows that the volume contains the Constitution of the Monarchy of Spain promulgated at Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812. The third facsimile is a reproduction of a reduced photograph of the first page of the text of the volume on which the printed matter measures 7¼ inches by 5½ inches.

It is not known when, why and under what circumstances the volume was dedicated to Rammohun Roy. Spain is still in the throes of a devastating civil war. It is not likely that these facsimiles will attract the attention of anybody there. The Philippines have passed

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Dedication of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanola* to Rammohun Roy by the Philippines Company

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Title Page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanol..*, Promulgated in Cadiz on the 19th March, 1812

D. FERNANDO SEPTIMO,

por la gracia de Dios y la Constitucion de la Monarquía española, Rey de las Españas, y en su ausencia y cautividad la Regencia del Reyno nombrada por las Córtes generales y extraordinarias, á todos los que las presentes vieren y entendieren, **SABED**: *Que las mismas Córtes han decretado y sancionado la siguiente*

CONSTITUCION POLÍTICA

DE LA

MONARQUÍA ESPAÑOLA.

En el nombre de Dios todopoderoso, Padre, Hijo, y Espíritu Santo, autor y supremo legislador de la sociedad.

Las Córtes generales y extraordinarias de la Nacion española, bien convencidas, despues del mas detenido exâmen y madura deliberacion, de que las antiguas leyes fundamentales de esta Monarquía, acompañadas de las

First page of *Constitucion Politica de la Monarquia Espanola*

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rough many changes. But it is not improbable there may be some persons there who may able to throw some light on the subject.

We are thankful to the authorities of the rmmohun Library for their kind permission reproduce three pages of the volume in facsi-le.

ndhiji Discountenances Worship His Image

In a previous note we have quoted hatma Gandhi's words condemning and dis-ntenancing the reported carrying of his ge in procession and worshipping it, as ught to his notice by a Muslim correspond-in the Central Provinces. Such condemna-n was only to be expected. It is in keeping h the statement which he made years ago *Young India* to the effect that he did not ship the images or idols in temples and these did not excite any feeling of reverence him.

rds Joining Gandhiji's ly Prayers

Wherever Mahatma Gandhi may be, he ctually performs his daily worship at 4 a.m. the morning, and when he is touring large bers of persons, belonging to different reli-s communities, join his prayers. And, of rse, it is not in temples where there are ges of gods that he worships, but wherever may be staying, without any images before Hence it is that Musalmans, Christians Jews as well as Hindus join these prayers. illiterate common people of both sexes no difficulty in thus worshipping with him, find it quite easy and natural to do so. A gram, dated October 22nd, describing his rded programme at Kohat, a predominantly slim town, where he is staying at the resi-e of Pir Shahan Shah, concludes thus:

"Two gates on the outskirts of the city, which are ed to the public only at six in the morning, were n open earlier at 4 a.m. so as to enable the residents ttend the daily prayers at village Jungal Khel where Gandhi is staying. Despite the inclement weather, h was marked by severe storm and rain, the attend-at prayer was fairly large."

ngress Corruption"

Mahatma Gandhi has published in *Harijan* a United Provinces correspondent has en to him, supporting the correspondent, has written, in part:

"I have carefully gone through your statement in *Harijan* and read your recent speech before the members of the Congress Working Committee regarding the corrupt practices among Congressmen and the Committees.

"I have myself on many occasions noticed such corrupt practices as mentioned in the letter published by you, namely, the enrolment of bogus members, paying from one's own pocket the enrolment fees of members, and even forging signatures. The pity is that such things are done even by responsible office-bearers of Congress Committees. In certain places such cases have come to the notice of the Provincial Committee officially, but these things were taken very lightly by the authorities. With the little experience I have of the Congress work in these provinces, I can say that this is true of many of the district and city committees.

"My humble reading of the situation is that such things are generally practised by that section which wants to capture the committees and retain power in their hands. Further, these things have enormously increased with the coming of the Parliamentary programme in the Congress.

"The decision of the Congress to capture the Local Boards and the Provincial Legislatures has attracted towards it a big group of men who are anxious to get into these bodies at any cost. It is this group which, failing to get the spontaneous support of the genuine Congressmen, brings mercenaries and bogus members, who but for personal attachment to the gentleman who enrols them have nothing in common with the Congress. Even among the old members of the Congress some have been taken in by the temptation of offices and power and they readily join hands with the mercenaries. It is, therefore, that such corrupt practices and grouping of parties, without any fundamental difference in principles, I had seen just on the advent of elections."

The correspondent suggests a remedy, which, Gandhiji observes, has been made by several other Congressmen and has much to commend itself. Mahatmaji mentions and supports another suggestion made to him by a business organizer, and says in conclusion:

All that is wanted is the will to clear the Congress of Augean stables. But if the heads of Congress Committees are indifferent or supine, the corruption cannot be dealt with. "If the salt loses its savour wherewith shall it be salted?"

"Politics Must Be Subject To Ethical Laws"

If there be Congressmen and Congress leaders who do not believe that politics must be subject to ethical laws, who think that the end justifies the means, and that what matters above all is what they call success, then no external remedy can rid Congress of corruption. Unfortunately there have been and these are such Congressmen and Congress leaders. Therefore, the fundamental, the essential, the root remedy is to produce the conviction that "sensible and honest politics are the most effective and the most practical." Masaryk, the late President-Liberator of Czechoslovakia,

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had that firm belief. In the recently published book, *Masaryk on Thought and Life*, which records his conversations with Karel Capek, the following observations of Masaryk are recorded:

"All sensible and honest politics are the performing and strengthening of humanity within and without; politics, like everything else that we do, must be subject to ethical laws. I know that there are politicians, chiefly those who consider themselves to be terribly practical and clever, who do not care for that demand; but experience, not only mine, I think, shows that sensible and honest politics, as Havlicek says, are the most effective and most practical. In the end the ones that we call idealists are always right, and they do for the state, for the nation, and for mankind more than those politicians, that are said to be realistic and clever. The smart fellows are stupid in the long run." P. 157.

Karel Capek, demurring, said: "Except that in their own time the idealists are not usually right." To which Masaryk replied:

"Sometimes they are not, sometimes they are: in politics too God's mills grind slowly, but they grind very fine. If I speak of morality in politics I am thinking in the first place of political tactics, and of administration as a whole; political practice itself must be moral—of course, the political programme also is subject to ethics. In the same way as the life of the individual and of society I cannot conceive of politics except sub specie aeternitatis."

"Of course, any one can write a political programme that is respectable enough, and even high principled. It is something different to know the administration, and to carry it out decently; and again it is something else to understand what, at some given time, is in the interest of the state and of the nation, in difficult and fateful moments to point the way, to decide upon suitable progress—and to lead. In this sense one speaks of higher politics, and one distinguishes between a statesman and a politician, or a party man;" . . .pp. 157-158.

The Muslim League and the Wardha Scheme

The Muslim League has totally rejected the Wardha scheme of education even though it was elaborated with great care by a competent Muslim educationalist, Dr. Zakir Hussain. The rejection is evidently due to its having been conceived by Mahatma Gandhi and supported by leading Congressmen. But it has its good features, which we pointed out in a previous issue while criticizing it. We want that the appliances, the devices, the small machines, to be used for the handicrafts chosen, should be quite up-to-date.

Dr. M. N. Saha Criticizes the Wardha Scheme

Dr. M. N. Saha has editorially criticized the Wardha scheme in *Science and Culture*. Says he:

The basic principles of education which the Co follows has been formulated long ago by John D the educational philosopher of America, and applied remarkable success in the remodelling of the Ame system of primary and secondary education. Bu Dewey's system aims at creating a society in wh average individual will be enabled to be familiar wi technicalites of the present system of mechanical co tion, and at adult life will find himself perfectly a with its ways which appears so bewildering to th leaders, the Mahatmaji who inspires the new scheme have nothing to do with the demon of Machine assuring the country of the emergence of a perfect and everyone of a living wage and the right to b the Mahatmaji expresses himself against the m and the society produced by the machine in no u language:

"And all this would be accomplished with horrors of a bloody class war or a colossal capital ex diture such as would be involved in the mechanisa a vast continent like India. Nor would it entail a less dependence on foreign imported machine technical skill. Lastly, by obviating the necessity highly specialised talent, it would place the destiny the masses, as it were, in their own hands."

Dr. Saha continues:

To us, scientists, it appears that the Mah system lacks in progressive vision, *i.e.*, it does not how villages are to be linked to the cities, and how industries which are indispensable for the Nation and for the body politic (those connected with tran communication, power, essential chemicals, etc.) are to be managed by Indians for the benefit of the b population. Apart from adopting a policy of *laissez* to these urgent problems, his whole attitude towards machine and the modern city-civilisation is one *defeatism*. He looks at its evils, but does not understand its mechanism of work and he starts the inner conviction that the machine civilization is intrinsically evil. But may we submit that it is a reading of history to say that the mechanisation of a continent like India would necessarily entail a class war, or colossal expenditure, foreign expe foreign machinery.

Dr. Saha admits the evils that st resulted from the Industrial revolution Europe and explains why they resulted:

It is true that the Industrial Revolution in E caused great social dislocation and political unre this was due to the fact that the discoveries of were first utilized by capitalists for the sake of gain, and statesmen and leaders of thought were realize their repercussion on society and at first a a policy of *laissez faire* towards them just Mahatmaji proposes to do now and expressed class war and sometimes popular discontent. W problems could no longer be avoided, they had to beneficent but contentious legislation in order to social welfare.

He concludes:

But it is the test of statesmanship to learn lessons of history: there is the example of Europe pupil, Japan, which has introduced the Ind Revolution *without the horrors of a class* w

* Our appreciation of the achievements of Ja nothing to do with her aggressive policy towards which we unreservedly condemn.—Ed., *Science and Culture*.

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having to borrow foreign technicians or foreign What has been achieved by Japan can also be ved in India provided the Nation *will* so. It would happy day for India if the Mahatma can overcome attitude of defeatism towards the Machine, devote le time to the mastery of the technique of modern ation, and then makes up his mind. We are quite that he will find that the machine, instead of being master can also be made his slave, and that it ssible to utilize the machine for promoting social re much more efficiently than with the system ated by him. He can then lead the Nation to the track with his usual energy of conviction and g power. Otherwise we feel, that by diverting the ion of the Nation from the only path which holds prospects of relief against the present problems of y, unemployment and defencelessness, he will be iting what we may describe by the oft-quoted e as a "Himalayan Blunder."

Leading Congressman's reciative Criticism of Wardha Scheme

Professor Nripendra Chandra Banerji was Principal of a Government College in al when the call of Non-co-operation came. responded, gave up his job, and joined the s of active Congressmen. Consequently d to suffer imprisonment. Coming out of he has been both an active political worker a teacher. He has contributed to the ber number of *Science and Culture* an eciative review of the Wardha scheme of ary education. He has given a short sum- of the theory and practice of the scheme, ly in the words of the originators and of ountain-source, Mahatma Gandhi." His al observations are:

> ow the *sociological idea of a state based on absolute* ence where there is no need for even a defensive al army, navy and air-force, where internal order ernational order will be kept by loving persuasion ndly compromise, by the sanctions of moral force e leverage of a cultured intelligence only is an ing idea; it is Gandhism at its apex. Intellectual admires the Ideal but with very great mental ations.
>
> so the *economic idea of socialization by tacking to a handicraft civilization and keeping industriali- at arm's length* to be shunned as something essen- unholy and ravenous is another of those ideas which ing increasingly rejected by Indian intellectuals, and scientists.
>
> e hold to non-violence as a beautifully romantic essentially practical technique of political struggle unarmed nation of slaves against a fully armed state; we do not consider it as a feasible and al basis for a full-grown, independent state.
>
> e believe in the necessity, nay the urgency, of g and revitalizing, our old village industries, by sides of harnessing of power and electricity in an ing measure and wherever necessary. We have, however, no dread of the modern machine when it is used for social and constructive ends of production and distribution. The machine is a human product and a human product becomes evil only when it is evilly used. We do not believe India can ever become a first-class state without planned and speedy creation and socialization of key industries.

His appreciative criticism of the Wardha scheme itself is quoted below:

> In spite of these beliefs, we are definitely of opinion that the Wardha scheme of education is a very useful, interesting and efficient scheme, which if *properly* launched, after a *proper training* of a large body of intelligent, selfless and patriotic teachers, with *proper funds* supplied by the state as well as by private agencies, will after a decade or two, give us an entirely novel country-side, buzzing with hope, blazing with social service, lit up by co-operative constructive organizations. It will make the young children virile, alert and active; it will rebuild a new rural India. The education will be an education for a modest living, for citizen service, for moral and physical uplift. All honour to those who rally to this new revolutionary banner (it is revolutionary in the best sense of the term—for the idea and the method are strikingly new and adapted to the betterment of our sleepy, inert, starved villages, which are 7 lacs in number).
>
> But at the same time, the needs of pure culture and training in the arts and sciences and industries must not be forgotten: there must be another scheme equally revolutionary to link up the village life with the city life, to link up handicrafts with key industries, to connect the thought, the research, the poetry, the philosophy, the science of India with the world as a whole—a scheme which will provide for skilled technicians, first-class scientists and thinkers and poets, able to pull their weight in the arts of offence and defence, in the spheres of Economics, Science and Letters. For it is a utopian dream to think of shunting India away from the highways of modern endeavour back to the ruts of the peaceful, contented village commune, producing its food and clothing and other simple needs and falling eventually a prey (as of old) to ravening Powers armed to the teeth with the death-dealing weapons of war, and equipped with the modern industrial and economic organizations helped by money-power and propaganda. With these reservations, we commend the Wardha scheme of education to the general public.

Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's Presidential Address at Indian History Congress

The Indian History Congress which began its sittings in the Allahabad University Senate Hall on the 8th October last was attended by nearly 200 delegates from all over the country. Sir Digby Drake Brockmann, chairman, U. P. Public Services Commission, who had been elected chairman of the reception committee of the Congress, welcomed the delegates in an appropriate speech. His Highness the Maharaja of Benares then delivered his inaugural address.

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Thereafter Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who was the first Carmichael Professor of History in the Calcutta University, delivered his presidential address, in which, among other things, he traced the origin and growth of the science of history in ancient India. He expressed the view that:

The historic sense had always been germane to the Indian mind. And if it did not manifest itself at any particular period by all sections of the people, it was not on account of the extinction of that faculty in them. It always remained dormant in them and exhibited itself when there was a suitable opportunity. The case is not unlike the womanhood in India. Women of South India always and actively participated in the politics of their province in the ancient period. Somehow the women of North India did not cut a prominent figure in the political sphere. Things were, however, different in Kashmir. The Queens of Kashmir, Kalhana tells us, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation side by side with their consorts. They had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of the feudatory chiefs when they held open court. Things, however, changed completely, when the indigenous rule disappeared and the natives of Kashmir emigrated in all directions. Now with the reforms conferred upon India, we suddenly find a Kashmiri lady not only being returned to the Assembly in spite of a formidable rival but actually holding the portfolio of a Minister in the U. P. Government. Similarly, why need we wonder if with the advent of the modern renaissance we find Indians from all parts of the country carrying on research work in the domain of History in all its branches which is in no way inferior to that done in Europe and America.

Indian Historical Exhibition

In connection with the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the Hon. Mr. Sampurnanand, Education Minister of the United Provinces, opened an Indian Historical Exhibition. In his opening speech he held up a high ideal of the true historian's work when he said:

We do not ask him (the historian) to falsify facts and torture records to yield evidence in support of untenable doctrines, although, unfortunately, examples are not lacking in this country and elsewhere, of scholars having prostituted their learning in the service of the wielder of temporal power. We do not want this but surely we have the right to expect that the historian will so present facts that the essential factors which bind man to man and endow him with a common culture and heritage shall be brought prominently into relief.

Re-writing the History of India

At the Indian History Congress at Allahabad the question of the re-writing of Indian history was considered. Of course, it requires to be re-written. The writers require to be equipped with a knowledge of the results of the latest researches. At the same time they must be able to write with sufficient detachment and impartiality. In these days of communal and anti-imperialism, these virtues are not easy to find, nor does it pay to try to cultivate them. For one must not seek to please but be afraid of giving offence if necessary.

Indian Delegation to the British Commonwealth Relations Conference

Properly speaking, the British Commonwealth Relations Conference, which was held in Sydney, Australia, recently, ought to have been confined to the members of the Commonwealth proper, namely, the Dominions. But India, which is not a Dominion, was 'represented' by some delegates chosen by the Government of India. It is some gain that the Indian delegates have been able to acquire some experience of Australia and have been able to give the Conference a bit of their mind. For instance, Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru, leader of the Indian delegation, said, in part:

My country is not a part of the British Commonwealth, yet; it is only a part of the British Empire. I am at present a serf on Lord Lothian's estate, but I hope that the spirit which animates the British Commonwealth Relations Conference will spread, and in those who guide the politicians of the Commonwealth. I hope that the British Empire will give way to the British Commonwealth and the British Commonwealth, may I modestly put it, to an Indo-British Commonwealth.

As a member of the Servants of India Society the Pandit favours the permanence of the Indo-British connection. Had he been a member of the Congress, he would not have looked forward to Dominion Status as either India's goal or as India's halfway house. But then in that case he would not have been in the delegation at all!

Dr. Kalidas Nag in Australia and New Zealand

Dr. Kalidas Nag of the Calcutta University, who went to Australia as a member of the Indian delegation to the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference, visited New Zealand also, and addressed the members of the Lyceum Club, Wellington, on problems of peace and war. He stressed the work women were doing for peace, and said they could do more by the power of love and sympathy which they possessed.

The fatal "divorce" of individual and national was the basis of world unrest today, the speaker said, and he explained how Gandhi, the Indian leader, was not only for India, but was always thinking how the world could be saved from this fateful distortion of

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What was lacking in the mechanism of life today, Dr. Nag said, was that light which induced universal love and understanding. People had to identify themselves with the universal, and when the individual and the universal were in accord peace and harmony would come to the world.

Dr. Nag then spoke about the doctrines and aspirations of Rabindranath Tagore, the great Indian poet, in whose opinion civilisation today knew only its own machines and what they achieved for nations.

Tagore said that it was aggressive nationalism which upset the world. At every step today war was in the air, and the message which this poet and philosopher gave to mankind was that warlike people should be segregated just as infectious diseases were, and by gentle nursing could then be brought back to health, sanity of outlook, equilibrium and peace. Women in this respect had endless power and sympathetic understanding and Tagore thought that they could do much to keep peace in the world.

Terrible poverty existed in India while the Europeans were making millions out of the jute the Indians were producing. That state of affairs could not go on; the women would not allow it to go on. They were not politicians, but they were economists. If woman was given the preference between war and peace she would vote for peace, and the time would come when women would demand peace and Nature would be able to readjust her balance.

Dr. Nag concluded his address by saying that the women of India were contributing to this idea of universal peace by working silently and in a spirit of sacrifice for their ideals. Schools and colleges of India were based on co-operation among different castes, where education worked as a great unifier.

The president of the Club, Mr. Johannes Andersen, welcomed the guest of honour and introduced him to the audience.

Dr. Nag spoke also at the P. E. N. Club, "the youngest branch of the P. E. N." and had a cordial reception there.

He spoke with much enthusiasm of the beautiful air, blue seas and sky, and natural attributes of New Zealand, which had impressed him most favourably. He felt that there must be much latent poetry in a country with so many advantages.

So much beauty in nature must surely produce a corresponding beauty of soul, and he had a great confidence in the generosity and kindness of the people. A great understanding came through art and literature, and one country would be brought much nearer to another by these beautiful means instead of by politics or talk of war. Dr. Nag spoke of the great Indian poet Tagore, and said that the actual feeling on the part of people who cared for literature that their country was not doing or producing its best was a sure sign that something better was sure to evolve. In stumbling, we gradually arrived at the beauty of rhythm, and perfect grace was bound to come in time. So long as people admired the best in literature so long would they make strides towards something finer and more worthy.

Another meeting which Dr. Nag addressed was at Auckland.

That India's goodwill should be cultivated as a means of strengthening the Empire was the opinion expressed this morning by Dr. Kalidas Nag, professor of ancient history at the University of Calcutta, on his arrival by the Monterey, after attending the second British Commonwealth Relations Conference as an Indian delegate.

The main problem in India at the present time was the establishment of self-government, he said.

If trouble came, India's goodwill would be of the greatest value, and it could only be developed through Dominion status.

In trade the interests of India differed greatly from those of the other parts of the Empire, continued Dr. Nag, and for this reason it had been necessary in 1936 to make a complete breakaway from the operation of the Ottawa agreements. India abolished the agreements because of the conditions governing her secondary industries and the tightness of the money market. The effect of the Ottawa policy had been to create stagnation in industry, with consequent harm to the nation's life.

Dr. Nag said the conference in Sydney had discussed many burning topics, and he was impressed by the fraternity of the gathering.

As the head of the Indian delegation and as admittedly the ablest and most experienced public man among its members, the Hon'ble Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru must have made a striking contribution to the discussion of these topics. But we are not in possession of any report of these discussions. We have only two of his speeches before us; namely, the speech delivered by him at the Conference as leader of the Indian delegation, from which a short extract has already been made, and the speech broadcast by him from Sydney.

Pandit Kunzru's Speech at British Commonwealth Relations Conference

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru began his speech at the British Commonwealth Relations Conference by acknowledging the warmth of reception given to the Indian delegates and the splendid hospitality extended to them and the other representatives. "No body," said he, "is more grateful to you for your cordiality than the prohibited immigrants from India."

Apart from this, since we touched the shores of Australia we have acquired knowledge and experience, the memory of which will never be effaced from our minds. We have seen here a degree of happiness and prosperity which has not met our eyes in any of the countries which it has been our good fortune to visit so far. It is a matter of great inspiration to us to realise that this happiness and prosperity are based on a more even distribution of the fruits of human industry, on greater social justice and on a larger measure of human freedom than are to be found in most of the older countries. We naturally believe that as the British Commonwealth of Nations meets in this atmosphere of justice and freedom, the deliberations of the Conference will lead to the creation of that spirit which will

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harmonise the internal and external differences to which Lord Lothian gave such eloquent expression.

Continuing, the Pandit observed:

To me the great value of the Conference lies in the fact that it represents not merely the people of one race or culture, but people who are representatives of different races, languages, cultures and economic interests. And if their interests are to be harmonised, and the conflicts we see between them are to be adjusted, we must find some means more potent and more lasting than force, which, unhappily, western nations regard as a sign of greatness and glory. How is the spirit, which will make the solution of our difficulties possible, to be cultivated? The sages of my country long ago said that the basis of right action is the recognition of the great truth "Thy neighbour is thyself." We must cultivate universal ideals. National ideals are insufficient to bring peace to the world. We have to recognise that the interests of the peoples around us are quite as important as those of our own nation. Is not this only an extension of the fundamental principles of democracy which require that we should identify our interests with those of others? And it is for the fundamental principles of democracy that we all stand. Democracy has received rude shocks all over the world, but it fortunately still flourishes in a few countries, among which are the countries included in the British Commonwealth of Nations. These countries, therefore, have an important part to play in convincing the world of the value of democratic ideals. They must by their relations towards other members prove the value of the principles which they proclaim, and demonstrate by their actions and by the unity which they are able to achieve among themselves, that peace and goodwill are within the reach of the world at large, provided it chooses the same path which they have followed.

Pandit Kunzru's Broadcast Speech

The three main topics with which Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru dealt in his broadcast speech in Australia were the Congress and non-Congress provincial governments functioning in India, the Federal provisions of the Government of India Act, and the restrictions on the entry of Indians into certain parts of the British Empire and their disabilities in certain other parts. By mentioning some of the lines of work initiated and carried out by our provincial governments he was able to assert that "this should provide good proof of Indian capacity in the provincial sphere." The Federal provisions which he criticized have been criticized and condemned so often that it is not necessary to repeat them, but as most of his hearers were not aware of them, he did well to bring them to their notice, proving that the "measure of constitutional reform" passed three years ago was *not* of "a generous character." We do not know why he did not refer to the fact that the Government of India Act does not give the Federal Legislature any control over Defence. He spoke strongly and convincingly on the last topic that he dealt with, *viz.*, discrimination against Indians in various parts of the British Empire.

Yone Noguchi Criticizes "The Modern Review"

In the course of his letter to the Poet Rabindranath Tagore, dated October 2nd, 1938, sent to some papers for publication, Mr. Yone Noguchi writes:

Admitting that China completely defeated Japan in foreign publicity, it is sad that she often goes too far and plays trickery. For one instance I will call your attention to the reproduced pictures from a Chinese paper on page 247 of *The Modern Review* for last August as a living specimen of "Japanese Atrocities in China: Execution of Chinese Civilians." So awful pictures they are,—awful enough to make ten thousand enemies of Japan in a foreign country. But the pictures are nothing but a Chinese invention, simple and plain, because the people in the scenes are all Chinese, slaughterers and all. Besides any one with commonsense would know, if he stops for a moment, that it is impossible to take such a picture as these at the front. Really I cannot understand how your friend-editor of *The Modern Review* happened to publish them.

Mr. Noguchi says,

"it is impossible to take such pictures as these at the front."

But who said they were taken *at the front*? They might have been taken at places already under Japanese occupation for some time.

The pictures referred to were reproduced from photographs sent to us by a trustworthy friend who has been in China for months and who is neither Chinese nor Japanese. There were other photographs sent to us which were still more revolting. Two were indecent, not meant for publication but for the information of the Congress President and ourselves as to how some Chinese women were treated. These, along with others, we sent to him. The bombing of open towns and villages, killing countless civilians—men, women and children, and other Japanese barbarities on a colossal scale which have been reported in the papers and brought to the notice of the League of Nations, have not been contradicted. The atrocities of which we published pictures are mere peccadilloes in comparison. We have found these pictures in some Chinese pamphlets also. Mr. Noguchi says the men in the pictures, slaughterers and all, are Chinese. But how can one distinguish Chinese from Japanese in these photographs?

We have no feelings of hostility against the people of Japan, and never intended to make enemies of them. But it is our unpleasant duty to record facts. Our pictures cannot make more

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enemies of Japan than the atrocities ascribed to her in numerous newspapers.

Incidentally we may observe that Mr. Yone Noguchi makes an important admission in his letter, namely, that "nobody in Japan ever dreams that we can conquer China." "What Japan is doing in China, it is only, as I already said, is to correct the mistaken idea of Chiang Kai-shek; on this object Japan is staking her all." A rather expensive and diabolical method of correcting the mistake of an individual!

Congress National Industrial Planning

BOMBAY, Oct. 24.

A complete map of the industrial possibilities in India is to be prepared by the National Planning Committee which will meet in Bombay in December next. It is believed that the Committee will have the co-operation of the non-Congress provinces, and some of the major Indian States. The personnel of the Committee, which was recently announced by the Congress President, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, will also be strengthened.

The National Planning Commission, it is learnt, will be constituted by the middle of 1939, when the labours of the Committee are expected to be completed. The Commission will consist of the Ministers for Industries of the provinces and States co-operating for the execution of the plan, four representatives of commercial bodies and one representing the All-India Village Industries Association. The members of the Planning Committee will be ex-officio members on the Planning Commission.

It is expected that by the time the Planning Committee starts its inquiry, the reports of the Industrial Survey Committees appointed in various provinces and Indian States will be ready. The Committee may attempt to undertake a systematic survey on the natural resources.

Immediate attention, it is said, will be paid by the Committee to the establishment of factories intending to produce machinery and supplies for railway, the army and air services. This will include the examination of the scheme for starting an automobile industry in Bombay.

Next in importance will be the question of starting heavy chemical industries, such as the manufacture of sulphuric acid, caustic soda and bleaching powder, factories for manufacturing agricultural tools and machinery, an hydro-electrical appliances.

The Committee, while taking decisions on starting particular industries, will have regard to the considerations as to whether the products made from indigenous raw material can be consumed within the country. The second choice will be in favour of those industries whose products find large-scale consumption in the country, though raw materials required are not available locally.

The question of starting large-scale industries will be the first to be tackled on a national basis, because they include basic and key-industries and at present a high form of industrial enterprise. The co-operation of the foreign manufacturers, it is stated, will be secured for the purpose of starting the industries in case it is found that the local talent and technique available at the moment is not up to the mark.—*A. P.*

It will be all to the good if the non-Congress provinces co-operate. Their co-operation would have been more certain if their Industries Ministers had been invited to the Congress Industries Ministers' Conference.

Indian Postal Rates Not Cheapest

Mr. G. V. Bewoor, Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs, is reported to have said in the course of an informal talk with members of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce on the 22nd October that "India has the cheapest postal rate in the world." This is not true. Japan's rates are cheaper, and there may be cheaper rates elsewhere, too.

Industrial Survey of Bengal

DARJEELING, Oct. 24.

The *Associated Press* understands that the Government of Bengal have appointed a committee for the purpose of carrying on an extensive industrial survey of the province.

The committee will consist of the following:

Dr. J. P. Niyogi, Minto Professor of Economics, Calcutta University; Dr. J. Ghose, Professor of Chemistry, Dacca University; Prof. S. K. Mitra of the College of Science, Calcutta University; Dr. N. N. Law, Mr. M. A. Ispahani, Mr. Rajsekhar Bose, Mr. B. M. Birla, Mr. S. C. Mitter, Director of Industries, Bengal (ex-officio member), and Mr. J. N. Sen-Gupta, Secretary of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce as secretary.

The Chairman of the committee has not yet been selected, but it is probable that the services of Dr. John Matthai, Director-General of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, will be requisitioned for the purpose.

Though the personnel of the Congress Committee appointed for the purpose of national industrial planning shows that President Bose has wisely selected the members irrespective of their political affiliations, if any (or none at all), it is not impossible that political caste conventions stood in the way of the non-Congress Industries Ministers being invited to the Delhi Conference. But non-Congress provinces cannot afford to and must not lag behind the Congress provinces in the development of industries—particularly Bengal, which, so far at least as the sons of the soil are concerned, is backward in industrial enterprise. Hence, the industrial survey of Bengal to be undertaken by the Committee appointed for the purpose is a welcome and urgently needed move. The personnel has been well chosen.

Sj. N. R. Sarker's Address on Industrialization

Political caste conventions may stand in the way of Congressmen casting even a glance at the address on the prospects of industrialization of India which Sj. Nalini Ranjan Sarker delivered at Gwalior on the 2nd September

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last. But the Bengal Industrial Survey Committee are not bound by any such convention. They will find in Mr. Sarker's address the need of industrialization and mechanization discussed. He also discusses whether the evils of industrialization are inevitable. It is shown in the address that some industries must be on a large scale and centralized; that there should not be a slavish adoption of foreign methods and theories; that a sudden break with the past should be avoided; that cottage industries, middle-sized industries, and large-scale industries must all find a place in a national scheme; that the balance of national life as between agriculture and industry must be maintained; and that rural sites should be chosen for some centralized industries. Mr. Sarker surveys India's industrial progress and past achievements, and industrial development in different directions. New possibilities are dwelt upon. The need and scope for state assistance are also treated of. It is pointed out that there is need for caution: *e.g.*, "For a long time to come the extent of the market available within our own country should be the limit of our industrial development." Mr. Sarker refers in this connection to the recent industrial experience of Ireland. The penultimate section of the address is devoted to considering how far industrialization can solve our unemployment problem. The concluding passage, relating to industrial co-operation between British India and the Indian States, has been quoted in a previous note.

Pandit Kunzru in Fiji

NEW DELHI, Oct. 23.

The Indian Association, Fiji, cabling to the *Associated Press*, says that Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru arrived there on October 20 and is studying the conditions of Indians in the Island.

At a public reception given to him he expressed appreciation of the qualities of honesty and industry with which the Indian residents had overcome serious disadvantages and had established themselves in the Island.

The Indians in Fiji have expressed their sense of gratitude to him for his visit.—*A. P. I.*

"Absolute Acceptance"(?) of British Rule Before 1914 or 1917!

In September last at Simla under the presidency of Sir M. N. Mukherji, Mr. Bhulabhai Desai delivered a lucid address on the basic principles of modern states. In the course of that address he said:

"After the year 1857 and up to the year 1914 or perhaps even 1917, if you examine your poetry or literature, your history and the minds of Indians at large at the time, you will see that there was an absolute acceptance without question of what was called Pax Britannica. They did not question how it came, why it arose and when it arose; they just accepted it as a blessing. I think the learned President from his own experience in his own language, which is much richer than mine, and many others present here, will be able to recite poems which were composed in 1860*s*., 1870*s*., composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream. Whether the tiger became a goat or a goat the tiger I need not examine here, but the fact remains that that was how we were brought up to accept that rule. Therefore the condition of the human mind is such that mere acceptance makes even a wrong thing right."

As Mr. Bhulabhai Desai referred to poetry or other literature and history in proof of his statement that up to 1914 or 1917 there was absolute acceptance of British rule in India, as he referred to the poetry in Sir M. N. Mukherji's mother tongue, and as we have more knowledge of Bengali literature and of Bengal's modern history than of the literature and history of any other province, we examined Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's statements in some detail in the Kārtic number of Prabāsi, citing many passages in verse and prose from Bengali writers of eminence, to show that so far at least as Bengal is concerned Mr. Desai was wrong. There has been all along *conditional* acceptance of British rule; there is *conditional* acceptance still. Neither before nor after the year 1857 was there ever *absolute* acceptance of British rule in India by the political and intellectual leaders of the country. As for *conditional* acceptance, until 1929 even the Congress did not definitely declare its goal to be independence, and even after that declaration Congress has been working the British constitution—no doubt, it is said, in order to gain sufficient strength to overthrow British power afterwards. In spite of their conditional acceptance of British rule, the Congress Ministers are undoubtedly all for independence.

When Rammohun Roy constituted himself "His Majesty's Opposition", his acceptance of British rule was similarly conditional. He wanted his countrymen to gain strength enough during the period of such conditional acceptance to win freedom afterwards. If at that particular period any Indian or Indians did not rise in armed or non-violent rebellion against British rule, that cannot be interpreted as *absolute* acceptance of it on his or their part, any more than Mahatma Gandhi could be rightly called an absolute accepter of British

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when he turned honorary recruiting officer the British Government when the World War broke out. If any individual or collection individuals do not feel and express any dissatisfaction, do not protest, do not disobey unjust official orders, do not look forward to the time when India would be free, then alone can it be said that he or they have absolutely accepted British rule.

As we have already quoted passages from C. F. Andrews' Bangalore address on Rammohun Roy showing how freedom-loving he was, we need not say more on the subject here. We will only refer to the fact that he anticipated India's intransigence and looked forward to Indian independence. On a new Act coming into operation in 1827, Rammohun Roy petitioned against the Act in 1828 to both Houses of Parliament, because the Act discriminated against Hindus and Muslims morally and on the ground of their religion. In the passage of his representation he asked: "Supposing that 100 years hence the native character becomes elevated", "is it possible that they will not have the spirit as well as the inclination to resist effectually any unjust and oppressive measures serving to degrade them in the scale of society?" He went on to say:

"It should not be lost sight of that the position of India is very different from that of Ireland, to any shore of which an English fleet may suddenly convey a body of troops that may force its way in the requisite direction and succeed in suppressing every effort of a refractory spirit.

Were India to share one-fourth of the knowledge and energy of that country, she would prove from her favorable situation, her riches and her vast population, as useful and profitable as a willing province, an ornament of the British empire, or troublesome and annoying as a determined enemy."

Rammohun Roy's *Remarks on Settlement in India by Europeans* holds up to the people of India the prospect of "India possibly independent and India the Enlightener of Asia."

Though Rammohun Roy belonged to a period anterior to the period referred to by Mr. Bhulabhai Desai, we have referred to his political attitude because that was the attitude of many leaders of society in Bengal before and after 1857. "Prince" Dwarkanath Tagore and Maharshi Debendranath Tagore were unwilling to accept any titles from the British Government. Raj Narain Bose, grandfather of Sri Aurobindo, declared himself in favour of the independence of India.

Coming to the 20th century, but to a period before Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's *annus mirabilis* 1914, we note that during the Bengal anti-Partition and Swadeshi movements Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Syam Sundar Chakravarti and others held aloft the banner of independence both in speech and writing. It was then that Bepin Chandra Pal delivered his famous addresses on full freedom and independence for India on the Madras beach. Bepin Chandra Pal, Aurobindo Ghose, Upādhyāy Brahmabāndhab, etc., were known as "Extremists." The "Moderates" were Surendranath Banerjea, Krishna Kumar Mitra, etc. But they, too, disobeyed the Government order not to shout "Bande Mataram," vigorously carried on the work of the Anti-circular Society against some circulars of the Government, and boycotted British goods. In consequence, the "Moderate" Krishna Kumar Mitra was deported along with some others. The Government did not believe that they were guilty of "absolute acceptance" of British rule! All this took place before 1914.

That "absolute acceptance" of British rule was not a matter of course in pre-1914 Bengal is proved by another hard fact. And that fact is the terrorist movement, which originated before 1914. We are not here concerned with the wisdom or unwisdom or the ethical character of that movement. What we are concerned with is the fact that it was a movement of violent revolt and that the object of the rebels was to free India by overthrowing British rule. This is not the place to disscuss the strength or importance of the movement. Suffice it to say that Government considered it so strong and important that it deprived thousands of Bengal's youth (of both sexes) of their liberty —some after trial, more without any and for indefinite periods. The many repressive "lawless laws" which have adorned the statute book in Bengal are due to this movement. The fact that the Communal Decision and the Government of India Act of 1935 have hit the Bengali Hindus hardest are due to the fact that Government most probably believed (and most probably still believe) that the Bengali Hindus (and Bengali Congressites) were in active or passive sympathy with the terrorist movement. We are not in a position to judge of the correctness or otherwise of this probable belief of the Government.

But it is beyond the shadow of a doubt that in Bengal before 1914 there was no absolute

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acceptance of British rule,—and, of course, there has not been any since then.

And we have given proofs of what we say. We do not know why Mr. Bhulabhai Desai ignored these well-known facts. mentioned.

We will now consider the evidence of Bengali literature bearing on the alleged absolute acceptance of British rule or its opposite.

We have spoken and shall speak only of Bengal because we cannot speak of any other province with any degree of knowledge.

Bengali Literature and "Absolute Acceptance" of British Rule

Mr. Bhulabhai Desai said in his lecture that the learned President, Sir M. N. Mukherji, "will be able to recite poems", "composed by a large number of poets of the time about the beneficence of the British rule and praising that rule. There is a poem which says that the greatest thing that was done by the British rule was that it enabled a tiger and a goat to drink in the same stream." We do not remember to have read Bengali poems of this description composed by "a large number" of Bengali poets. In fact we do not remember even a single such poem composed by any notable poet. There may be such verses in school text-books at present in use, approved and prescribed by the Director of Public Instruction, which we have not read. When we were school boys in vernacular schools—that was more than sixty years ago—there were no such verses even in our text-books. So far as our knowledge goes there is no such Bengali poem relating to a tiger and a goat as has been mentioned by Mr. Desai. We have consulted several gentlemen who have a more extensive knowledge of Bengali literature than ourselves. None of them could give us any clue to the large (or even small) number of poems laudatory of British rule or to the co-drinking tiger and goat poem.

In *The Modern Review* we shall not quote from all the poems from which we have quoted in Prabāsi, as it would take up too much space to print the original lines with their translations. We shall quote only a few lines. Before doing so, we have to remind our readers that as incitement to rebellion, rousing feeling of hatred against the Government, and bringing it into contempt are penal offences, such lines are not to be expected. If there be poems in praise of independence and poems expressing profound dissatisfaction with the political condition of India and strong desire for freedom, that should be taken as sufficient disproof of "absolute acceptance" of British rule. It is also to be borne in mind that politicians who may consider it expedient to be content with compromises, such as local self-government, colonial self-government, or Dominion Status, are not true exponents of the deep-seated longings of the people, but that people who are under no necessity to worship at the shrine of expediency and compromise correctly represent the yearnings of the nation.

The following lines are from "Padmini Upākhyān," by Rangalal Bandyopādhyāy, published in 1858:

"Swādhinatā- hinatāy ké banchité chay bal
ké bānchité chāy?
Dāsattwa-shrinkhal bala ké paribé pāy bal
ké paribé pāy?
Koti kalpa dās thākā narakér prāy hé,
narakér prāy;
Dinékér swādhinatā swarga-sukha tāy hé
swarga-sukha tāy.
"Who desires to live deprived of liberty
so to live who desires
Who will wear chains on his legs,
who will wear?
To remain slaves for aeons is like hell,
like hell it is;
There is heavenly bliss in a single day of freedom
in it there is heavenly bliss."

Hem Chandra Bandyopādhyāy wrote his famous "Bhārat-Sangit", published 1870:

Bāj ré shingā, bāj éi rabé,
Shuniyā Bhāraté jāguk sabé:
'Sabāi swādhin é bipul bhabé,
Sabāi jāgrata mānér gaurabé
Bhārat shudhu ki ghumāyé rabé.'
"Blow, my horn, blow with this cry,
That, listening, all in Bhārat may awake
'All in this wide world are free,
All awake in honour's glory,
Will Bhārat alone remain asleep?'"

And more in the same and still more stirring strains.

Years afterwards Rabindranath Tagore sang in the same strain: "Dina āgata Bhārat tabu koi?" "Yonder is the day come; but where is Bhārata?"

In 1867 Naba Gopal Mitra founded the Hindu Melā or the Hindu Fair, encouraged and with the help of the Tagores and Narain Bose. In the first year's Mela sung Dwijendranath Tagore's song,

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"Malina mukha-chandramā, Bhārata, tomāri,
Rātri-din jharitéchhé lochana-bāri.
"Gloomy is thy face, O Bhārata,
Day and night are tears flowing from thine eyes."

In "Prabāsi" we have quoted lines from ...otic poems read at subsequent years of this ...s by Sivanath Sastri (when he was 19) and ...Rabindranath Tagore (when about 14 or 15). ...ilarly, we have referred to the stirring ...ms and songs of Gobinda Chandra Ray, ...L. Roy, Rabindranath Tagore and others ...the days of the Swadeshi Movement. ...in Chandra Sen in his poetical work, ...Palāshir Yuddha", mourns the defeat at the ...le of Plassey as India's loss of independ...e. All these were composed before 1914. ...Prabāsi" we have also given some apposite ...ucts from the prose writings of Bankim ...ndra Chatterjee.

What we have written in relation to the ...ern and recent history of Bengal and with ...rence to Bengali literature, publicists in ...e provinces may write in relation to their ...inces and literatures, so that the correct...s of Mr. Bhulabhai Desai's observations ...be tested with reference to the whole of ...ia.

...Rajendra Prasad on ...galis in Bihar

Dr. Rajendra Prasad was requested by ...Congress Working Committee to finally ...the problem of Bengalis in the province ...Bihar. It is stated in some papers that he ...sent his report to the Committee, leaving ...the Committee to solve the problem. ...having his report before us, we cannot ...ss it in any detail. But from the sum...y which has been published in some papers ...ppears that his report leaves the situation ...ely unaltered in every respect. According ...the summary he supports the Bihar Govern...t in all respects. He does indeed express ...opinion that the practice of issuing ...icile certificates should be discontinued. ...the procedure which he suggests or recom...ds in lieu of it, is no better—it may be ...e easily made worse in practice.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad laboured under two ...ulties in performing the duty of a judge, ...rator, or adjudicator: he is himself a ...ari, and he is really, though not in name, ...Congress dictator in Bihar; no policy could or can be followed there by the Congress Government which was or is not really his policy. Therefore, in asking him to pronounce judgment and give an award the Congress Working Committee practically asked him to sit in judgment upon himself. Too much should not be expected from a man labouring under such difficulties, unless one took him to be a superman.

He appears to have been guided by the memorandum of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha and that of the Bihar Government, which are essentially identical. In this connection the following passage from the *Behar Herald* (October 11) will be found edifying:

> If we remember the above criticisms it is easy to dispose of in a very few words the last line of defence taken in the memorandum. The defence amounts simply to this: right or wrong, the policy has been going on for so many years in Bihar and Orissa and has been adopted more or less strictly in other provinces as well. "Not only in India," says the memorandum, "but in other countries also, enquiries are made when the privileges of being the inhabitant of a certain province are claimed." The memorandum has left us guessing as to the countries other than India where, and the circumstances, in which, such enquiries are made. No example of such procedure from any country outside India has been cited in appendix I, which gives certain rules said to be in force in other provinces of India. In one of these, *viz.*, the Punjab, admittedly there are no such rules. The so-called Bombay rules, on which stress has been laid in the memorandum, have not been given in the appendix. The memorandum shows a lack of candour when in reproducing these rules it does not mention when and by what government these rules were brought into existence. As we have already said, existence of any discrimination contrary to the spirit of section 298 of the Government of India Act is no proof of the validity of such discrimination. Most of the rules as they exist may be said to have grown up as the result of the emergence of group-consciousness with which the awakening of a united national consciousness was sought to be counteracted . . . Not one instance has been cited in the memorandum in which a Congress government in a province has formulated a policy of discrimination against a section of its citizens.

From the summary, it does not appear that Dr. Rajendra Prasad has tried to explain or explain away the fact that all along only Bengali-speaking persons have been asked to prove their domicile or have been discriminated against as regards appointment in the public services, admission to educational institutions and award of scholarships, facilities for trade and industries, etc.

Nor does the statesmanlike desire of Mr. P. R. Das to build up an undivided Indian nation appear to have troubled Dr. Rajendra Prasad. Mr. Das quoted and laid stress upon the provisions in the constitutions of the United States of America and the Australian

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Commonwealth to prevent any one of their state from discriminating against persons belonging to their other states. Without such non-discrimination there can be no nation-building.

Release of Bengal Political Prisoners

Several hundred political prisoners in Bengal still remain to be released. The gradual and grudging release of the thousands who had been deprived of their liberty without or after trial, has not in the least disturbed the peace of Bengal. That should have been a ground for the release of those still behind the prison bars. But all the arguments and pleadings of Mahatma Gandhi and latterly of President Subhas Chandra Bose have not availed to open the prison gates for these unhappy persons. The public must continue to demand their liberation.

The Wretched Plight of Many Released Politicals

Many politicals, interned for years without trial, find themselves entirely without means of subsistence after release. Government have not done their duty by them. Nor is the public sufficiently alive to their wretched plight. Some have in utter despondency committed suicide. Others are physical wrecks and suffering from fatal maladies. . . .

Sufferers from Flood

The waters are slowly receding from the flooded areas in half the districts of Bengal. But the sufferers from the floods are still without adequate relief. Food and clothing and, in some cases, repairs or reconstruction of huts, are urgently required. In the wake of the receding waters many diseases have made their appearance in many areas—some in epidemic form.

China and Japan

Canton and Hankow have fallen. The Japanese are jubilant. The hearts of the Chinese must be heavy, and there is sadness in India.

But the end is not yet.

LONDON, Oct. 24.

Mr. Quo Tai-Chi, Chinese Ambassador in London told *Reuter*, "there is no foundation for the rumours that Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek will resign. He certainly will not. It is equally untrue that Mr. Wang Chunghsi, Foreign Minister, and Mr. Wang Ching-Wei, former Premier, have gone to see the Foreign Ambassadors and to discuss mediation. The loss of Canton and Hankow, which I fear we must expect, does not affect our strategy, which is always based on a clear recognition of Japan's undeniable military advantages in the open regions, but so far from being a decisive factor, Japanese captures merely increase her difficulties by compelling her to scatter her forces. We have still plenty of ammunition for months to come.—*Reuter.*

The Chinese have not disclosed their plans. Nor the Japanese. Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek has gone to an unknown destination. The retreat of the Chinese from Hankow was orderly.

Japanese Diplomat Declares End of British Dominance In Far East

BERLIN, Oct. 27.

"Britain's predominance in the Far East has come to an end for ever," declares the new Japanese ambassador in Italy, Mr. Shiratori, in an interview in Tokio published in the "Neuest Nachrichten."

After forecasting a speedy cessation of hostilities, Mr. Shiratori continues, "The reorganization of China will take ten years. Several independent individual Governments will be established, according to the example of the United States of America. They will all be under a common President. An alliance with Japan to govern China's military, foreign and political relations and customs union are also contemplated."

Japan did not think of sharing the fruits of her victory with the Western powers but their rights would remain unimpaired. Financial co-operation will be welcome, German technicians and industries will be given preferential treatment." The new China was to become a second Manchukuo.—*Reuter.*

The Japanese diplomat may have counted the chickens before they have been hatched.

Chiang Kai-Shek's Confident Message

CHUNGKING, Oct. 28.

A confident message was received from Marshal Chiang Kai-Shek when the People's Political Council which is China's Parliament, met at Chungking today.

The message declares the hope that an eventual victory is nearer realization as hostilities extend to the west of the Railways. Thanks to the heroic resistance of troops in the past six months, time has been given to lay firm foundations for the next phase of the conflict. Preparations for a prolonged resistance are being strengthened and political and military centres are being built behind the Japanese lines.

The message adds, "The situation as it exists to-day approximates more closely than ever to China's prospects of obtaining an ultimate victory."

A determination to continue resistance is reiterated by the Deputy Leader, Wangchingwei, whose statement was greeted with thunderous applause.—*Reuter.*

No Peace Prospect in China

WASHINGTON, Oct. 29.

"All rumours of peace talks in the Sino-Japanese conflict can easily be discounted, simply because a peace is impossible at the present moment," said the Chinese Ambassador in the United States at a Press Conference after presenting his credentials to President Roosevelt.—*Reuter.*

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Dr. Rajendra Prasad's Report "re" Bengalis in Bihar Not To Be Discussed?

It is said that Mr. P. R. Das has expressed the opinion that the alleged report of Dr. Rajendra Prasad on the problem of Bengalis in Bihar should not be discussed until the Congress Working Committee has disposed of the matter. But that Mr. Das says that the summary of the report which has appeared in some papers is wholly unauthorized and may bear no resemblance to the report actually made.

We think the report actually made by Dr. Rajendra Prasad to the Congress Working Committee need not and should not be treated by the Committee as a state secret and should be published. Public discussion of the report may help the Committee to arrive at a correct decision. Discussion of the report after the Committee has pronounced its opinion will be of little use, for all authorities have a natural tendency to stick to "the settled fact" which they consider their decisions to be.

The Palestine Situation

The situation in Palestine remains practically unchanged—perhaps it has worsened and become more serious.

Though Britain may not tri-sect that country into three states—all under British sovereignty, and may keep it undivided, she will not agree to give up her paramountcy over it, unless compelled to. She cannot, in fact, renounce supreme power over it without jeopardizing her empire in Asia and her sea and air routes to Australia and New Zealand.

We sympathize with both the Arabs and the Jews, and do not desire that either or both should be under the thumb of British imperialism. But it is difficult to envisage any definite settled future. Suppose Britain retired from the field and left the Arabs and the Jews to settle their disputes themselves. What would be the chances of the Jews getting a fair deal? The Arabs are more numerous, have Arabia, Syria, Iraq, etc., behind their backs. Moreover, Germany and Italy would for their own selfish ends back the Arabs and would throw their weight against the Jews because of their anti-Semitism. Feeling safe in this way the Arabs are not likely to be reasonable in their negotiations with the Jews. The retirement of Britain from Palestine would leave the door open for the pursuit of German, Italian and Arab imperialistic ends; for it must not be forgotten that the Arabs have imperialistic traditions, and even at present there are reports of an elaborate pan-Arab organization with members throughout Europe and the Near East and centre at Berlin.

So while there may be whole-hearted condemnation of British imperialism and demand for its withdrawal, it is not clear what good would result if the demand were met.

President Roosevelt has promised to do his best to safeguard the Jews' right to their national home. But perhaps in "real politics" such promises have little value. In the United States itself Jew-baiting has not disappeared for ever and anti-Jewish riots are not impossible. The future which any plan for helping either the Arabs or the Jews may lead up to is not clear to us.

The Sad Plight of the Jews in Europe

The deportation of Polish Jews in Germany, numbering 100,000, appeared to be certain if Poland did not accede to the terms dictated by Germany. But the Polish Jews have been allowed to remain in Germany, to lead a dog's life there deprived of human rights. The treatment of Jews in Italy is cruel, and Czechoslovakia has been making it very hot for them after surrendering to Nazi hectoring. What a mournful lot!

Bihar to Employ Four Jewish Experts

In response to a request made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. Saiyid Mahmud, Education and Development Minister in Bihar, has agreed to employ four Jewish experts. India should certainly help as many Jews as possible, without, of course, aggravating our own unemployment problem as it affects our intelligentsia.

As regards Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's pleading with the Bihar Cabinet for the Jews, the Pandit may be requested to use his influence to see that pro-Semitism in Bihar does not grow *pari passu* with Bengali-phobia. Perhaps an expert like Captain P. B. Mukherji, the distinguished radiologist, who has recently received fresh recognition from abroad, would not have had to leave Bihar if instead of being a Bengali he had been a Jew recommended by Pandit-ji.

Oppression in Indian States

Recently there had been shooting and other essential elements of "strong rule" in some of

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the bigger states like Mysore and Travancore. But suddenly some small and obscure states in Orissa have leaped into fame, as perhaps they think, or notoriety, as others think. The small state of Dhenkanal has created a record in this respect. But for British paramountcy these small princes would have been swept away any day. If they are wise they should agree without delay to give their people at least as much civic and political freedom as the people of British India enjoy. There is no other way out of the difficulty. It is noteworthy that Mayurbhanj, the premier state in Orissa, is unaffected by the mania for strong rule.

Hyderabad is under a Muslim prince the vast majority of whose subjects are Hindus. But they are discriminated against in all directions—in the public services, in the matter of educational facilities, and in the enjoyment of religious liberty. No wonder Satyagraha has been started there. Many have been arrested and thrown into jail. But repression will not, cannot end the trouble. Whatever His Exalted Highness the Nizam and his advisers may think, Their Humblenesses the Common Folk are destined to triumph in the long run. It would be wise, therefore, for His Exalted Highness to gracefully yield while there is still time.

Travancore Maharaja's Wise Act

His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore has acted wisely and gracefully in releasing all political prisoners. His state gave the lead in throwing open the temple-doors to the so-called untouchables. Let it create a record in conferring on the people a charter of adequate civic and political liberties.

Mahatma Gandhi in N.-W. F. P.

Mahatma Gandhi's tour in the North-West Frontier Province ought to produce beneficial results. In the course of one of his speeches there he has observed that, so far as the kidnapping and plundering of Hindus in that province are concerned, the situation has grown worse since the acceptance of office by the Congress ministry there. He has advised that ministry to retire if they cannot prevent these crimes. He thinks that Non-violence may be able to produce the desirable atmosphere. If Mahatmaji himself remains in the province for an appreciable length of time and is allowed to mix with the transfrontier people freely, some good result may be expected.

There is one respect in which provincial autonomy has borne similar fruit in Bengal and the N.-W. F. Province. In Bengal the Muslim masses appear to have got it into their head that Muslim rule has been established in the province and *therefore* they may do what they like to the Hindus with impunity. In consequence, the number of cases of breaking the images in Hindu temples and of defiling the temples, of not allowing Hindu processions with images to pass along certain roads even outside the periods of Muslim worship, of abduction of Hindu women, and the like, has increased. The Frontier and Transfrontier Pathans also may have understood the implications of self-government in a similar way.

The Meaning of "Defence" in India

All our Indian contemporaries appear to have found fault with both the personnel and the terms of reference of the Committee on Indian Defence, known as the Chatfield Committee. This Committee, like the Simon Commission, is an all-white committee, with no dusky member in it.

Along with our contemporaries we may derive some consolation from the meaning which "Defence" bears in India. In free and independent countries, Defence means maintaining the independence of the country and keeping it safe for its own people. In India Defence means maintaining the dependent condition of the country and keeping it safe for the British people. Such being the case, who but Britishers and Britishers alone are fit to be members of the Committe on Indian Defence?

The Next Congress President

Some of our contemporaries have begun to discuss the question of who ought to be the Congress president next year. Some socialists and others have been suggesting that Sj. Subhas Chandra Bose should be the president for another term. Some "nationalist" Bengali Muslims have issued a statement supporting Mr. Bose's claims. The statement is ably drafted, though there is no novelty in the arguments. They think that Mr. Bose will be better able to solve the communal problem than anybody else. Perhaps they think that the practical acceptance of the Communal Decision, with 60 per cent. of the Bengal seats for Muslims thrown in, means a good solution. We do not know what Mr. Bose thinks

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such a solution. But we are definitely of opinion that that would be no solution at all. It would rather make the communal problem worse than it is. For there are some people called the Hindus, and there are some of them in Bengal, too, who will not agree to be practically wiped out of the civic and political life and the administration of the country. The Muslim "nationalists" also support Mr. Bose because he is a strong denouncer of the Government scheme of federation. We have no love for that scheme. But we know why Muslims do not like it. They would like it if in the Indian States section of the Federal Assembly, one-third of the seats (preferably more) were ear-marked for the Muslims, as has been done in the British Provinces section. We have strongly criticized and condemned the Government scheme of federation both in our Bengali and English magazine and in the *Asia* magazine of America. But our grounds for such condemnation being different from those of the Muslims, we do not want to play into their hands by shouting with them or even with Congressmen.

As for Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose's claims we may discuss them when other names, too, have been definitely suggested. Our support to anybody's claims may mean little, as we are not Congressites. But whatever it may be worth, we certainly are not for supporting anybody who will not stand up for the just claims of Bengal, not merely because we are Bengalis, but because it has been wronged more grievously by the Government of India Act of 1935 than any other province, and because the all-India body politic cannot be sound and strong with a seriously wounded member. We would much rather remain silent.

Ethiopia Not Yet Conquered

The telegrams relating to Ethiopia which appear now and then in the papers lead the reader to suspect that Ethiopia has not yet been conquered by Italy. That suspicion is confirmed by reading *The Voice of Ethiopia* which comes from America regularly.

Proposed Vivisection of India by the Muslim League

The Muslim League has very patriotically proposed that there should be two federations in India, a federation of Muslim provinces and states and a federation of Hindu provinces and states! The Muslim League is so generous as to declare that it will allow Muslim countries outside India to join the Muslim federation!

The Muslim League naively fancies or pretends to fancy, that independent Muslim countries would join its Indian Muslim federation under the thumb of an imperialist Britain!

The Muslim federation is to consist of provinces and states on the 'principle' of "heads we win, tails you lose"! Provinces and States of which most of the inhabitants are Muslim are to be included in the federation. Again, a state having a majority of Hindu inhabitants, as Hyderabad, but having a Muslim ruler, is also to be included in it; but on a similar principle, Kashmir with a Hindu ruler but a majority of Muslim inhabitants is not to be included in the Hindu federation: it must be included in the Muslim federation.

As the Muslim League and its leaders like Mr. Jinnah, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq, *et hoc genus omne*, are really henchmen of British imperialists, they cannot understand or believe that,

> "If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities (in U. S. S. R.)—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, *if capitalist exploitation of class by class* and ***nation by nation*** were eliminated."—*From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution*, pp. 262-263.

India's population is far less diversified than Soviet Russia's, and hence the establishment of peace and amity between communities should be far easier here than in U. S. S. R.

Congress Ministry in Assam

It is with great pleasure that we note that a stable Congress ministry has been formed in Assam and that the ministers there will accept a salary of only Rs. 500 per mensem.

De Valera's Strategy

Step by step, taking advantage of Britain's weaknesses and difficulties, Mr. De Valera has been forging ahead towards the goal of Eire's complete independence. He has recently given Britain to understand that in case of war breaking out between the latter and any other power, Eire will stand by her if she agreed to

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the unification of the whole of that island, but not otherwise. It is said Premier Chamberlain is agreeable to the proposal. In that case Ulster must give up its separatism and agree to form one state with the rest of Eire.

Mania For Separation in Central Europe

The mania for forming separate racial and linguistic states is being carried too far in Central Europe. By 'be-smalling' and weakening Czechoslovakia some of the other small states are increasing Germany's power to swallow them up; whereas, if they could enter into a kind of confederation without weakening Czechoslovakia, they could have remained strong enough to stand up to Germany. Small racial and linguistic groups can maintain their political and cultural freedom and individuality only by combining among themselves against the dictators.

A Question to Bikaner

H. H. the Maharaja of Bikaner placed his army and the entire resources of his State at the disposal of Britain when recently there was a probability of the latter being involved in war. A gentleman has sent us a contribution asking in effect why the Maharaja is not placing his resources at the disposal of his famine-stricken subjects, seeing that just now Britain does not stand in need of them.

Germany's Uubounded Ambition

Nazi Germany is looking in all directions for expansion—Switzerland, Alsace-Lorraine, . . . She wants colonies, too. Why not, if other Powers have them? But the autochthons of the Colonies? Have they no rights? Weak peoples have none in the opinion of the mighty ones of Christendom.

Wanted a Bengali Linguistic Province

As Congress has declared itself in favour of linguistic provinces and as the British Government has also, previously, created the linguistic provinces of Orissa and Sindh, there should be other such provinces also, whether any linguistic group be discriminated against and unjustly treated anywhere or not. But such discrimination and unfair treatment strengthen the case for linguistic provinces. The case for a Bengali linguistic province has thus become stronger. Of course, even if the Bengali-speaking areas in Bihar Province be given back to Bengal, there will be thousands of Bengalis in Bihar proper, for whom just treatment must be ensured.

"Sudeten Area Never Part of Germany"

World Youth for September 24 last writes:

> It should be pointed out that the Sudeten territory of Czechoslovakia, in the whole of its history, has never belonged to Germany. Its inhabitants speak German because they are descendants of 12th century German colonists in the Slavic Kingdom of Bohemia. Early in the 17th century Bohemia became part of Austria, and under the Hapsburgs German was the official language. There is no historical ground for claiming the area as German.

But what chance has authentic history against the mailed fist? or ever had?

The American paper adds:

> The real reasons for Hitler's demand, though intentionally obscured, are three:
>
> The Skoda munition works, the Sudeten mountain barrier and its fortifications which bar the German march eastward, and the Nazi hatred of democratic government represented in Central Europe almost solely by the Czech republic.

Jute Ordinance Injurious to Jute-Growers and Mill-Workers

The predominantly Muslim Bengal ministry's Jute Ordinance has not benefited the cultivators who grow jute, most of whom are Muslim, but has gone against their interests by lowering the price of jute. It has injured the mill workers also and has thrown thousands of them out of employ. Hence, there is widespread and strong agitation against it in Bengal. The ordinance must go.

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PEACE—WITH DISHONOUR

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

e Prime Minister has purchased peace for t Britain. But at what price? And for w long? For six weeks, six months, or six rs? He would be a bold man who would ve that the word of a Dictator could be d on for even one year after the examples ve had of its being broken time and again rcumstances seemed to show it to be a safe ble.

It is easy for a householder to purchase e from a burglar by handing over to him of his possessions as the burglar covets. e morality of his purchasing his own peace nding over to the burglar the possessions me one else is more open to question. Yet is what our Prime Minister has done to e for us what can only be a very temporary e.

The appetite of the bully and dictator s with what it feeds on. Hitler speaks no lish. He reads the press as supplied to him his Propaganda Minister, Dr. Goebbels. bbels and von Ribbentrop assured Hitler Great Britain would not go to war on nt of Czecho-Slovakia and—with Cham- in at the head of the Government—they e right.

Hitler's extravagant and increased demands ed the Prime Minister as did his insistence ractically immediate action and occupation e Sudeten territory with its eighty million ds' worth of fortifications, but when er "declared categorically that rather than he would be prepared to risk a world war" ed exactly the bluff to which Chamberlain d not stand up.

"Might is Right," the doctrine that ons died and millions more of us fought suffered to dethrone in the "war to end " is again enthroned. Can anyone imagine this megalomaniac Hitler will stop there, ould if he wished to?

The Prime Minister told the House that er had assured him that he had no further torial ambitions in Europe. He believed the German Chancellor really meant this ment. Perhaps he did—but for how long? 17th May 1933 Hitler said that

"The German people have no thought of invading country."

On 13th March 1934 he said:

"The German Government have never questioned the validity of the Treaty of Locarno."

On 21st May 1935, after again reiterating that the German Government would scrupulously observe "every Treaty voluntarily concluded" Hitler went on:

"Germany neither intends nor wishes to interfere in the internal administration of Austria, to annex Austria, or to conclude the *anschluss*."

Yet, in spite of these solemn declarations, on 7th March 1936 Hitler denounced the Treaty of Locarno and reoccupied the Rhineland. His words on this occasion may show how much reliance can be put on the document he and the British Prime Minister have signed. These are his words, on 7th March 1936:

"Germany will never break the peace of Europe . . . I regard the struggle for German equality as concluded to-day. *We have no territorial demands to make in Europe.*"

At the beginning of the Great War the Germans were held up to scorn in this country because of the Kaiser's reference to their Treaty with Belgium as "a scrap of paper". We are bound, as members of the League of Nations, to uphold the integrity of Czecho-Slovakia against aggression. France is bound not only under the Covenant of the League but by a direct Treaty with Czecho-Slovakia. Both of these solemn obligations have been ignored. Indeed we went so far as to tell the Government of Czecho-Slovakia that neither we nor France would abide by our solemn undertakings if they offered any resistance to Hitler's bullying terms and the British Prime Minister further undertook to use the might of Great Britain to see that the Government of Czecho-Slovakia carried them out.

In 1914 we heard a great deal about the small country Belgium being attacked and how we must go to its assistance against the Kaiser and his armies. This was in the minds of many in the House of Commons last week when the Prime Minister, referring to the present situation, said:

"However much we may sympathise with a small nation confronted by a big powerful neighbour, we cannot in all circumstances undertake to involve the whole British Empire in a war simply on her account."

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We do seem to have travelled a long way since 1914 and the pledge of the British Government to small nations means now something very different from what it meant then. The law of the jungle, the doctrine that Might is Right, the barbarism that we fought to destroy in the Great War, has now become established in Europe and the head of the British Government is now doing all he can to get on the most friendly relations with the two Dictators who have done so much to dethrone the law of brotherhood and justice. Hitler has abolished law and substituted for it his own decisions—and Britain and France have meekly acquiesced.

It is not without interest too that Russia, who alone undertook to stand by all her obligations to Czecho-Slovakia and fight the German menace, was not invited to Munich and is ignored by the Prime Minister as if she did not exist. It is indeed the case that rather than be beholden to or work with Russia, Mr. Chamberlain would work on terms of good fellowship with the two most ruthless and bullying dictators in the world today.

Mr. Baldwin said in the House of Commons "our frontier is on the Rhine." It would have been truer to say that our frontier was in the Sudeten mountains, where were some of the strongest fortifications in Europe against German aggression. We have now let Germany inside these fortifications without a shot being fired. It may not be long before France bitterly regrets that she did not make a stand against Germany before she gave away what is such a vital part of her own defence system. We have also given over the main sources of raw materials in Czecho-Slovakia and some of her main industries to Germany, along with three-quarters of her lignite coal output, which comes from one of the areas now occupied by Germany. Czecho-Slovakia exports about £50,000,000 a year of textiles, porcelain, glassware, etc. and most of the factories for their manufacture are in the Sudeten areas. Czecho-Slovakia's transport system has been strangled as it now runs through what is German territory. She is indeed in a worse state than was Austria after the War.

Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Jugo-Slavia are now compelled to come under Germany's sphere of influence and will have to rely more and more on her goodwill. The price they have got to pay for that will be their subservience to Germany's economic and military interests. That is another fruit of our betrayal.

In spite of what the German Chancellor has agreed to with Mr. Chamberlain, can anyone venture a guess as to how long it will be before he brings Memel, Danzig, and the Polish Corridor within the German Reich?

In spite of Mr. Chamberlain's belief in Hitler it is not without significance that all the air raid precautions in this country have to go on, and the trenches dug in the public parks in London and elsewhere have not to be filled in. The rearmament programme of the Navy, Army and especially of the Air Force, is to proceed with increased vigour, while the only possible enemy is the German Chancellor, whose word Mr. Chamberlain accepts that never again will there be war between Germany and Great Britain, but that all disputes will be settled by negotiation. It would be almost laughable, if it were not so tragic, that the reason of this is that the Prime Minister agrees with the German Chancellor that the recent crisis *has* been settled by negotiation. It is the kind of negotiation that the armed burglar uses to have everything handed over to him without the necessity of his shooting.

And it is also worth noting that the *Times* newspaper, which was the first in this country to suggest that the Sudetenland should be handed over to Germany, is now suggesting that Mr. Chamberlain should introduce universal service "as soon as the growing strength of the Dictators has created the necessary mentality in the country."

This Government was of course elected on a pledge to support collective security as the only means of avoiding war. One of Mr. Chamberlain's first appointments after he became Prime Minister was that of Mr. Lennox Boyd as a junior Minister. Mr. Lennox Boyd had then had been one of the most fervent of Franco's supporters in this country. On 16th March last Mr. Lennox Boyd made a speech and for his indiscretion he afterwards apologized in the House of Commons. In this speech he said that he did not think Mr. Chamberlain would make a move to guarantee the frontiers of Czecho-Slovakia. "Germany could abuse Czecho-Slovakia and Britain would remain safe and secure." No sooner had that "indiscretion" blown over than Mr. Chamberlain, at Lady Astor's house at Cliveden, talked to American and Canadian journalists in a more frank way than he would ever have dared to journalists of this country. The *Morning Star*, referring to the Prime Minister's statements said:

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"Nothing seems clearer than that the British do not expect to fight for Czecho-Slovakia and do not anticipate that France or Russia will either. That being the Czechs must accede to the German demands, if unavoidable."

As Sir Archibald Sinclair, the leader of the Liberal Opposition, pointed out in the House of Commons with reference to this statement, as far as the Czechs were concerned it would not matter whether the demands were reasonable or not. "The Czechs would have to submit anyway."

But the *Montreal Star* went further in its disclosures of what the Prime Minister told them at Cliveden and said:

"That brings us to the question of the Four Power Pact. The British prefer to label it something else because a Four Power Pact might signify to some a Directors' Committee to dictate to the rest of Europe."

And this journalist went on to tell us that "Soviet Russia is excluded on the grounds that it does not work well in harness."

On 11th March last both the Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary warned the German Ambassador (at that time von Ribbentrop) that German intervention in Austria would destroy any hope of an Anglo-Italian agreement. Next day Austria was annexed.

Now it is understood that the Prime Minister proposes to have further negotiations with Mussolini. No wonder that von Ribbentrop was able to advice his Leader that he had only to make enough show of force to ensure the defeat of the British Prime Minister. There was a time, not so long ago, when small nations used that when Great Britain had given its word they could depend on her upholding and protecting them. Now honour, pledges, everything gives way before merely temporary expediency. To such a depth is this once great nation fallen that tens of thousands throughout the length and breadth of the land (instead of blaming the Prime Minister for keeping the office after the policy of his Government had brought us to the brink of war) feel nothing but shame and humiliation.

But, as I began, is it peace? War preparations are to go on as never before and sooner later the issue betwen the aggression and bullying of the Dictators and the position taken up by the democratic Powers will have to be fought out unless by some chance the Dictators disappear. Every concession to their bullying attitudes makes their position stronger and the world against them more difficult. The betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia has enormously strengthened the German Reich. If and when Germany does go to war the defences of France, and therefore of England, are much less strong than they were a week ago.

There is talk of some signal honour being bestowed on Mr. Chamberlain, like the Garter with which his brother was honoured after Locarno. The Locarno Treaty is now in tatters —torn to shreds by Hitler. If the Prime Minister is to get some honour for his work for peace he had better take it quickly. For peace at present is established on a very tottering and unsafe foundation.

There is of course the possibility, which would be welcomed by some of the Cliveden circle, that Britain might go Fascist and go hand in hand with Germany and Italy. But the British are built of sterner stuff than the Italians and are not ready to be regimented like the Germans. Any attempt to run this country on Fascist lines would be more likely to cause such an upheaval as would throw her more into line with Russia.

When future historians look back they will probably realise that this is one of the most interesting times in the world's history because of the tremendous changes that are going on around us. It may be a hard and in many ways a disagreeable time for those of us who have to live through it, but I am convinced that the outcome is bound to be sooner or later a realisation of the brotherhood of man and I believe the ultimate result will be not merely a United States of Europe but a United States of the world with justice and opportunities for all and a realisation that we are—individuals and nations alike—our brothers' keepers. Aggression by one country against another would then be a thing of the past because of the super-national authority that, with collective security, would ensure that all were treated fairly and without respect of principalities and powers. It is an aim worth working for, and those of us who believe in it must go on through these dark days striving towards the light which is in man and will shine out ever more and more clearly.

"I falter where I firmly trod,
And falling with my weight of cares
Upon the great world's altar-stairs
That slope thro' darkness up to God,

"I stretch lame hands of faith, and grope,
And gather dust and chaff, and call
To what I feel is Lord of all,
And faintly trust the larger hope."

Westminster, London,
October 4, 1938.

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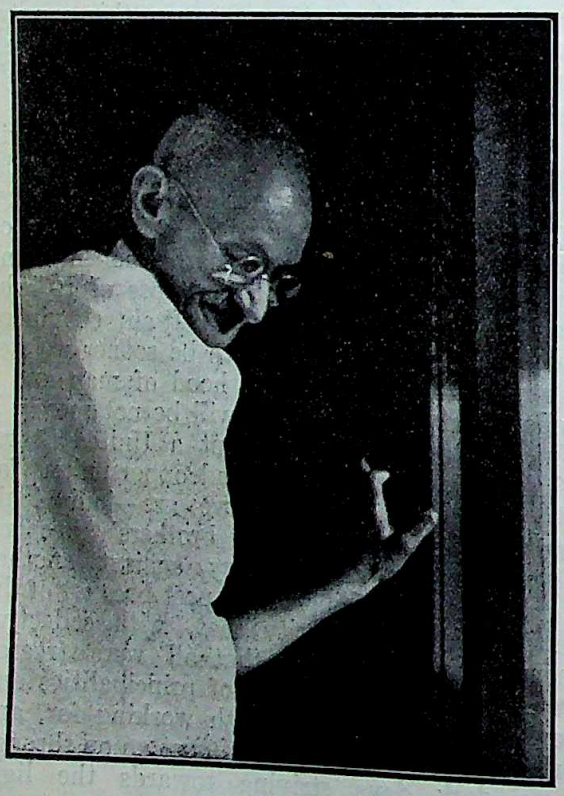
MAHATMA GANDHI'S GREATEST WEAPON

By C. F. ANDREWS

This year, on October the 2nd, Mahatma Gandhi will have reached the threshold of 70. We may well thank God for the wonderful gift that He has given to India in preserving his life for us so long!

When I last saw him, a few months ago, he was lying down on his bed at Juhu by doctor's orders, recovering from the very severe and sudden collapse and high blood pressure which had attacked him in Calcutta, only a short time before. Since then, his health has



Mahatma Gandhi

been very precarious indeed and the blood pressure has been unstable. Nevertheless, God has spared his life for our sakes and for the sake of humanity: and we pray that it may be still longer preserved. For there is no single man in the whole world today who is so deeply and universally beloved as Mahatma Gandhi. Even those who condemned him during the non-co-operation movement have recently changed their minds; and the most conservative people in India and Great Britain have now one thing in common; they deeply long that Maha- Gandhi's life may be continued for the sake the peace of the world.

When I first met him in the year 1913, was still in South Africa, struggling agai almost insuperable odds in order to obt justice for the poor labourers who had emigr ed to that distant country from India. Th had come chiefly from Tamil Nadu and h gone out to South Africa as Indentu labourers. They were being cruelly driven b to India after the indenture was over, by me of an unjust Poll-tax, and Mahatmaji h determined by passive resistance to get that t removed. He made, what has been called one writer, "the most remarkable march w a peaceful army which history has ever reco ed." This "army" was composed of indentu labourers,—men, women and children. Th had no weapons of war. Their one weapon w Non-violence. They started from one of t central districts of Natal, and marched over t high Darkenberg mountains until they came the borders of Transvaal. I have been sh that very road, by which they came over th high mountains. When they crossed these mo tains it was so bitterly cold at night time th two little children perished on the way.

The Indian merchants, who met th "ragged army," (as it was called) at differ towns on the route, brought them loaves bread and other provisions; but it was v difficult indeed to feed so large a multitude s many had to go hungry. When they reac the borders of Transvaal, they all knew th they crossed the border they would be put prison; for that was the law of South Afr Nevertheless, with extraordinary enthusi and joy in their faces, the whole army ru across the frontier. They were then confro at once by the mounted police and officers military rānk, who called upon them to surr der. Since they were passive resisters, t gave themselves up to the police withou struggle, and were all of them imprisoned, a with their great leader Mahatma Gandhi his wife Kasturbai and their children.

When I reached South Africa three mo later, Mahatma Gandhi had been released, a with other leaders, named Mr. Polak and

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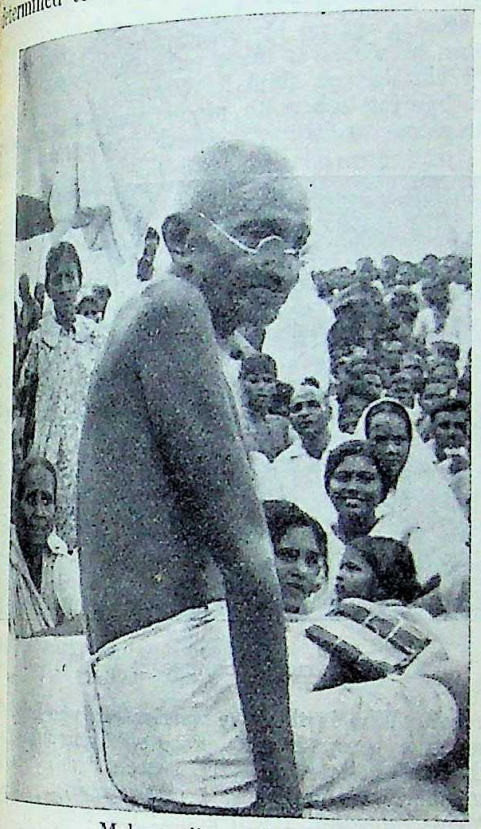
Kallenbach, because General Smuts, who was in command of the administration, had already determined to make peace and not to carry on

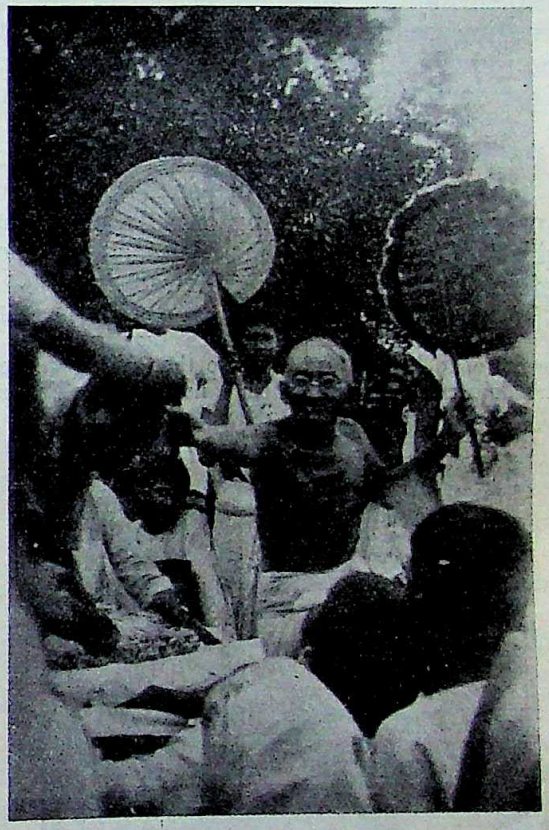


Mahatmaji speaking

the struggle any further. He therefore had summoned Mahatmaji to come to see him at Pretoria, which was the capital of the Transvaal. I was asked to accompany him and we travelled together by the train just before a very violent Railway strike broke out both on the Railway and in the Gold Mines. The mail train, by which we were to reach Pretoria, was the very last that was allowed to make its journey for many days, while the strike continued. I remember very well how at midnight, when the train stopped at one of the stations on the mountain side, where a second engine had to be attached, we both of us thought that the strike had actually begun, and that we would be left stranded in the middle of our journey. But, after what seemed an almost interminable time, the train moved on again. The guard of the train came and told us that although the strike had been announced to begin at mid-night, our train would be allowed to complete its journey to Pretoria.

When we reached the capital, then, once again, there were almost insuperable difficulties. The telegraph lines were cut by the strikers, and we were thus quite isolated from the rest of the world for there was no 'wireless' in those days.

The European strike leaders sent out tentative requests to Mr. Gandhi that he should join them in their own strike, and thus make certain of victory. But he entirely refused to do so, because his own passive resistance struggle was altogther on a non-violent basis, while the European strike on the railway and in the Mines was on a violent basis.



Among village-folks

This fact, that Mahatmaji had refused to join in a violent strike, even when it seemed to be for his own interest to do so, made a great impression everywhere. It led on to General Smuts' offer of peace. Thus when he called Mahatmaji to see him at his office in Pretoria, he said with great deal of bluntness: "Now Gandhi, put all your cards on the table! Let me know exactly what you want, and I will try to get it for you."

Any one else, who had received such a favourable offer, would have at once demanded the very maximum, but Mr. Gandhi, who is the soul of truth and uprightness in everything he does, asked instead only for the minimum. His one final demand was this, that the £3/- Poll-tax (which was the sign of slavery) should be

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entirely abolished. General Smuts agreed to this and signed a draft agreement.

This was the beginning of the last act in that great drama, whereby Mahatma Gandhi won his passive resistance struggle against overwhelming odds in South Africa. In the history of India and the world it marks a turning point, which future historians will record, from violence to non-violence. I have told this amazing story rapidly, in order to show how Mahatmaji has remained absolutely true to his great principle of non-violence during all these intervening years. He has never turned either to the right hand or to the left, but has marched straight forward all the while along the same path of non-violence.

Before me on the table there lies open a tiny booklet which he wrote in 1908, while he was on a sea voyage coming back from England. In this little book, he has described his own belief in Non-violence as follows:

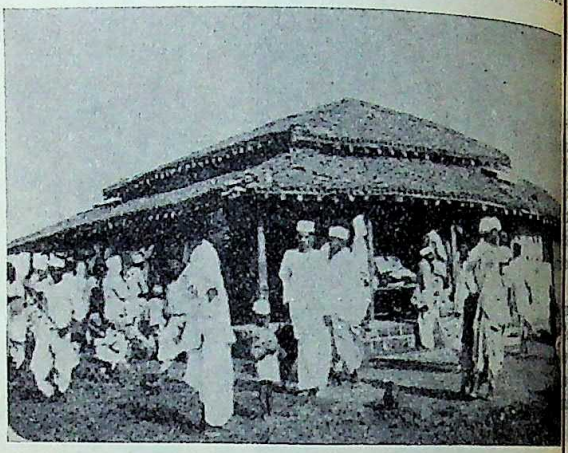
"To use brute-force, to use gun-powder, is contrary to passive resistance; for it means that we want our opponent to do by our use of force that which we desire, but he does not. And, if such a use of force is justifiable, surely he is entitled to do the same by us. And

Cowshed

so we should never come to an agreement. We may simply fancy, like the blind horse, moving in a circle round a mill, that we are making progress. Those who believe that they are not bound to obey laws which are repugnant to their conscience, have only the remedy of passive resistance open to them. Any other must lead to disaster.

"Passive resistance, that is, Soul-force, is matchless. It is suprerior to the force of arms. How, then, can it be considered merely a weapon of the weak? Men who use physical force are strangers to the courage that is requisite in a passive resister. Do you believe that a *coward* can ever disobey a law that he dislikes? Extremists are considered to be advocates of brute force. Why do they, then, talk about obeying laws? I do not blame them. They can say nothing else. When they succeed in driving out the English, and they themselves become governors, they will want you and me to obey *their* laws. And that is a fitting thing for their constitution. But a passive resister will say he will not obey a law that is against his conscience, even though he may be blown to pieces at the mouth of a cannon.

"What do you think? Wherein is courage required—in blowing others to pieces from behind a cannon or with a smiling face to approach a cannon and be blown



Mahatmaji's cottage at Wardha

to pieces? Who is the true warrior,—he who keeps death always as a bosom-friend, or he who controls the death of others? Believe me that a man devoid of courage and manhood can never be a passive resister.

"This, however, I will admit: that even a man, weak in body, is capable of offering this passive resistance. One man can offer it just as well as millions. Both men and women can indulge in it. It does not require the training of an army; it needs no Jiu-jitsu. Control over the minds alone necessary, and when that is attained man is free, like the king of the forest, and his very glance withers the enemy.

"Passive resistance is an all-sided sword; it can be used anyhow; it blesses him who uses it and him against whom it is used. Without drawing a drop of blood, it produces far-reaching results."

Now, in these declining years of his life Mahatma Gandhi has laid even *more* emphasis than ever on this great method of fighting against evil which has always been his principal weapon. Very few as yet understand its full implications as he does. But those who have seen its wonderful effects in action (as I was greatly privileged to do in South Africa) have come to the conclusion, that it is the strongest force in all the world, and further that it is the *only* force that can overcome the hideous brutalities of modern War. If an army could be trained for this *moral* resistance for Peace, just as armies are being trained for the *immoral* resistance of War, then the devilish violence of modern warfare might soon be ended. But have we the moral courage to do such resistance?

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THE PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS

By C. F. ANDREWS

The United States Ambassador Dodd, thus wrote to the *Nation* on his retirement to New York from Berlin:

"The black tide of anti-Semitism sweeps east and south; Nazi Vienna now vies with Berlin in terrorizing its native citizens who happen to be Jews. Accordng to Vincent Sheean, not less than 20,000 Jews have been driven into concentration camps since the Nazis vaulted into the Austrian saddle. Their property has been confiscated, their persons subjected to the grossest physical indignities.

"Unless one has been an eye-witness, it is almost impossible to realize the horrors of this persecution. *Never in modern times has a sovereign power bent itself savagely upon the extinction of its own inhabitants, or deliberately transgressed every tradition of culture and humanity.*"

If this had been written by any one else, whose responsibility was less great for every word he uttered, it might have been discounted as the exaggeration of a scare-monger. But these are the solemn words of the late U. S. A. Ambassador,—one of the most judicial and impartial eye-witnesses who have watched the full growth of this monstrous tyranny. What follows, in Ambassador Dodd's article, gives full details of the ruthlessness of Nazi rule, which seems now likely to extirpate root and branch the persecuted Jewish race.

Here is another quotation from the same article:

"The persecutions are not confined to powerful leaders of Jewry, or to persons who might be dangerous to the Hitler regime. No child, no aged or infirm person is spared. On April 22, 1937, the Gestapo (Nazi secret police) evicted hundreds of inmates from 33 Jewish orphanages, sanitariums, and homes for the aged. Several hundred children were turned into the streets utterly homeless. Two hundred aged Jews, who had contended with a fraternal order for support during the rest of their lives, were reduced to wandering beggary. At the same time, 250 Jewish working girls were ousted from the Krugerheim Home, taken over as sleeping quarters by Storm Troopers; no provision was made for the displaced young women.

"Ghetto benches, painted yellow, are placed in parks throughout Germany 'for the use of Jews only.' Only the children of Jewish war veterans are allowed to attend the public schools; these also sit on Ghetto benches and are shamefully addressed as "Du, Jude" ("You, Jew!"). Today, by law, all the learned professions are closed to Jews. Musical compositions by Mendelssohn and others of Jewish blood may not be played anywhere in Germany; books of Jewish writers are burned in public squares.

"In provincial towns of Germany and Poland the shops and homes of Jews are stoned, robbed, and burned. Their children are numbed with cold and emaciated by hunger. These persons are wholly dependent upon money received from relatives or friends in America; yet unless rigid technicalities are observed in transmitting such funds, the amount actually obtained by the recipient is greatly reduced."

Already one-fifth of the whole Jewish population in Germany have either died or left the country.

Ambassador Dodd had studied at the University of Leipzig, and, after a distinguished career at Chicago University, had been appointed head of the U. S. Embassy in Germany in 1933. He was greeted on his appointment by the German newspapers with satisfaction as a great scholar and historian, who had studied, during his long residence in Germany, the German mind. Yet this wholly friendly and impartial Ambassador, unable at last to endure, without an open public protest, the things which he saw happening before his eyes and the misery which came almost daily before his notice, resigned his post as Ambassador in December, 1937, and thus obtained the right to tell the world what he had recently heard and seen.

The German people, from a very early date, have won my own affection and this regard for them as individuals is as strong today as it was long before the miserable world war of 1914-18. When the brutal peace of Versailles was concluded, I protested openly in the columns of *The Modern Review* against its scandalous betrayal of the armistice terms. In the year 1932, I stayed for a long time in Germany, helping to nurse in his last illness the grandson of the Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, and it is impossible for me ever to forget the generous kindness of the German people in that hour of human sorrow. They became loved by me more than ever because of their own humiliations, which had been brought upon them in the hour of victory by my own people among others. Therefore, my whole heart has gone out to them again and again, and I have taken every opportunity of making public my esteem and respect for their bravery in time of trouble and their high intellectual qualities.

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But when I was in Germany a little more than a year ago, a subtle change had taken place. In other ways, the people of Southern Germany, where I was staying, were the same friendly people who were ready to meet me with kindness whenever I needed their aid. But side by side with this, the persecution of the Jews was brought home to me in a peculiarly revolting manner, and I protested against it. In the centre of the small town, where I was staying, was a notice-board. It was crowded every day, chiefly by young people, and my curiosity made me go up to see what were the pictures and the printed matter that caused such daily excitement. I found that it was a public copy of Julius Streicher's notorious newspaper, *Der Stuermer*, which exhibited horrible pictures with big head lines, whose one object was to publish grossly lying statements which were deliberately intended to create a hatred of the Jewish race. I could not help contrasting the gentle kindness and courtesy on the one hand, which was evident all round, with this hideous form of torture which goes by the name of *Judenhass* (Jew-hatred). It was no use arguing against this; for it was a case of mass hysteria. The answer would be "Oh, you do not *know* the Jews," and then would follow a torrent of violent abuse. But I *did* know the Jews. I had lived with the Jews in their homes in Germany and shared their hospitality. I could tell my German friends about German Jews of my own acquaintance, who were among the noblest of mankind. One of these was Albert Einstein, whose heart was as wide as the whole world. He was my friend and had been my host.

Now the last thing in the world I should wish to do would be to stir up anger or hatred against Germans in return. That is not my object at all. Rather I would express my own sense of alarm, mingled with compassion, on account of things done in the past which have led on these nerve-racked German people to such a mass hysteria of late. At the same time, it would be difficult to condemn too severely the propaganda of those designing leaders who have produced these symptoms of morbid passion against the Jews.

Some of the dearest friends I have ever had have been Jews and I am proud of the fact. When the Indian settlers in Natal were most oppressed and down-trodden by the Europeans, owing to racial and colour prejudice, certain noble and resolute Jews such as Messrs. Polak and Kallenbach, had not only taken up openly the Indian cause, but actually gone to prison for it. Therefore I am never likely to forget those who thus became after that struggle my life-long friends.

In the Life of Christ which I am now writing, Claude Montefiore and Dr. Klausner, two Jewish writers, have helped me more, perhaps, than any others to gain a true picture of Jesus as He lived in Galilee among His own countrymen. The whole world of art and music and literature owes more to this gifted and cultured race than it can ever repay. Therefore I would ask that in this their hour of persecution, when every country appears to be shutting its doors and refusing to allow them to enter, no word should come from India except that of pity and love and compassion.

The Poet, Rabindranath Tagore, at Santiniketan, has led the way in opening his heart wide to embrace this afflicted race. We have had among us one whom we all loved, Dr. Winternitz, from Prague. His enthusiasm for Sanskrit was so great, that it had become the one passion of his life. His love also for India was so true and deep, that in spite of failing health and the death of his dear wife which shattered his own health, he continued working for India in the centre of Europe at Prague, the capital of Czecho-Slovakia, right up to the very end. Others, almost equally noble, have been living with us; and it is through them that the Oriental Institute at Prague has been established by Subhas Chandra Bose, the President of the Congress, after he had found a warm-hearted love for India in that city. Today they are still trying to keep alight, in the midst of inexpressible anxieties and fears, of war the flame of Indian culture. Among those who have helped to do this both in Czecho-Slovakia and Poland are the Jews.

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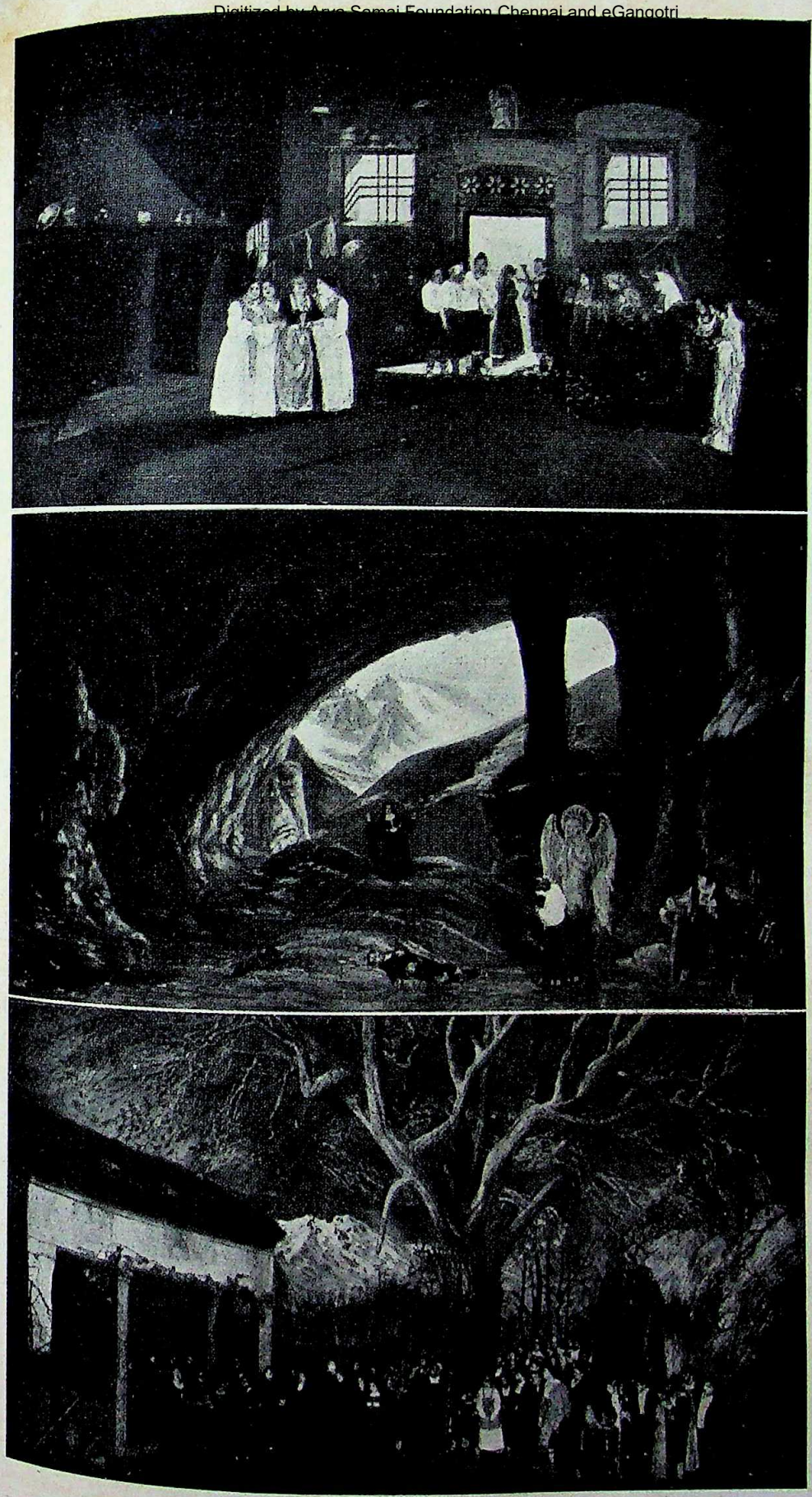

Types of Dannunzian scenography.
The three scenes for the three Acts of *La Figlia di Iorio*

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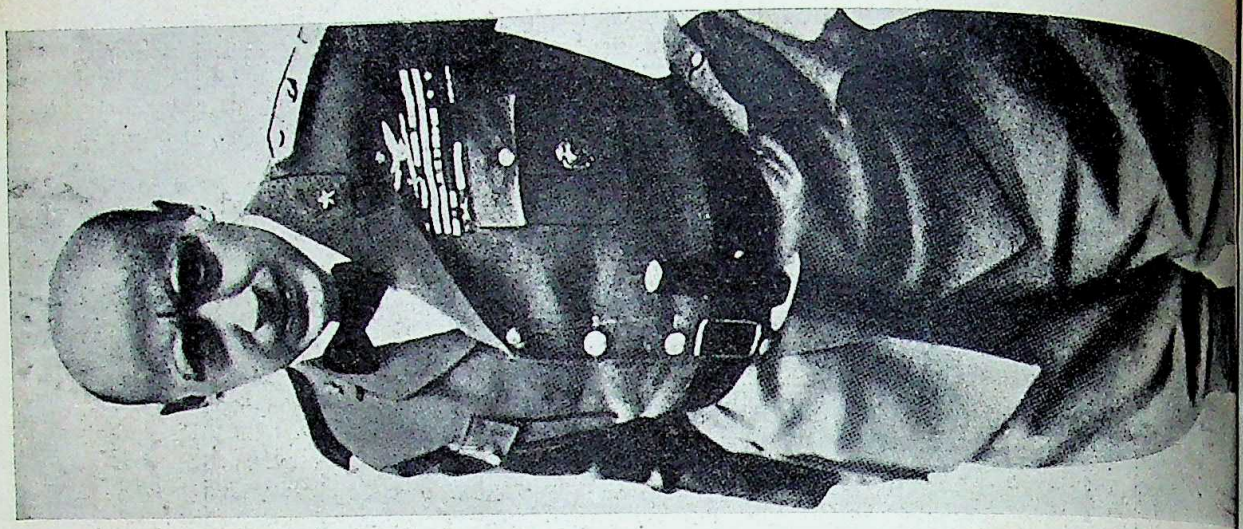

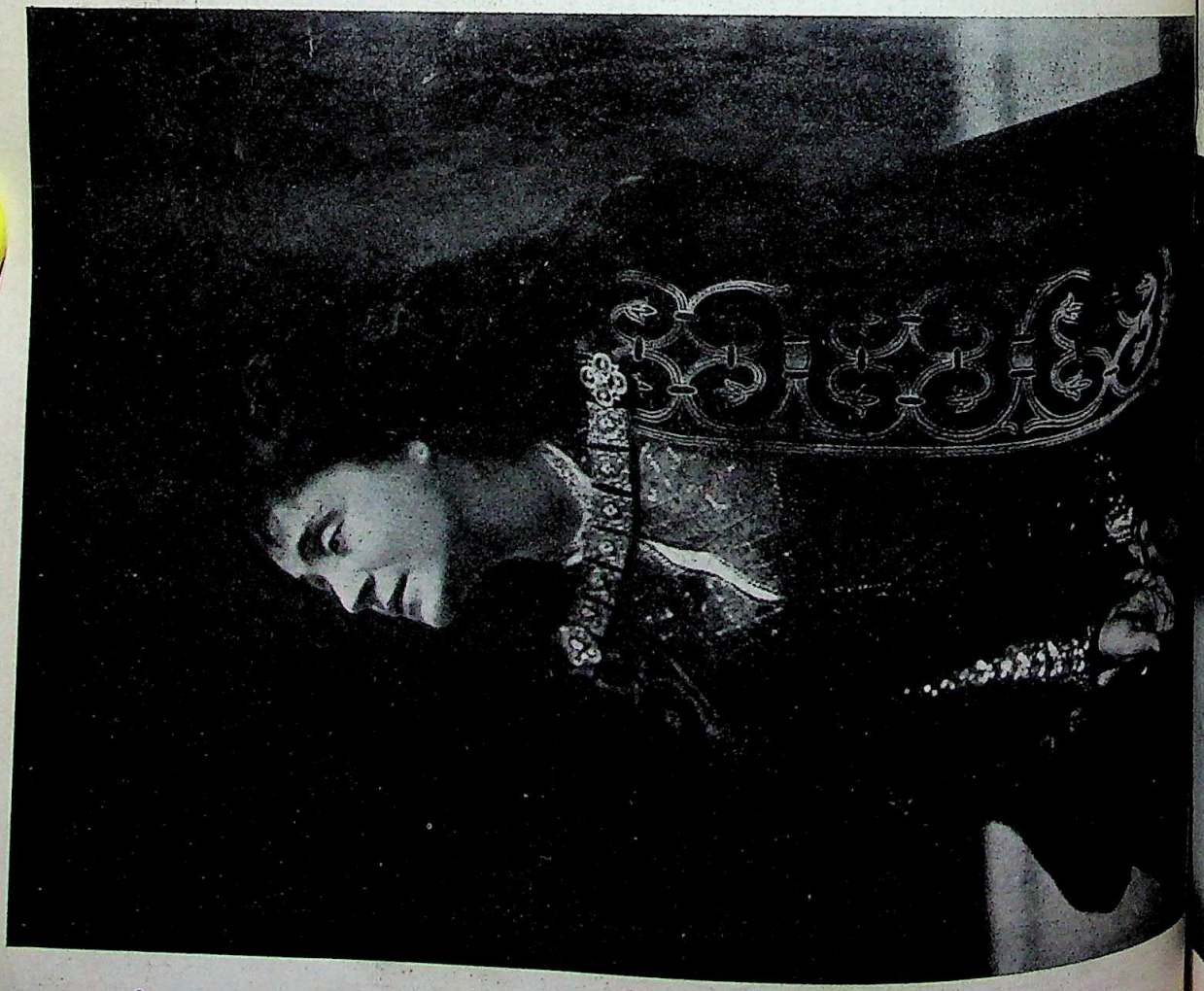

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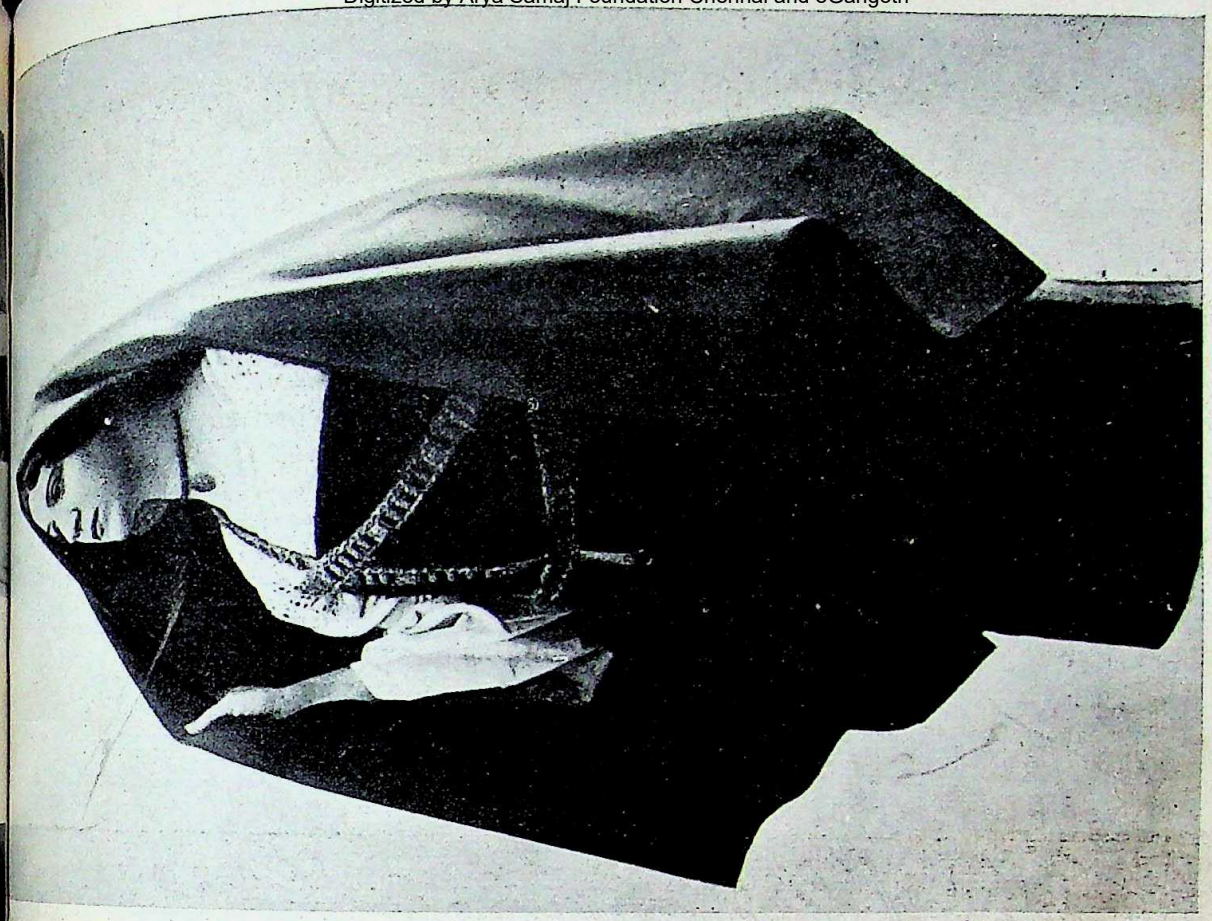

Irma Gramatica in the role of "Mila di Codra" in *La Figlia di Iorio*

Ida Rubinstein in the leading role of Pisanella

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Pagan and Renaissance symbols together with martial and religious motifs in the "Vittoriale," D'Annunzio's villa on Like Garda

A panoramic view of the "Vittoriale," on Lake Garda, where the poet-soldier lived the last years of his retired life

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D'ANNUNZIO AND THE ITALIAN THEATRE

By MONINDRAMOHAN MOULIK, D.SC., POL. (Rome)

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO was a greater artist in than in poetry. Critics have pointed that his poetry does not bear the stamp of ortality, but it is universally acknowledged he is the creator of modern Italian theatre. was in drama that he excelled more, for it s truer to his life. Before D'Annunzio the lian theatre was in the grip of a stagnant adence; he redeemed it with his dramatic sion and scenographic imagery, brought the lian stage to the forefront of contemporary ropean theatrical art and gave it a long lease life.

In order to appreciate the true spirit of Annunzio's dramas it is essential to have at t a broad idea of his philosophy of life and fundamental inspiration of his poetry. Be- I proceed to discuss his dramas, therefore, ropose to mention here just a few landmarks his life and poetry. D'Annunzio's life is a derful synthesis of poetry and war, of con- plation and action, of passionate extra- ance and blissful tranquillity. He has lived life most intensively and has seen it from angles of vision. He was not only a great or a great soldier, but was an institution in self. He was a hero, lover and prophet nded together. He belongs to the history of y as much as to the history of Europe. To the ld his name is associated with the military venture he organized and conducted for the ration of Italians in Dalmatia and Trento, d his most spectacular seizure of Fiume in ance of Giolitti, President Wilson, the ague of Nations and the whole world, which hough it ended in failure at the first instance, pared the ground for the victory of Mussolini d Fascism. He has often been compared with yron for his poetry, full of sensuous inspira- n which reveals the author as an aesthete, ating art for art's sake, and also for his ssionate temperament and innumerable love odes. But Byron's literary background did include Nietzsche whose cult of the "super- an" and that of "living dangerously" attract- d D'Annunzio and established through his odes d ballads that ideal of ruthless nationalism d pride in a glorious past that have laid the iritual foundations of Fascism. Unlike his British prototype, he showed himself as a fighter of dauntless courage and as a politician who swayed the fortunes of Europe.

On the outbreak of the War when he was living as an exile in Paris, where his dramas were being staged and admired, he returned to Italy and conducted that violent agitation in collaboration with the nationalists in Italy,—

Gabriellino D'Annunzio in *La Nave*

Rocco, Corradini and Coppola,—which drove Italy into the War on the side of the Allies. His speeches brought Giolitti down; he fought on the land in the Carso trenches, at sea on the famous torpedo boat raid on Buccari, in air under many skies and bore his wounds, the loss of his left eye among them, with stoic fortitude. His life and temperament bore a strong affinity to the romanticism of late renaissance;

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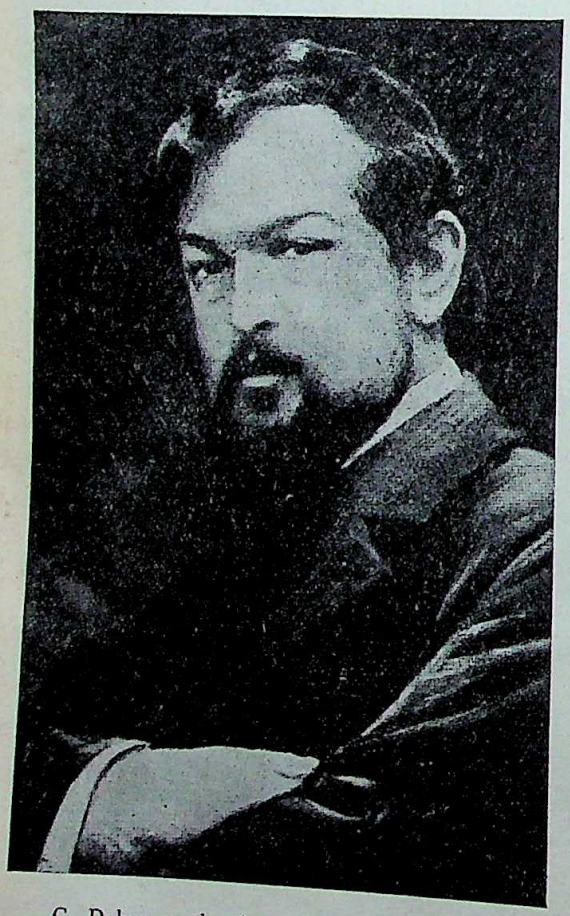
even in the wilderness of the twentieth century materialism and spiritual desperation, D'Annunzio was able to revive the cult of beauty which singled him out as an outstanding figure of his age. *The Times* of London, in its obituary note on D'Annunzio, wrote:

> "Cruel and lavishly generous, wildly boastful and desperately brave, ugly but fortunate in his loves, he stepped out of the fifteenth century into the nineteenth and *felix opportunitate vitae* lived to become the most romantic figure that the twentieth century has yet seen."

D'Annunzio made a name in his earlier years for his voluptuous sense of beauty and his mastery of language, but his wonderful instinct for beauty and his inexhaustible resources of style were not employed for anything else than creating a Pan-like communion with



C. Debussy, the famous French composer

Nature from which he seems hardly distinguished. Croce describes him as the "dilettante of sensations." In form his poetry owes much to Carducci's classicism, and resembles that of Swinburne in respect of music and rhythm. Like this English poet D'Annunzio did not hesitate sometimes to sacrifice the meaning of his verses for the sake of their music. Two and a half years ago Pirandello told me, during an interview, almost the same thing when on being asked, he said, that D'Annunzio had a 'style of words' much more than a 'style of thinking.' He felt himself almost like a pagan when he sang about the glories of the Abruzzi land whence he came, in his *Canto Novo*. Although he was indebted to the French and Russian authors to a certain extent, his greatest inspiration from outside was that of Nietzsche, the apostle of the Superman, and it is for the reason that his works which consist of 50 volumes have all been proscribed by the Vatican. Although his works reveal many ideals they lack a consistent morality. "Gioire e morire" (To enjoy or to die) is the philosophy of life that he elaborated in his *Laus Vitae*, and reveals the epicurean that he was. The only unaccomplished desire of his life was to ascend the stratosphere with Prof. Picard and to descend by parachute.

D'Annunzio's dramas must necessarily be seen through this elaborate background of his life—heroism and aestheticism, sensuality and romanticism, moral incongruity and self-effacing patriotism. Attiglio Momigliano, the celebrated Italian critic, rightly observes that in D'Annunzio the virtues of renaissance and the vices of the eighteenth century decadentism are inseparably mixed together.[1] This dualism in D'Annunzio's life and philosophy between heroism and decadentism, between audacity and sadness, between robust self-confidence and undefined lightheartedness, was never removed from his poetry and drama. Yet he had a personality rising above the apparent contradictions of his character and the dualism of his ideals. For, unlike Carducci who poetized as a hero, D'Annunzio acted and lived as a hero.

It has to be admitted that D'Annunzio's sensuality had a tendency towards the morbid towards the perverse. He was not born for proclaiming the *gioia di vivere* (joy of living) but for tasting the psychological reactions of satiety and disillusionment, sensual occultism so to say, and a magical and primitive form of religiosity. His *Piacere* (1889) which is an account of the poet's mundane experiences in the morbid environments of the Roman aristocracy of his time, is the first announcement of the exquisitely corrupt conception of art that characterizes the new European romanticism born of a disgust for the ugliness of realism

(1) A. Momigliano: *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Milan, 1936). Page 648.

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Verga may be said to represent the ality of realism, D'Annunzio represents the dence of romanticism. Reflections of the ere (pleasure) may be found in his *Poema* disiaco (Paradisal *Elegie Romane*), Elegies), and *Il* fo della Morte (The mph of Death), as as in all his subse- dramas. But in his as we find an addi- al but common type h we miss in his s, that is, not only Superman but also the rwoman who is paint- s an extravagantly l woman. D'Annunzio in vain to impart a ual undertone to the rities of dramatic ions he creates, by ducing the Superman has to conquer his tations offered by his my," the lustful n. *Il Sogno di un onto di Autunno* e Dream of an nn Sunset), one of earliest dramas, re- s for the first time type of Superwoman n D'Annunzio has again been able to rd later on, and s the influence of erlinck, Rossetti and bourne on the drama- Herein for the first we find an attempt nceal the emptiness virtue behind the ity of expression. e again we find the ompt to create new s of beauty against stagnant and petrify- rules of morality, to laie the right of to acquire power, to exalt the romance of that appeals enormously to the heroic an temperament.

La Citta Morta (The Dead City) is the drama of D'Annunzio which brought him to the forefront of literary criticism, aroused as much admiration as scandal, and announced the advent as much of a dramatic genius as of an aesthetic pervert. The scene is in Greece where the dramatist made a sojourn and re-read the classical tragedies. Near the ruins of Micene, Leonardo, the hero, who searches in its soil the surviving relics of myth and feels within himself the tremendous passions of the classical

D'Annunzio's funeral procession coming out of the "Vittoriale." Just behind the widow may be seen Signor Mussolini, Duca di Bergano, Ministers Ciano, Bottai, Alfieri, Starace and His Excellency Carlo Formichi, Vice-President of the Royal Italian Academy

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heroes, falls in love with his own sister, Maria. He gets out of this evil passion by killing Maria whom death preserves pure and smiling even after the end. Leonardo thus punishes his guilt with the death of a person who has made him guilty without knowing it. The tragedy, therefore, should demonstrate the horror of justifying the right to kill in order to regain one's spiritual liberty, but in fact, this horror is more apparent than real in D'Annunzio's treatment of the personages. For example, Leonardo's wife Anna would even like to sacrifice her life for not having to stand between her husband and Maria. In *Citta Morta* D'Annunzio only exaggerates the evil charms of that ancient land where the most monstrous human passions played with and fought against one another for the fulfilment of inevitable fate.

La Citta Morta, which was first staged in 1898, when the Italian stage was characterized by a stale dilettantism and was devoid of modern art ideals, came as a revelation to the Italian public who saw in D'Annunzio, in spite of the controversies, a redeemer of the Italian theatre. At this time one could find on the Italian stage only historical figures of antiquity dressed in the costumes of their respective centuries and speaking in the accents of their times. The comedian became the photographer or the archæologist, and the dramatists vied with one another for exciting in the audience a sense of bitterness against human society or the will to emulate the examples of great men. The dramatists tried to formulate a thesis, vindicate an idea through their works, and the cultivation of art came next in importance. Such were the "bourgeois" plays of Praga, Giacosa and Robetta, the "moral" plays of Butti, and the "psychological" ones of Bracco, for example. It was their mission to dramatise the ideals of Risorgimento according to the testimony of the archives. It will thus be realized what tremendous impression D'Annunzian dramas had created on such a static and colourless background. The immense possibilities of the Italian stage, remodelled on the modern requirements, were for the first time realized through the dramas of D'Annunzio.

In the same year (1898) was written and staged *La Gioconda* (The Merry Woman) which enunciated not only another kind of superhuman morality but also revealed the dramatic technique of the poet. D'Annunzio tried to give to each one of his dramas a different spiritual atmosphere, literary intonation and scenographic effect, which latter acquires gradually a fastly increasing importance in D'Annunzio's dramas until in *San Sebastian* scenography yields place to choreography. The personages of *La Gioconda* recite their parts amidst ancient sculptures in a house where the worship of beauty is a daily routine. The artificiality of the scene is still evident, but it was already a considerable departure from the usual settings of the pre-Dannunzian Italian stage. Lucio Settala is a sculptor who tries to convince his wife as to his natural right to love another woman who has inspired his art, and proclaims the necessity of sacrificing at the altar of art the sanctity of all human relations and all social duties. The theme is not completely new, for in this may be noticed D'Annunzio's indebtedness to Ibsen. But the moral contradiction is in its dramatic effect on account of the author's inability to create living personages endowed with their respective souls distinguished and apart from the soul of the dramatist. Moreover, the scene where Silvia gets herself mutilated in the hand, in an attempt to save her husband's statue from the other woman who tries to break it, does not offer any solution to the moral problem enunciated by the dramatist. Only one scene is full of poetic freshness when the old minstrel sings 'the story of the seven sisters' in order to console Silvia in her sadness.

In the interval between the appearance of *La Gioconda* and that of *Francesca da Rimini* where the dramatist returns to his old theme of the superwoman, D'Annunzio wrote a few heroic dramas of which the most celebrated are *La Gloria* (Glory) and *La Nave* (The Ship). The former is a dramatic representation of the liberation of Rome from the oppression of the "new Byzantines who had contaminated the country with the poverty of their art and the filth of their politics". The latter represents the tragedy of the hero who must conserve his energies for the accomplishment of his historic mission, but who is led astray and dissipated by the tempting woman. But the tragedy remains in the background before the scene of the play, Venice, the symbol of Italian maritime greatness. D'Annunzio sees with prophetic vision the rebirth of the Italian Mediterranean, and launches on the stage in the last scene of the play, the ship which will make *mare nostrum* of all oceans". It is the patriotic and heroic appeal of this play that the representations of *La Nave* at Argentina in Rome were always crowded and were hailed enthusiastically in Milan.

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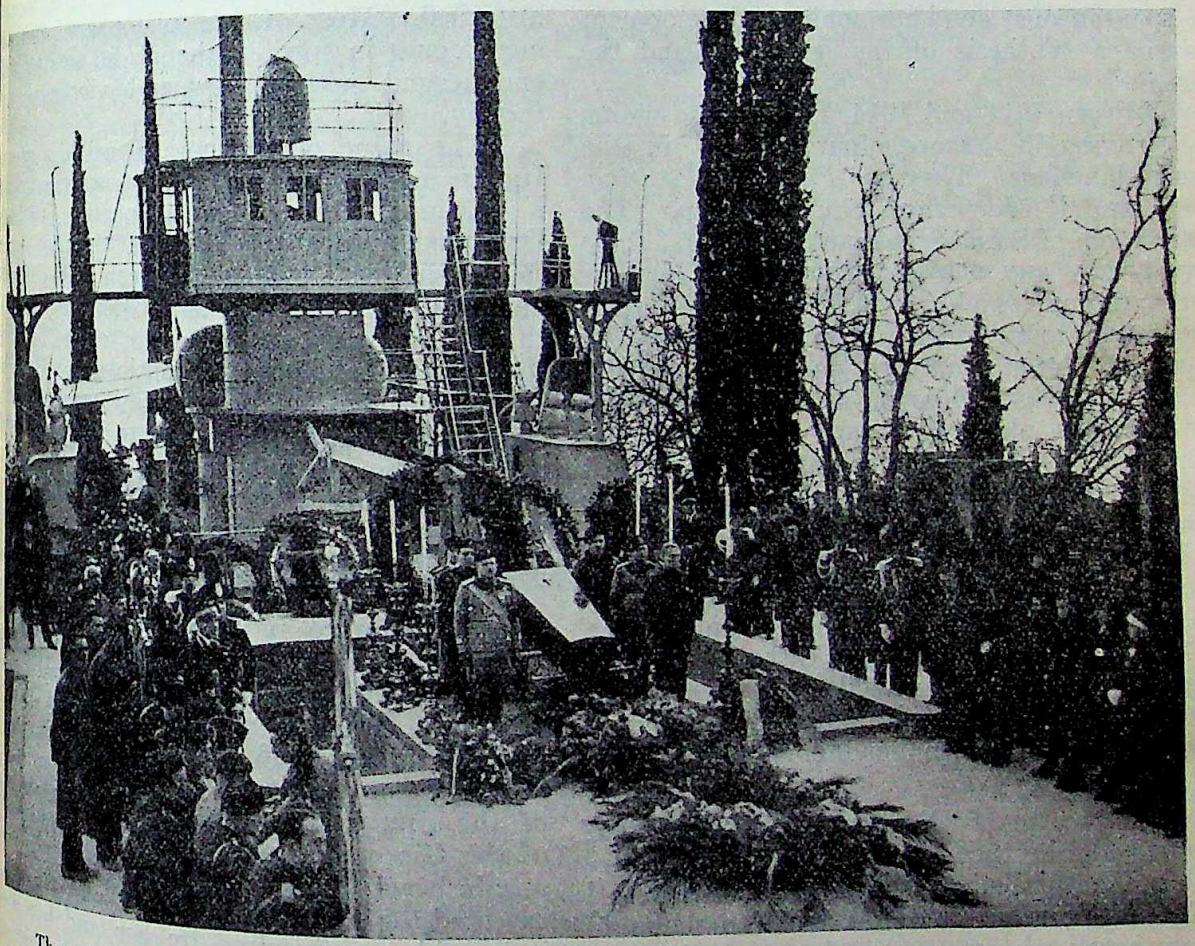
D'Annunzio wrote *Francesca da Rimini* (Francesca of Rimini) in an epoch when he composed the best of his lyrics, *Le Laudi*. The theme of this play is well known, as it also finds a place in Dante's *Inferno*,—the passionate Francesca's illicit love for her husband's brother, Paolo. Here again D'Annunzio returns to his favourite theme, the love of the senses which asserts itself in the invincible and fatal power of the instinct against all sanctions of morality even at the cost of life. The scenes of this play are studied with the assiduity of the scholar and with the zeal of the archaeologist, and succeed in reconstructing the glamorous life of a vanished age. The costumes of medieval Romagna and the dances of Bologna have their particular appeal, and make the Dannunzian theatre already a heralder of modern scenography. But the sensual undertone of *Francesca da Rimini* does not arrive at its inherent tragedy through the artistic process, and not until 1909, when D'Annunzio wrote *Fedra*, the dramatist succeeds in his portrayal of the luxurious superwoman. In a dim past in pagan Greece the superwoman asserts here the right of satisfying her passion, and betrays its tragic force.

Only after all these experiments, D'Annunzio succeeds in writing his dramatic masterpiece, *La Figlia di Iorio* (The Daughter of Iorio). D'Annunzio had already taken a considerably heroic part in politics, had written the book of *Alcyone*, the best volume of his lyrics in the *Laudi* series, and was in search of new myths. The woman whom he had treated so long as a lump of flesh and blood becomes the nymph of the sea and of the woods, and personifies the different seasons and other beautiful phenomena of nature. In this play, the Abruzzi legends of Nino and Finamore are reduced to a type of drama oscillating between the pastoral and the sacred. The peculiar fourteenth century language with its dialectal cadence, the scenes which owe their origin to folk literature, medieval mystical plays, pastoral dramas, and to some French commedians, and example, Bataille and Claudel, place the tragedy under



The coffin of the poet lying in state on the prow of "Puglia," the ship which took part in his Fiume expedition

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the fire of legend, in a situation which, although it appears distant from our times, is perfect in the treatment of details. Here, again, the dramatist presents the lustful woman who arms man against man, but this time the son against the father. But here for the first time the dramatist introduces the contrast between pure love, sanctioned by the laws of heart and society, and sensual love; and the triumph of the former redeems the drama which becomes at once classical and religious. Only here D'Annunzio's own personality and sentiments do not participate in the glorification of the superman and the superwoman irrespective of their virtue and vice, but the drama is left to its spontaneous and harmonious development towards a synthesis of the legendary and the eternal.

Between 1911 and 1914, D'Annunzio wrote, while living in France, four dramas in the French language. They are *Pisanella, Parisina, Ferro,* and *Il Martirio di San Sebastiano* (The Martyrdom of Saint Sebastian). The first three have hardly any new contribution to Dannunzian drama and owe much of their inspiration to previous plays, particularly, *La Figlia di Iorio, Francesca da Rimini* and *La Nave.* But *San Sebastiano* is a departure from the previous plays in regard to scenography. Here the scenes are choreographic and almost cinematographic. The ambiguous figure of the Saint in the body of Ida Rubinstein, the touch of luxury and lust even to sacred objects, oriental decoration, and the rendering of sensuality into mysticism by the Russian dances, all contribute to make the "catholic play" a sacrilege for the conventional mind. Still, these new dramatic forms were largely imitated in Paris and had a tremendous influence on fashion, for good or for evil.

The theatre of D'Annunzio, therefore, has adopted all the themes of the romantic theatre —those naturalistic, psychological, historical and choreographic, and has tried to make of every work of art a stimulus to action but these themes are treated with a refreshing wealth of literary forms. The tragedy of the instinct was attempted even before D'Annunzio, by Hebbel for example; but in the former it became almost a kind of classical drama, the Greek tragedy of inevitable Fate. The heroic drama, as well, which represents the fight for power and the glorification of the will, was attempted by Ibsen, but in the Italian dramatist we find the hero in the garb of a pioneer, orator, and dictator who prepares for the national renaissance. History was faithfully represented by the commedians before D'Annunzio for more than a century all over the world, but it was left to D'Annunzio to interpret history from the artist's point of view, as he did with such passion, scrutiny and patience in *Francesca da Rimini.* The prevalence of the mimic spirit during the closing years of the last century, as represented in the popularity of the Russian ballet, could hardly push to the background the art of *San Sebastiano.* In D'Annunzio, the dramatist only is the protagonist of his plays who combines in himself the aesthete and the hero that finds lustfulness as his enemy and personifies it in a superwoman, imaginary or historical. Most of his plays are, therefore, monologues in spirit, although he treats history and legend with a new and vigorous poetic faculty.

The name of Eleonora Duse, the greatest Italian actress of her time, deserves more than a passing reference in connection with the Dannunzian theatre. Even if we may dismiss the gossips of romance between the dramatist and the actress, there is no denying the fact that they were attracted to each other by the common ideals of dramatic art. Duse had a presentiment of the great transformation which the Italian stage had to undergo within a short time and realized that the theatre was moving towards poetry with remarkable swiftness. Duse is the symbol of the new Italian stage, and what greater genius could D'Annunzio find for the interpretation of his drames? In 1896 D'Annunzio and Duse met at Venice, and in 1897, on the 16th of June, Duse appeared on the stage at Paris with *Il Sogno di un Mattino di Primavera* (The Dream of a Spring Morning). In 1898, D'Annunzio wrote *La Gioconda* and dedicated it to "Eleonora Duse of the pretty hands". Duse's interpretation of the Gioconda has remained unsurpassed to now in beauty, grace and vigour. In 1901 Duse executed the part of *Francesca da Rimini* which it is said, was inspired by her and her alone. That Eleonora Duse continued to inspire the poet and dramatist for a long time to come may be realized from the following passage:

"When she speaks, anemonies bloom in her voice which is like a prairie in the morning. I do not hear what she says; I understand what she does not say . . . It is quite enough for my profound happiness just to be the tune of her mystery preceded by the flash of her smile. There is a pain which brings joy and there is a joy which causes suffering. I knew it. I know it. But both joy and suffering have only one meaning for me; both have the same gesture, her gesture. . . . have for me only one voice, just her voice . . ."

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Duse did not participate in the interpretation of any other play subsequent to *Francesca da Rimini*, but her name will for ever be indissolubly connected with the Dannunzian theatre.

D'Annunzio was extremely lucky and happy in the selection of his collaborators. Next to Duse, mention may be made of Ida Rubinstein, Ruggero Ruggeri, Irma Grammatica, Emilia Ferrini, Ciro Galvani, and Sarah Bernhardt who interpreted D'Annunzio's characters with remarkable vigour and artistic skill. These immortal names of the European stage will for ever be associated with Dannunzian heroes and heroines. Two famous Frenchmen, Leon Bakst and Claude Debussy, made a substantial contribution to the Dannunzian theatre, the former in the design of scenes and the latter in composing the music for *San Sebastiano*. It was particularly fortunate that D'Annunzio had met Debussy during his sojourn in France, since Debussy's compositions for D'Annunzio's play are some of his sweetest and most melodious scores. Besides Debussy, some of the most celebrated modern Italian musicians have composed for D'Annunzio's plays, for example, Pizzetti, Respighi and Montemezzi. Garbriel-D'Annunzio's son, has also taken an active part in the representation of his father's plays and has often interpretated some of the leading roles.

Since the triumph of the Fascist Party in 1922 and the accession of Mussolini, his friend and comrade-in-arms, to the leadership of the nation, D'Annunzio had been living a retired life in a villa on the Lake Garda until his death on the 1st of March, 1938. This villa, which he named the "Vittoriale", was donated to him by the nation, and has been bequeathed by him to the nation, which will contain a museum of the relics and souvenirs of Fiume, and of the poet's life and adventures. His villa contained a mingled atmosphere of heroism and mysticism, war relics, pictures of Saints, Franciscan *motifs*, pagan and renaissance symbols, and displayed with beautiful tapestries, the flag of the Regency of Quarnero at Fiume. During his retirement he had written profusely on art, literature, politics, and has left a number of dramas that have yet to be published. A fuller estimate of D'Annunzio's drama is not possible until his latest plays will have been published and studied. In 1935, three years before his death, the poet-soldier wrote his autobiography under the title *Hundred and Hundred and Hundred and Hundred Pages of Gabriele D'Annunzio Tempted to Die.*

MANIFESTO OF CZECHOSLOVAK AUTHORS

(Manifesto received by the P. E. N. India Centre from the Czechoslovak Authors Association, Prague, where the P. E. N. International Congress was in session only three months ago.)

To the Conscience of the World

At this fateful moment, when a decision between war and peace is being reached, we, the undersigned Czechoslovak authors, address this solemn appeal to all those who form the conscience of the world.

We have lived with our German fellow-countrymen for many centuries in fruitful co-operation, and we have worked with them in cultural efforts. When, upon the battlefields of France, Russia, Serbia and Italy, we fought for the renewal of our independence, we hoped, we also endeavoured, to make the native land which we share with each other one of the living centres of a new, better and happier Europe. Taking our stand today upon the last bastion of democracy in Central Europe, we speak in full awareness of our responsibility towards the truth, that our nation is guiltless in respect of the catastrophe looming before us. We are doing our part to preserve peace, but we shall likewise do our part, if need be, to defend the freedom of our country.

We therefore appeal to you, whose function it is, above all else, to keep watch over what hitherto was the most cherished possession of Europe and the whole civilized world: love of truth, freedom of the spirit and purity of conscience. We ask you to judge for yourselves where the genuine willingness for peace and justice is to be found, and where the aggressive spirit of despotism which utilizes every device of violence and untruth. We call upon you to make it clear to the public opinion of your respective countries that if a grievous contest is forced upon us, a small and peaceful nation living on the most endangered territory in Europe, we shall wage that contest, not only for our own sakes, but for the sake of you and of the moral and spiritual possessions common to all free and peace-loving nations throughout the world. Let nobody forget that, after us, the same fate would befall other nations and countries.

We appeal to all authors and to all others who create culture, to make this manifesto known, by every possible channel, to the nations of the world.

For the Czechoslovak Authors Association

(Signed by 29 leading Czechoslovak writers, including the world-famous Karel Capek.)

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RAO BAHADUR G. S. SARDESAI

By S. R. TIKEKAR

On the 1st. of October, 1938, two Commemoration Volumes were publicly presented in Bombay to Rao Bahadur Govind Sakharam Sardesai, B.A. through Hon. Mr. Justice M. R. Jayakar, Judge of the Federal Court. In doing so Sardesai's services to Indian History have been appreciated. But what exactly has he contributed to enrich our knowledge? To the general public he is a historian. Students of history alone realise his "tremendous" work.

G. S. Sardesai (Born May 17, 1865)

What that tremendous work has been or how Sardesai achieved it, is known only to those who are in close contact with him. A brief account of his early life will not be out of place here.

Born 73 years ago, in a small village in Konkan, in beautiful Maratha surroundings, young Sardesai had to struggle hard for his education. It is interesting to listen to Sardesai narrating events of his boyhood. He had to graze cattle and work in paddy fields. Turning the water-wheel, watching the crops and such other domestic duties he had to perform in his boyhood, apart from his attendance to an elementary school nearby. His first lesson in swimming he had with the help of a buffalo. For his English education he was sent to Ratnagiri, about 30 miles off from his home. Short and easy would seem this journey now but in those days, young Sardesai, the poor student had to carry all the way his bag and baggage consisting of his books, a pair of coarse dhoties and a small mattress. That was all he possessed at Ratnagiri, where the students were housed at night in the class-rooms. The dormitory at night was classroom by day; and an open space outside served as the study-room. Hostel accommodation was not provided for by the school in those days. So Sardesai had to be content with two frugal meals a day at a neighbouring eating house, paying Re. 1-8 per month. No wonder if young Sardesai occasionally had to walk all the distance home from Ratnagiri, vice versa at the end of every term. The journey was mostly undertaken by night in bullock carts plied only after sunset. Through the jungles and the ghats a caravan of such small bullock carts was good company on a lonely road.

Matriculating from Ratnagiri High School in 1884, Sardesai joined the Fergusson College, Poona, for his further studies. He graduated, however, from the Elphinstone College, Bombay, in 1888. Before he became a collegiate at Poona, like most of his fellow-students, Sardesai already had been married. He had married Gangubai Kirtane (Mrs. Laxmi Sardesai) in February, 1884.

Immediately after graduating Sardesai was picked up by H. H. The Maharaja of Baroda as a "Reader". The "Royal" Reader later became a tutor to the young princes and princesses of Baroda and their companions. It is while teaching history to these pupils that Sardesai laid the foundation of the title which ly bestowed on him later by the public, *Riyasatkar*, the author of *Riyasats*. Methodical from the very beginning, he used to make notes prepared for the subjects to be taught. These notes, later amplified, form what is known as *Mussalmani Riyasat*, first published in 1899. It covers a long period and deals with all Muslim ruling dynasties in the North as well as in the South of India. Seeing in one's own work—which was not intended for publication—naturally gives an impetus

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ther work. In quick succession were publish- *the British* and the *Marathi Riyasats*. A d for a comprehensive history of India for ool students was keenly felt. Sardesai was proached and he compiled the *Shalopyogi Bharatvarsh* (1900) which even to this day is e best book of its kind. It has run into 16 tions and every time its author has taken t pains to add new material to it, to make up-to-date.

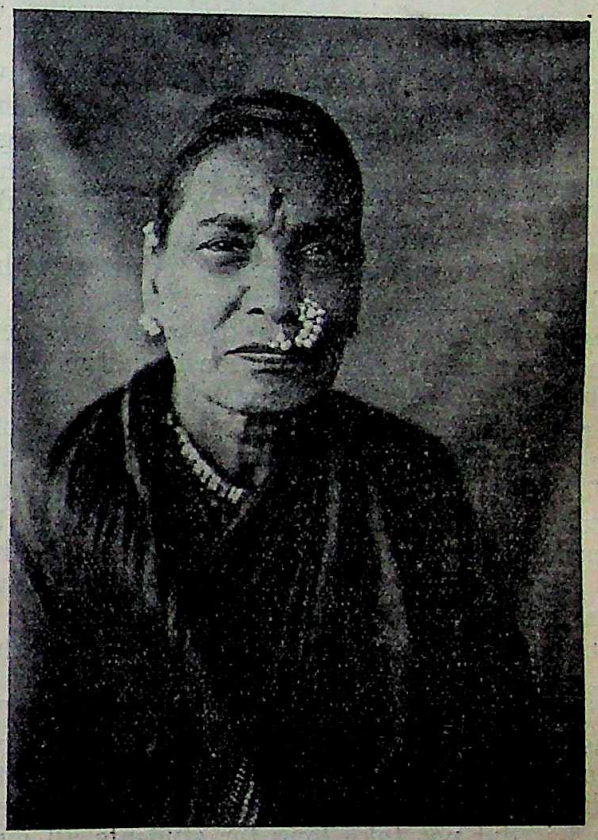
While at Baroda Sardesai translated some glish books also. In fact his literary career gan with the translation of Seely's *Expan- n of England* (1893). Then followed chiavelli's *Prince* in Marathi garb provided Sardesai. Translations of small books on nes and sports were also made and these will found added to the list of Sardesai's literary ductions in a *Who's Who*.

But his liking for history could not be pressed. In 1902 appeared the first volume *Marathi Riyasat* bringing the History of the rathas upto 1707. Being the first attempt its kind, it was well received and in 1915 a revised and enlarged edition had to be lished. In its turn, this also proved a great cess and in 1933 appeared the third edition. available researches had each time been en into account which gave a freshness to y edition.

To complete the history of the Marathas desai was striving hard. Students know sources and material for the Peshwa d are vast and scattered. Of the pre- wa period quite reverse is the case. So it quite a long time to compile the next nes of Maratha History and naturally they in bulk. Three volumes appeared in ession every year from 1920. First of them ered a period of 33 years up to the death Peshwa Bajirao I, and the remaining two up he tragic catastrophe at Panipat in 1761. Volume after volume appeared to complete first Maratha History written by an Indian. consisted of eight large volumes, a little 5000 pages in close print. Now Sardesai's e was a household word in Maharashtra. As a tutor to the princes and princesses, desai had to travel a lot in and outside a. He had been in almost all the hill tions and provincial capitals. Between 1892 1911 he had been five times to Europe. ause of his knack in teaching, "Sardesai ster" became very popular with his pupils. Royal family knows him only as Sardesai ster.

Later on Sardesai was transferred to the Maharaja's Household department as Chief Accountant, which post he held till his day of retirement in 1924, after full 36 years of service with the Maharaja of Baroda.

Earlier in his life at Baroda Sardesai was domestically happy. He helped his brothers and theirs was a big family. Sardesai had two sons—who are, alas, no more. One of them, Shyamkant matriculated from Calcutta University as a student from Santiniketan with



Mrs. Laxmibai Sardesai

Bengali as one of his subjects and secured the highest number of marks amongst Santiniketan students. He was a favourite student of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore. Shyamkant completed his College education at the Fergusson College, Poona, from where he secured a double degree, B.A., and B. Sc. and then proceeded to Germany for further study. There too he earned the Doctorate degree but as fate would have it, he was not to return home. He breathed his last in a Sanatorium in Switzerland in November, 1925.

Srivatsalanchhan, the other son of Sardesai was also equally intelligent. Unfortunately, he

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died in his schooldays when his elder brother was studying at Santiniketan (1915). Fifty-four years of married life have left the parents —as they were—alone by themselves. To an ordinary mind, the shock would have been stunning, but Sardesai by now had developed a philosophy of his own. He had his work of History to accupy himself with. That kept up his spirit. "I do not think" he writes, "that my sons are no more. They are with me—in the form of their books, their pictures, their clothes. Every one of us can be immortal."

Apart from this individual philosophy of life, Sardesai's work has been a great force in sustaining him. Extensive as well as intensive work such as Sardesai has done after retirement is really stupendous for a scholar of his age. Bidding farewell to Baroda and its ruler, this devoted student of history settled on the banks of the Indrayani at Kamshet near Poona to devote the rest of his life to the fulfilment of his mission. There he has his library—complete in itself with every book marked with references and cross references, corrections, additions, etc. The methodical way of study which is characteristic of Sardesai has been of immense use to himself and to others as well. Importance of such critical reading in so far as Marathi sources and materials are conocerned will be realised only by those who know the difficulty in using papers published by Rajwade and others. They do not bear any reference to Christian Calendar. Before assessing the value of a paper, Christian dates from the Fasali or Hindu Calendar have to be ascertained. To such volumes no index was provided. Printing too in those early days was not so accurate. All those difficulties added to Sardesai's work. And it did not take long for students all over India to realise that the one person from whom they could get information about Maratha History was Sardesai. His promptness in attending to all correspondence has only served to multiply the number of enquiries being put to him.

But the greatest work that Sardesai has done was the publication of selected papers from the Peshwa Daftar at Poona, entrusted to him by the Government of Bombay. In this Daftar more than 25000 bundles, each containing hundreds of sheets written in *modi* script are kept and till Sardesai was asked to explore this uncharted sea, the whole of it was practically a closed preserve. True, Government had allowed two or three attempts to be made in this direction but the vastness of the work involved, was perhaps responsible for such attempts to be abandoned soon after they were begun. Peshwa Daftar was the collection of all sorts of records and documents of the Marathas that the British could lay their hands on immediately after the Union Jack was unfurled on the Shaniwar Wada at Poona. Their historical value is immense. For over a hundred years they had not seen the light of the day. Students were eager—very eager indeed to have selections from Peshwa Daftar made available to them for study.

With the appointment of Sardesai for the Herculean task, a hue and cry was raised in Poona by a school of scholars who wanted the work to be entrusted to themselves. Government paid no heed to these cries and Sardesai remained calm. He devoted himself to the entrusted work and volume after volume of selections on a particular topic was issued to the public. Four years of continuous hard work which even students in their prime of youth would shirk to do, brought forth 45 volumes of the selections and a hand-list of Records. It was a monumental work and was appreciated in every part of India. He had followed a system by which the Marathi selections could be used by those who had no knowledge of Marathi. At the beginning of every paper was the date in English according to Christian Calendar with at the bottom a short summary of the letter given in English. There is also Index to the volumes in English and for all these reasons the reputation of the work has spread far and wide. Had Rajwade followed such a convenient method, he would have achieved much but because of his queer ideas and a systematic boycott of everything English—even the Christian Calendar—he has been known in a limited sphere only. Happily Sardesai was wiser and didn't repeat Rajwade's follies.

Difficulties that beset Sardesai while doing the work were of various kinds. First the government did not allow him to consult private books, no paper was to be removed from the Daftar and in the Daftar itself books that a critical student would always require at hand were not available. Sardesai had his well equipped library at Kamshet, but that was of little use to him. Secondly, there was an official restriction to touch those papers which were very important from historical point of view. Thirdly, the editor was forced to print the papers as soon as they were sufficient for a volume without waiting for any more. Working under these restrictions, the selections have suffer-

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to an extent, no doubt, but Sardesai cannot be blamed for that.

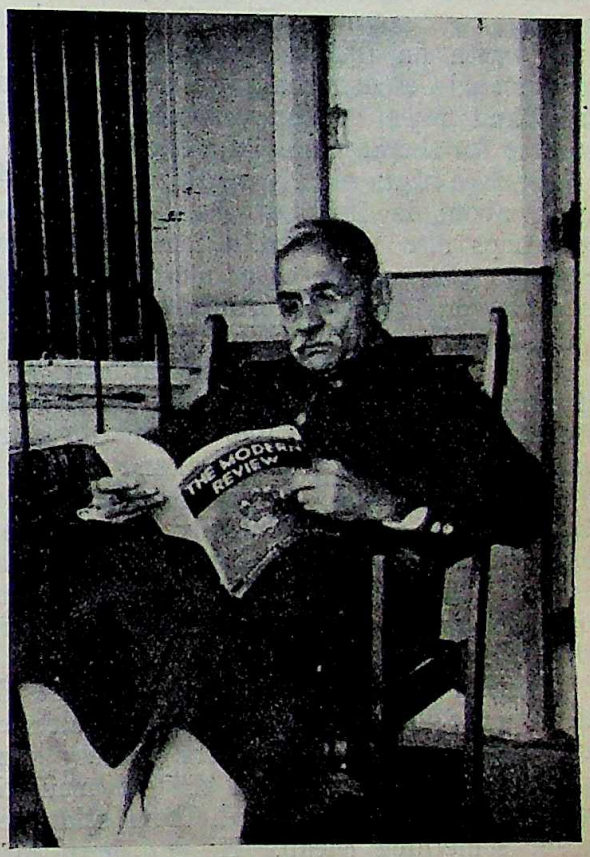
Even in his old age, Sardesai's energy for work is creditable. He is now busy with the editing of the English Records at Poona, pertaining to the Maratha period. Already five of the volumes have been published and the sixth is in the press.

While doing all this, he has found it necessary to revise his *Riyasats*, his second part of the *British Riyasat* had to be completed to bring the narration up to the end of 1857. Surprisingly enough he found time for all that.

The lectures which he delivered at the Poona University were subsequently published in book form, *Main Currents of Maratha History*. A revised edition of this book also has been issued. Nagpur University also invited him for delivering lectures. In addition to this huge amount of work Sardesai had to edit nearly 900 pages of Mahadji Scindia's letters which had been secretly printed by the late D. B. Parasnis in Gwalior. Thus Sardesai was in the main responsible for bringing the whole fraud to light and making available to students a precious volume of nearly 900 pages edited in the same methodical manner which is seen in his *Selections from Peshwa Daftar*.

We have so far seen Sardesai the historian only. But mention must be made of 30 years of his close association and co-operation with Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Both have shown by their example what co-operation can achieve. Differences of opinion are bound to be there but they should not hamper work. Correspondence between these two great historians, will make a most valuable contribution to historical literature and through them one sees how history comes to be written. Rarely do we come across such painstaking students in India working in close co-operation. Sarkar and Sardesai have visited places of historical importance together, have discussed threadbare many knotty problems in history. Their joint contribution to history is certainly great.

Sardesai works nearly 12-14 hours a day. Regular and rather ascetic in habits, he has preserved good health. He enjoys a bath in the cool stream of Indrayani nearby and loves everything. Wood-cutting is his hobby and in order to refresh himself from a continuous table-work he goes out for a few minutes to cut off a few chips. Short of stature, he is stout. Although wrinkles on his face and the grey hair show his age, jolly smile never betrays the shocks he received in the loss of his two dear sons. Reading and writing keep him occupied and as a change he gathers round him village boys whom he teaches to read and write English very quickly. Newspapers do not attract him much; a glance at the *Times of India* every day is necessary. But *The Modern Review* he enjoys above everything else. In his Library are all the Volumes well bound, with a special index prepared by him of articles of



Sardesai is a regular reader of *The Modern Review* "He would miss a meal but not one issue of M. R."

historical importance that have appeared in the pages of that magazine from time to time. Beyond his field of history, he will not show any interest.

Such in brief is Sardesai, the veteran Maratha historian. His is the first attempt after Grant Duff to write a complete History of the Marathas. The gigantic work he has done will stagger new-comers. All the same, it will definitely serve to inspire the need of hard and persevering work on the part of students of history.

Sardesai's name will always be remembered with gratitude, with respect and with admiration.

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MUKUL

By MANINDRALAL BOSE

White clouds as soft as the softest heron feathers were strewn in the deep and still, blue sky of autumn. The light of dawn painted with an illusive splendour the black pitch-covered Calcutta road, with its motors and trams, and rows of thronged shops prettily decorated for the Saptami Puja bazar.

The face of an elderly gentleman anxiously moving about in front of the College Street cloth shops also borrowed a fascination from the magic glow of the early autumn morning. His pain-worn and toil-tortured features, like a full river, were brimming with happiness. In one hand he carried an ancient cane that had once had a silver band but was now as battered as the broken life of the old clerk himself. In the other rested the hand of a little girl like a hena bud. Every shop was filled with the Puja crowd. Uneasily the old man grasped the little girl's hand more tightly. She was staring at the many-coloured clothes in the shops; her eyes, as lovely as shephali flowers, had begun to sparkle.

Noticing fewer people in one shop the old man and the little girl entered. The salesmen were busy with other customers. They were buying expensive things and the old man did not have the courage to push them aside and ask for something cheap. He sat down in a corner quietly. Next to him a customer was buying a pineapple-coloured silk sari. The little girl danced her eyes and rubbed against the old man.

"Grandfather, I like that one very much," she said.

Her grandfather laughed tenderly, "All right, Minu, I'll buy one like that for you. Ah . . . .Clerk, show us a little sari like that one, please."

The old man had not realized the sari was a silk one. When the gentleman beside him took out a roll of notes to pay for it he turned a little pale. A salesman, having noticed Minu's sweet yearning face, had given them his attention. Her grandfather said in a slightly dry voice, "Give us something inexpensive, my boy."

The boy brought out a pineapple-coloured Tangail sari. Minu almost snatched it from him in her eagerness. She touched it caressingly and admired the pretty vermilion border. "It's a very nice sari, grandfather," she said.

Adjusting his spectacles, one broken arm of which was held together by thread, her grandfather passed his withered fingers over the cloth. "How much is it, boy?" he asked.

The salesman looked from Minu's thin face to the old man's shabby clothes and answered gravely, "Eleven rupees."

With the lowered and darkened face as though he had been rebuked by his departmental head, the old man said, "A little less expensive, my boy, within five rupees."

The salesman was about to say something but, noticing the little girl's pitiful expression, he turned away and began to look for a cheap sari. Minu slowly pushed forward a paper wrapped bundle which contained an old *punjabi* belonging to her little brother. "Grandfather," she said. "Buy Khoka's *punjabi* first. My sari can come later."

Bringing a little pink sari the salesman returned, "Look at this one, Sir. It is inexpensive and you can have it within five rupees." He turned to the girl, "It will suit you admirably."

Minu had not the heart to look any more. The old man took it up and smiled dejectedly, "How do you like it, dear?" Even though he himself did not think it very nice a silk sari could not be had cheaply.

"Yes, it is pretty." Minu smiled up into her grandfather's face. She really did like the colour.

"Well, good. What's the price?" the old man put his hand into his pocket. Pleased to see the little girl happy again the salesman replied, "Pay four rupees twelve annas and I will wrap it up."

The old man had put his hand into his pocket. He put it into his right pocket, into his left pocket, into his breast pocket. "Ah, my money-bag! There now, Minu dear, did I give it to you?"

In great embarrassment Minu answered, "No, grandfather." trembling

"Then . . . . eh! . . . . "

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a storm-shaken creeper the old man stood felt through his pockets again and shook out clothes. Then he dropped into his chair a lightning-struck tree and wailed, "The ey's been stolen, Minu dear."

Minu was on the verge of tears as she looked the pink sari. Then she noticed her grand-'s pained expression and checked herself. must be there in your pocket; look for it in. You didn't leave it at home by mistake, you?"

The old man sat like a stone image. The full of varicoloured clothes had become a joke, the joyous turmoil all around some of mockery, the people with happy spark-faces buying gifts for their dear ones were ay of phantoms! Minu searched all her ndfather's pockets; the money-bag was y gone.

The salesman was watching them with miseration. He longed to buy the sari him-and give it to Minu, but where was the ey to come from?

The other customers and salesmen had n to glance curiously at the pathetic ncle. "Aha, so that's it, is it? In which et did you have the money . . . ." "One keep it a little carefully, the Puja d . . . ." They went back to their buy-and selling. They had no time for the ws of strangers. From somewhere in the came pushing. "Move along, misters, er the crowd."

Minu slowly picked up her grandfather's and took him by the hand. "Let's go, dfather," she said.

Her sweet straighforwardness helped the man to control his weeping. Grasping the with a trembling hand, he came outside. y rupees, a whole month's pay, gone. This they would not be able to buy anything. Minu held her little brother's old *punjabi* one hand and her grandfather's hand in the er. Fearfully she looked up into her grand-er's face and then at the gay laughing d in the street. He was walking along hanically.

"Come, grandfather, it's going to rain," said and led him away from the crowd.

2

On the evening of the same day a middle-d man was proceeding cautiously down a k lane off Sukeas Street. In the darkness red lungi and black shadow were dimly per-ible. He was carrying a bundle and made his way forward hesitantly. As he drew near a lamp post a tall figure suddenly loomed in front of him; he started. The figure approached; he darted past him in fear. Immediately the figure wheeled and ran after him. At the next corner beneath another lamp post it caught him by the back of the neck and shook him violently. "Hello, here's a thief! Where're you running to?"

The man struggled vainly for a while to free himself from the strong firm grip of the young man. Then he fell at his feet and wailed. "Let me go, I'm not a thief, I'm really not a thief!"

"Not a thief, sadhu! Let me see your bundle. What have you stolen."

"Sir, I'll tell you everything but let me go first. Here take it, but hear what I have to say."

"All right, speak out." The young man took the parcel and shoving the fellow into the narrow space between the lamp post and the wall of the building, released him. The gas light fell upon the man's face. His captor was surprised.

"Oh, so it's you, Rahim? You've set up business again? When did you get out of jail?"

"Ah you, saheb. Salaam!" he bent his head and touched his forehead with his out-stretched right hand. "They let me out a month ago. I found my daughter dead and my woman gone off with somebody else. I wanted to quit this sort of work, it's no good. But the sardar sent for me and what could I do? I must live. This morning I stole that money but I didn't like doing it. I am on my way to give it back . . . . . ."

"So you've turned a saint, have you? Really! Suddenly remembered the oil mill in the jail and making ropes. . . . . ."

"No, saheb. I saw a roll of notes in the old man's pocket and couldn't resist the temp-tation; but I didn't like picking his pocket. He had gone shopping for the Puja and I took all his money; there was a little girl with him, too. They couldn't buy the sari she wanted in the shop."

A little surprised, the young man untied the bundle and found a little red sari and six ten rupee notes. He asked slowly, "Are you tell-ing the truth?"

"Why should I lie to you, saheb? You're a big barrister; you'll understand. You got me off with three months instead of three years. . ."

"How much did you steal?"

"Those sixty rupees."

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"And the sari?"

"That was my Dalim's saheb. Since she's dead it's no use keeping it. I thought I might as well give it away." Rahim stopped. The light from the gas lamp shone upon his face. With astonishment and respect the young man watched him. Some strange magic had transformed his black evil face and wretched mean body; a deep glow suffused his lined and shame-stained features; suffering throbbed in his eyes. He was no longer the vile lecherous jail-bird, the pocket-slitting, mean-hearted atheist; he was a father. A bond of goodness and beauty united him also with the Loving Cosmic Father. The young man's hungry heart throbbed in unison with Rahim's deep paternal sorrow for his daughter.

He caught Rahim by the hand and pulled him out from behind the lamp post. Laying an arm about his shoulders, he gave the money and sari back to him. "At which house are you going to leave it?" he asked.

Rahim took the things rather shyly and answered quietly, "Down the lane beyond the next turning, over there."

"All right, come on. Let me see how you will manage it."

"There's a hole in one corner of the window, I'll push it in stealthily. I followed the old man home this morning to see the house."

The two proceeded slowly. Entering a narrow side-lane, Rahim stopped in front of a dilapidated building. There was no light, as the lane was blind and the gas light from the corner shone feebly into it. Standing in front of the house they could hear a little boy's sweet laughter and the low musical humming of a little girl.

The young man went up the broken steps and entered the dirty portico. Through an unshuttered window he peered into the room. The window was closed from the inside but several broken panes of glass had been covered by variously coloured scraps of paper. Through a tear in one of them the young man watched.

A lantern burned in a corner; its cracked chimney was held together by a strip of white paper. In the soft light he could see the figure of an old man, half-reclining on a torn mat. Beside him a little girl bent over a book. Her curly hair fell over the old man's chest.

She became excited as she read. When would her prince come? When would her princess awaken? She lifted her head and asked, "Grandfather, how far is Terpantor Plain? Have you ever been there? What is it like?"

Her grandfather shook his head, picked up the nozzle of the hubble-bubble lying beside him and put it to his mouth.

Minu laughed, "There's nothing in it, grandfather. You're only sucking. Let me fix it." Jumping up she carried it over to where the tobacco was kept in another corner of the room and began to arrange it.

Through the doorway near her a beautiful woman entered; a sleepy little boy lay in her arms like a rose blooming in the dawn. The boy, however, seeing his sister preparing the tobacco, sprang down like a waterfall and ran towards her. And before Minu could defend herself he had rubbed his hand over the coal and smeared the black on her cheek.

"O how naughty you are!" his mother ran to catch him.

"Mummie, tan't tatch me," the boy took refuge behind his grandfather. "Tatch me, tatch me," he shouted and began to dance around and around the old man. Mother and son played a game of hide and seek. Their soft dancing feet and sweet laughter, the chirping song of the little girl, the gentle beaming of the old man in the gaze, quivering light of the lantern transformed the dark dilapidated room into a heaven.

The young man stared through the torn paper at the widowed mother with deep emotion. Her dress, as white as jasmine, was spotted in places with tamarind and flakes of mud. The dishevelled strands of her hair were like tongues of flame and her face was tender and pure feminine, pale as the white lotus of dawn. She had not the high colour of a rose.

In her running back and forth she happened to be close to the window. Noticing that the little boy was tired she caught him up, pressed him to her breast, laughingly forgetful of her own loneliness as she rocked and caressed him. The light fell upon her face and the young man saw it distinctly in all its gentle tenderness. His blood began to dance in his heart.

"Mukul, my own, my jewel," the mother rocked the baby and pressed him to her.

With an indistinct cry the watcher turned away from the window and dropping down on the dusty, rubbish-covered steps, leaned his head against the damp wall. So she had given the name to her son—she had not forgotten him. The dark lane seemed a black river of tears. The pale light of a single star shone in the space between the roofs of two houses. On his lips how sweet was his own name!

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What illimitable happiness! What intolerable ...!

"Saheb!" Rahim was frightened and ...ed.

Mukul made no reply. Surprised and ...ned Rahim made as if to peer through the ...dow. Mukul pushed him away and again ...ed through the torn paper.

The room was now a picture of peace. The ...dfather was leaning against a big bolster ...rely and smoking his hubble-bubble. In ...t of the lantern the little girl sat swinging ... long hair over her book; her prince had ...ched the giant's castle and her heart was ...bbing with terror. On the other side of ... old man the little boy was lying on his ...ther's lap. He had finished his milk and was ...ing ready to go to sleep. One could see his ...ther's lovely back. Her head was lowered

"Mukul my own, sleep tonight,
Awake at dawn, golden, bright."

...ir shadows on the wall were as motionless ...n a picture.

Rahim slowly took Mukul's hand and ...k it. Mukul started and stared into the ...kness as though awakened from a dream ...s gaze went back to the window; forcibly ...ing himself away, he pulled Rahim down ... lane like one possessed.

Coming out upon the thoroughfare he hail... a taxi, climbed in with Rahim and ordered ... drive to the Municipal Market.

3

Returning to his own home from the ...ket, Mukul took a rocking-chair out upon ... open roof and sat down in a corner. In ...sky of luminous blue floated delicate dream... clouds. Sitting in the enchanting moon... he entered the fairy-land of remembered ..., a strange, radiant bower belonging to the ...mally yearning woman of the night.

He had been twenty-one then and studying ... the M.A. degree. On bright mornings he ...d to close his books and go out into the ...lcutta streets. He would call on friends and ...s the time chatting with them. The light ...uld beckon with its lovely hands; the sky ...uld watch for him with its blue eye and ...e delicious scent would come on the breeze. ...as the age for that sort of thing.

One golden autumn morning he had ...peared at the house of an aunt. This aunt ... been a favourite of his from childhood. ...th potatoes, potols, spinach and other vegetables round about her she was slicing brinjal on a *bonti* * in the pantry. Mukul dashed in and sat down beside her. He picked up a small *bonti* and selected some potatoes. "You haven't peeled the potatoes yet, have you, Pishi-ma? Are they to be fried or put in 'dalna'?"

In his haste he had not noticed that a beautiful young girl was sitting near his aunt arranging *pan.* † A bit embarrassed now, he ignored her completely. His pride and modern opinions would not allow him to be shamed into leaving the room for one so young.

His aunt said in a tone of gentle rebuke, "Stop it and put the *bonti* away. Why should you cut your fingures?"

"All right, Pishi-ma, but look at that pumpkin. Who sliced it so badly?" the words embarrassed Mukul further. He had not realized that the vegetables on that side might easily have been cut by the unknown girl.

She had got into a difficulty. In front of her the lime-smeared betel leaves stretched in a line almost to the door. And Mukul was sitting on the other side of his aunt. The way out of the room was closed to her. Although she was not old enough to be shy, she blushed and quickly twisting her loose hair into a bun on her head like a bird's topknot, she began to heap the spices on the leaves and fold them up. The way she sat, her gestures as she folded the betel leaves, her flaming face and hesitant glance, all combined to dye Mukul's young heart with the tender colour of dawn.

Dangling the *bonti* he asked, "What can I do, Pishi-ma? Tell me."

"Don't be impudent, Mukul; and don't bother me. Get up and move over and don't touch me, because I've just bathed. Renu, have you finished your *pan?* Then get up. He has got to slice the potols."

"Bah! You don't believe I know how to do it." Mukul washed a few of the potols in a basin of water and began to cut them. He had always been his mother's pet and as a child had taken great delight in helping her with the preparation of the vegetables and in cooking.

As he sliced he looked up at his aunt laughingly. The lovely brilliant eyes of the young girl flamed on his face like morning stars.

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* Bonti—a curved knife with one end flattened for holding down with the foot so as to leave both hands free. The vegetables are cut by pressing down upon the moon-shaped blade.

† Pan—spices and lime wrapped in fresh betel leaves are greatly liked for their rich pungent flavour.

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It was that age when eyes speak the whole mind, when in a glance it is possible to discover a heaven brimming with immortalizing ambrosia. The girl had been watching his work; embarrassed by discovery she went back to arranging the *pan*. Her face flushed as red as her hands, which were stained by the water in which she washed the betel leaves.

When her work was almost done, Mukul said mischievously, "Pishi-ma, I'm very thirsty."

His aunt was busy with the vegetables and there was no one else nearby. So it was Renuka who had to be told, "Please give him a glass of water, dear. Why didn't you come yesterday, Mukul? I made so many kinds of sweetmeats."

Mukul smiled, "No, just a glass of water—"

"Hush, enough! Look into the meatsafe, Renu, please, and see what is there. Do you mind stale luchi?"

Renuka stepped over the crimson betel water on her pretty soft feet, wetting the edge of her pink sari, and left the room. She re-entered bringing a shining bell-metal plate. Slowly opening the meatsafe she took out luchi, rashabora, pantua, and sandesh, arranging them neatly. Setting the plate down in a clean corner of the room she spread an embroidered square carpet beside it and brought a glass of water. Then she sat down beside his aunt and undid her hair, shaking it loose. Her silent passing to and fro, the deftness of her young hand, her shy, happy face, as radiant as a full-blown lotus, the rhythm of her movements, the pink waves of her sari, the swaying of her hair, bewitched Mukul as he watched.

When he had begun to eat, Renuka asked slowly, "Is there anything else for me to do, Pishi-ma?"

Mukul had finished the potols. "No, there's nothing, dear." Her aunt looked at her affectionately.

When Renuka quietly stood up, Mukul remarked, "Your pantuas are excellent Pishi-ma."

His aunt was delighted. "Give him some more before you go, my dear."

Mukul made no objection. Renuka opened the meatsafe, took out several of the sweets, put them on his plate and went out a bit hurriedly.

He gulped down the last drop of the water in his glass and asked, "Who is she, Pishi-ma?"

"Oh, they live next door. How did you like her?"

Mukul got up hastily, "Good-bye Pishi-ma."

"So soon? Sit down, I'll not ask any more questions."

"No Pishi-ma. I'll come tomorrow." He said and dashed out of the room.

After that he began to frequent his aunt's house more and more. Sometimes he would present himself at noon when his aunt would be lying on the cement floor resting and Renu would by her side reading aloud a story from some magazine. Renu's story-reading would come to an end and his aunt's scolding would avail nothing. Then Mukul would take up the book himself and begin to read.

One day during the conversation he suddenly said, "Pishi-ma, I lose so many handkerchiefs. Everyone takes them."

"Why don't you get them initialled?"

"Who would do it, Pishi-ma?"

"All right, I will. Give them to me."

"Take them then." Mukul took the handkerchiefs out of his three pockets.

"So this is how you lose them! Please initial them, Renu."

Renuka brought his aunt's sewing basket and began to embroider his name in red "Mukul."

"Just an initial will be enough," his aunt said.

Renuka blushed. "No, auntie, that would be dreadful." She replied.

Sometimes of an evening his aunt would be sitting in the kitchen kneading dough. Beside her Renuka would be forming it into little balls. Suddenly Mukul would appear, pick up the rolling pin and board and seat himself on the other side of his aunt. "Let me roll out the 'luchi,' Pishi-ma."

His aunt would be annoyed, "Oh leave me alone. Where have you sprung from?"

"Uh! I've been out since morning!"

"Then you've had nothing to eat, I suppose? Renu dear, fry some luchis for him."

Taking the rolling pin and board away from him his aunt would roll out the rounds, Renu would fry them, bring a bell-metal plate and arrange luchis and curries and sweets before him. Although she worked in silence, Mukul heard a sweet unsounded song in all she did, in her walk, in her gestures, the cheerfulness of her face and the sparkle of her face and the sparkle of her eyes.

And so, petal by petal, Mukul's love

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ened and was ready to bloom with love of Renuka. But the love-lotus was destined to be blighted in the bud.

His aunt made all the arrangements for his wedding with Renuka. His mother came to see the girl and liked her; but difficulties arose, the father refused his consent absolutely.

"You know how obstinate the boy is, my sister," his mother expostulated. "He has made up his mind and he will never marry anyone else."

His father replied harshly, "If he won't, he won't! Let him get out! Bhabesh Mitter's daughter will never enter my house as my son's wife!"

"Why not? What has he done?"

"Listen, you are women and know nothing of the world. I say no. Nabin Ghose is not a man to compromise a law-suit by marrying his son to the daughter of the man who lost it!"

Even after this his mother entreated and wrangled, but she could not win him. Later, when the law-suit had been decided in his favour and he agreed to the marriage with Renuka, her marriage to another had been settled. Bhabesh Mitter sent the reply, "I would die of starvation rather than wed my daughter to the son of Nabin Ghose."

Renuka was given in marriage elsewhere and Mukul's father, seeing that he stubbornly refused to consider any other as his bride, sent him to England.

Now his father was dead and his mother dead. Stareing up into a sky drenched with the light of the moon he kept recalling her face.

The church clock struck one. Re-entering his room he roused Rahim from the corner beside a bookcase of law books where he was lying asleep.

"Is it time, saheb?" Rahim rubbed his eyes.

"Yes, get up."

Together they came over to the table. A toy railway train, a toy dog, a big doll, a bottle of lozenges, a silk peacock-coloured sari, a frock, a little red *punjabi* and various other gifts for Minu and her little brother lay upon the table. These they had bought together, staying at the market until ten o'clock.

"I'll find out how good a thief you are, Rahim," Mukul said with a tender, pale smile. "You've always broken into houses to take things away. This time try to put something away without getting caught."

"I can do it all right." Rahim tugged at his red beard, "You'll see."

Wrapping up the toys Mukul handed them to Rahim. "Now go," he said, "It's one-thirty. Tell me where you will leave it."

"At the head of the little girl's bed."

"No, at the head of the little boy's bed would be better."

"But—"

"All right, give them back. We must make up two bundles."

Undoing the toys, Mukul separated Minu's from her brother's. Then he opened his almirah and took out a handkerchief. It was as white as a white lotus and in one corner was his name—Mukul—embroidered in thread as red as 'blood'-sandal. Rahim did up the toys for the little boy in it and Minu's things he wrapped in his own little daughter's sari. Then he left.

Putting out the electric light Mukul stretched himself on an easy-chair and mused. Why should it have been like this? The strings of his life had snapped as they were being fixed upon the instrument. The song could not be sung. Could the broken wires not be pieced together somehow?

He decided that he must expiate his father's pride and greed of property. If he offered to return all that his father had taken from Bhabesh Mitter by winning that law-suit, would not the old man accept it? Ought he not to take it for the sake of Minu and her little brother? But Mukul knew for certain that the old man would beg in the streets before he would accept a gift from Nabin Ghose's son.

He did not need to accept it. Mukul could no longer regard that property as his own; he dedicated it to Minu and the baby Mukul. He would manage it in their interest, accumulate the income from it in bank accounts under their names and give it to them when they came of age.

Tired with thinking Mukul shut his eyes and lay back in the chair. He thought of his mother. Amidst the saddening welter of worldly affairs there come into every young man's life times so devoid of all peace that he longs to rest his hot, distraught, and pain-racked head upon the soft tender breast of some good, loving woman. Mukul's drooping body and mind were hungry for the gentle touch of a woman's hand and the peaceful nest of a breast. With an aching heart he fell asleep.

Mukul's sleep was broken by a dream. The dream itself was gone but the magic of it

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remained. The music of tiny pattering feet played over the floor of a room; the wall trembled like the string of a vina. On some strange instrument strung with threads of moonlight sounded the laughter of a child.

Slowly he came out on to the open roof. There was a faint flush of light in the east. Slowly a flood of gold began to tumble out through the eastern portal. Heaven's goddess of beauty, out of an uncovered ewer, was spilling nectar everywhere. Mukul gazed at the golden sky and mused. Perhaps Minu and her little brother were awaking now. The house would fill with a joyous tumult as they discovered their toys and new clothes. More beautiful and far more charming than this exquisite sky must those little laughing faces be!

Mukul had been gazing long and was now calm. It seemed to him as though someone who loved him had sent this beautiful dawn even as he had sent gifts to Minu and her little brother.

(Translated from 'Mayapuri' by Srimati Lila Ray)

WHY BRITAIN SURRENDERED TO HITLER

Truth Behind "Chamberlain the Peace-Maker"

Story of Britain's Poor Defences and Dominion's Failure to Help

By CHAMAN LAL

British Propaganda is the mightiest weapon being used to conceal facts. Chamberlain is being immortalised as a great God of Peace. I am not his rival, nor his enemy, but I wish the truth should be told to millions of our countrymen who think Britain is an invincible power. Hitler has defeated the combined power of British and French Empire without firing a shot. The reader will think that I am a rebel and my statement can be full of prejudice. Hence I will quote the greatest imperialist paper, the *Daily Express*, which is a great supporter of Chamberlain's policy and a friend of Germany. This is what the newspaper says:—

We Were Not Prepared

Were we prepared? No.

In the dark days which are gone the citizens of Britain formed the view that this country is not in the position adequately to resist attacks from our enemies.

First of all, our anti-aircraft guns. Walk where you like, go when you choose, and see for yourself that almost all the guns set up to defend London are pre-war or early war types. There are very few modern anti-aircraft guns among them. The modern anti-aircraft gun is a weapon of accuracy and power. During the trouble an incident, which passed almost unnoticed, occurred over Vienna. There a German airplane was brought down by a single shot from an anti-aircraft gun. We want a multitude of guns like that to defend our citadel.

Next, our airplanes. Unquestionably our need is for the fighter plane, and our necessity is for the type of airplane that can overtake and destroy the enemy bomber. It is believed that our system of air defence depends on an unending patrol of the skies, day and night continuously discovering and warding off the attacking airplanes. For this patrol system we need a host of fighter planes far greater in number than those which we have built already.

As for our Army, during the trouble reports were circulated damaging to the prestige of the War Office and its organisation. There was an alarming shortage of A. R. P. material such as sandbags, shovels, pickaxes and stuff to curtain windows. Profiteering of a most vicious kind took place in the sale of these commodities.

Food Shortage

Then there was difficulty about food. The public began to hoard it. Why? Because the belief existed that supplies would run out. Mr. W. S. Morrison told us not so long ago that it would be foolish to grow food in Britain in preparation for a war which might never happen. We are entitled now to make our preparations for the next alarm by getting rid of Mr. W. S. Morrison and securing a Minister who will produce a programme of growing foodstuffs for emergency.

Defective Gas Masks

Rightly or wrongly, the citizens take the view that the gas masks they have been given are of doubtful value. It was disconcerting to the general public to see the supply of these gas masks failing in very many places, and also to learn that in most areas no form of anti-gas protection was ready for infant children up to four years of age.

Dominions Failed to Help

The Dominions which form the prop[illegible] Empire failed to do anything practical exc[illegible] lip sympathy. Only Sir Sikandar and a [illegible]

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Indian Rajas gave assurances of help. The paper laments:—

"But the most serious part of our unpreparedness was shown in our relations with the Dominions. It is well known that people were disappointed. They expected more encouragement and more support from the Dominions. They did not get it."

The *Express* concludes very honestly:

No Longer Invincible

No. We were not prepared. But if we learn the lesson; if we are resolute in repairing the gaps in our defences; if we labour to multiply the fruits of our soil; if we now and here decide to undertake no commitments and to make no pledges without the approval of the Dominions, then it can be said that out of evil will come good.

The same paper only a week ago had announced that Britain was invincible. It had never lost a battle except in America. And now after 6 days the same paper confesses the truth.

And Yet Another View—Everything was Pre-Arranged!

Many intelligent observers believe that everything was pre-arranged between Hitler and Chamberlain and that Chamberlain had long since decided to sell Czecho-Slovakia . . . ?

Bewildered citizens are asking whether all the official war preparations of the last few days are not an elaborate "spoof" calculated to panic them into an acceptance of what are, after all, Herr Hitler's Godesberg demands.

It seems clear now that knowledge of what was going on was purposely withheld and the emotional tension skilfully increased from hour to hour while behind the closed doors of the conference rooms the poor remains of Britain's honour, prestige and future security were bargained for and sold.

On the eve of his flight to Munich, Mr. Chamberlain himself told the crowd: "Everything will be alright this time".

As I foretold, he had decided to "do a deal" on Czechoslovakia, to sell out to the dictators; and, having arranged that potential critics would not prolong the debate in the House of Commons on Wednesday, he took the risk of challenge to his recent activities as carte blanche to proceed with his betrayal.

To Cover Retreat

Many rumours seeking to explain the almost complete capitulation to Hitler after having worked up the nation to war frenzy are current. The most interesting is that the Russian air-fleet was written down as unreliable on the authority of Colonel Lindbergh, who has visited Russia recently.

The plain fact is that stories of the alleged inefficiency of the French defences and the Russian attack were accepted without any real attempt at confirmation and were circulated in case they would be needed to cover Mr. Chamberlain's intended retreat.

Terror-Stricken People

The truth is the people of England have become ease-loving. They are afraid of war and not ready for any sacrifice except shouting at Trafalgar Square. This is proved by the way the civil population of Britain react to the threat of war during the crisis.

They Fled

Wealthy people fled into remote parts of the country, paying fantastic prices for houses and cottages.

In the West Country, regarded as one of the best "safety zones" country houses worth from £750 to £1,000 were being sold for over £3,000.

In other cases large sums were offered for cottages which will probably have to be demolished under slum clearance schemes.

In this area there is no unemployment in the building trade, every available man being engaged on altering and reconditioning property and constructing shelters.

Sudden boom has also saved many hotel proprietors from a lean season.

Graver side of activities has been the wholesale purchase of stocks of food by moneyed people.

Huge supplies of tea, sugar, coal and canned foods have been bought for hoarding.

Reports tell of van loads of food being ordered from London for small families who have moved to the country.

Another order was for £200 worth of groceries and one for six hundredweight of biscuits for pet dogs.

Thousands go to Wales & Ireland

Another interesting sidelight of the great exodus was the amazing rise in the population of Glamorgan. In one week it rose by over 193,000. Thousands of rich people rushed to Ireland and even to America. Everywhere the people were panic-stricken and except the poor working classes, everyone showed signs of cowardice.

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HEIL HITLER

So the army being unprepared, planes being hopeless, Anti-Aircraft guns being old and Dominions refusing to help, Hitler commanded Chamberlain "Obey or die" and Chamberlain bowed and said: "At Thy Command" and shouted Heil Hitler.

The future historians will give Chamberlain his due reward. He saved his country. What if he sold England's honour. He believed in "Safety First".

London,

October, 3, 1938.

FEDERAL RAILWAY AUTHORITY

Imperium in Imperio

BY D. V. DIVEKAR

ONE OF the many objectionable features of the Government of India Act of 1935 is the Federal Railway Authority proposed to be established according to the Act. Systematic attempts seem to have been made in the Act to curtail the powers of the Federal Ministry and the Federal Legislature. Not to speak of the Reserved Departments and the Special Responsibilities of the Governor-General, there is the Reserved Bank Act that restricts the liberty of action of the federal Finance Member. There is also the Federal Railway Authority that is cleverly designed to withdraw Railway Adminstration and Railway finance from the hands of the Federal Railway to Communication Member whatever may be his designation. The Federal Railway Authority is to possess wide powers and will practically be a Government within a Government. Efforts were made to see that a condition was laid down to the effect that Indian federation should not come into existence unless the Federal Railway Authority was duly brought into shape. At any rate this express condition does not appear to have been accepted. Nevertheless the device of the new Federal Railway Authority stands revealed.

It is hardly necessary to emphasise the importance of railways to a nation from the economic and political point of view. What arteries are to the body, railways are to the nation. Railways in India bulk enormously in India's economy. According to the recent report of the Railway Board, the total mileage in India is 43,128, the total capital at charge in all Railways is Rs. 880·13 crores. The whole staff runs up to 7,10,880 and the total income is Rs. 95·48 crores. These figures indicate the extent of the control over Railways to be vest in the Federal Railway Authority alone to intents and purposes. Railways do not form static factor in the nation's life. Railways bound to develop as economic condition perm In 1908 the Mackay Committee had visualis extention of railway mileage in India to figure of one lakh. Railways are there sure to be an increasingly important and vi function in the Indian Administration.

BRIEF HISTORY

The history of the Federal Railway Auth rity can be easily told. There is no menti of it in the Simon Commission Report. T question was not referred to in the Round Ta Conferences. Almost all of a sudden, t Federal Structure Committee remarked January of 1931 that they are of opinion th the Federal Railway Authority should be form if after expert examinations that course seem desirable. In the discussion on this propo Mr. Jayakar recorded his dissent. Mr. Jaya admitted his failure to understand what t Federal Railway Authority was to be like. laid stress on the fact that whatever that perfect freedom must be left to the Minister control that Board and to make arrangeme with regard to its constitution, functions powers. Mr. Jinnah too agreed to the Exe Committee and not the Board. But any how question was not thoroughly threshed out in R. T. Conferences and its Commitees. The In Consultative Committee met in India in In it there was general agreement that Ra ways should be run on commercial lines that without depriving the Indian Legisla

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of their legitimate powers of control over policy and general administration, the actual day-to-day administration should be in the hands of an independent authority. The Indian Constitution should contain a clause that a Statutory Railway Board should be appointed and its powers, functions and composition should be entirely determined by an Act of the future Indian Legislature. In the White Paper, paragraph 74 of the Introduction, there is a brief reference to the Statutory Board now yclept the Federal Railway Authority.

In June of 1933 the Secretary of State appointed a Committee of over twenty members and that Committee formulated its sketch proposals regarding the future administration of Indian Railways. Whether this was the Expert Committee contemplated by Federal Structure Sub-Committee was not known. Anyhow it submitted its report containing in great detail the constitution, functions, etc. of the Federal Railway Authority. The Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform accepted the sketch proposals with two modifications, *viz.*, that not less than three of the seven members of the proposed Authority should be appointed by the Governor-General at his discretion, and that the Authority should not be constituted on a communal basis. This latter modification is all to the good of the Authority itself and the nation. Excepting this fact the whole constitution of the Authority is deserving of condemnation.

Indian Demand

The unanimous demand of the entire British-Indian Delegation was that only a clause should be inserted in the Government of India Act that a Federal Railway Authority should be constituted and the constitution, functions etc. should be left to be settled by means of Federal legislation in India. This demand has been completely flouted. Almost every detail about the Federal Railway Authority has been laid up in the Act and in the 8th Schedule to the Act. Clauses 181 to 199, both inclusive, deal with the Authority and the 8th Schedule also covers with its sixteen clauses all the points that can be raised respecting the Authority. The distinction between a clause of the Act proper and a clause in the Schedule is a distinction between Tweedledum and Tweedledee; the like the Act itself the Schedule also cannot be modified but by the Parliament. All along, the popular Indian demand had been that a clause should be incorporated in the Act. But obviously the British Government did not want anything to be decided either by the present Legislative Assembly or by the Federal Assembly. Now practically nothing is to be done by the Indian Legislature and thus that Indian "Parliament" has been baulked of its right. The Government of India in its despatch recommended that rules under the Act about the Federal Railway Authority should be made subject to modification after a prescribed period by the Indian Legislature. Even this minor right has not been left in the hands of the Indian Legislature.

Constitution and Functions

According to the Act and the Schedule, the Federal Railway Authority is to consist of seven members, three of whom are to be appointed by the Governor-General in his discretion. The Governor-General is also to appoint in his discretion a member of the Authority to be the President thereof. The appropriations of money will be made by the Federal Railway Authority and not by the Federal Assembly. The accounts and expenditure of the Federal Railway Authority will come up before the Assembly only if the Authority stand in need of financial help from the Federal Treasury. This means that in ordinary circumstances the Assembly will have no control over the Authority. The 'policy' is to be determined by the Federal Railway Member or the Assembly; but 'the executive authority of the federation in respect of the regulation and the construction, maintenance and operation of Railways shall be exercised' by the Federal Railway Authority. If there is any dispute as to whether a question is or is not a question of policy, the decision of the Governor-General in his discretion is to be final.

Railway Rates

The question of rates and fares is exceedingly important. The industrial and commercial development of India depends to a large extent on Railway rates on goods. So far the policy of the Railways has not been favourable to India. In broad terms the policy may be described as favourable to imports of manufactured articles and export of raw materials. In the new dispensation, the Governor-General may appoint a Railway Rates Committee to settle disputes about rates and traffic facilities. A Bill regulating the rates to fares to be charged on any railway cannot be introduced in either Chamber of the Federal Legislature

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except on the recommendation of the Governor-General. Thus it will be easily seen that the Governor-General and the Federal Railway Authority share between themselves most of the control over Indian Railways and the Federal Railway Member and the Legislature hardly come into the picture.

South African Railway Board

Let me briefly point out the methods of Railway administration in other countries. There are Boards of Commissioners in Canada and Victoria, Queensland and other Australian States. But they are under the control of the Ministers in charge of Railways or communications and are not in possession of independent autocratic powers as is to be the case with the Federal Railway Authority in India. The South African Act is the most pertinent and apt. By the 1909 Act the control and management of railways, ports and harbours of the Union is exercised through a Board of three Commissioners who are appointed by the Governor-General in Council and the Minister of the State is the Chairman of that Board. In 1916 an amendment to the Act was adopted saying that the General Manager of Railways is to be governed by such regulations as the Minister may from time to time frame after consultation with the Board. As regards Railway Rates, the British method is the best from the nationalist point of view. The fixation of Railway rates is assigned to the Railway Rates Tribunal of three experts. One is appointed by the Lord Chancellor, one by the Board of Trade and one by the Ministry of Transport.

Vital Modifications

These facts will reveal how defective and reactionary the proposed Federal Railway Authority in India is designed to be. If the Federal Railway Authority is to be generally acceptable to Indian nationalist public opinion, it must be under the control of the Federal Railway Member; all its members must be appointed by the Governor-General on the advice of the Federal Minister; the Minister in charge of Railways should be the ex-officio President; all its funds must be appropriated by the Federal Legislature; and Railway rates etc. should be determined on the advice of a Railway Rates Tribunal formed on the lines of the British Tribunal, including representatives of the industrial and commercial communities. Unless there reforms are effected, the Federal Railway Authority will not be able to fulfil its professed purpose, viz. that of acting on business principles, due regard being had by them to the interests of agriculture, industry, commerce and the general public. As it is, the Federal Railway Authority is bound to be condemned by all people and parties in India.

Old dated manuscripts in the collection of the Dacca University

Dr. Kalidas Nag, in the course of his review of the Virataparvan of the Mahabharata published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, deservedly congratulates the Institute on the acquisition of a manuscript (which parvan?) of the Mahabharata dated 1437 A.D. I send this note for the information of Dr. Nag, as well as of the public, that equally old MSS of the Bengal recension of the great epic are extent. A MS of the Adi-parvan dated 1390 Saka=1468 A.D. was exhibited in the last Session of the Bengal Literary Conference at Krishnanagar. The Dacca University possesses the following early dated MSS in its collection: Padmapurana—1311 Saka. Sarada-tilaka Tantra—1[illegible] Saka. Visnu Purana—1388 Saka. Mahabharata—Aranyaka Parva—1393 Saka. Harivamsa—1425 Saka. Saradatilaka—1430 Saka.

N. K. Bhattasali

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THE NEED OF ORGANIZING THE JUVENILE AND SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN BENGAL

By Miss USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

the love of reading for reading's sake is to inculcated among our children, the juvenile school libraries must needs be organized on per lines. These should be far better equip- and should be much more adequately red than they are at present. The pro- m as to how to afford the juvenile readers ler and more suitable library facilities uld therefore seriously engage the attention all the eminent educationists of the day. minated as the present-day educational em is by the bugbear of too many examina- s, the preparation of the school lessons s up most of the time of the pupils. To ieve success in the examinations they have o a good deal of cramming, which proves too t a drudgery for them to beget a real love earning. At the present time, the sole end the schooling they receive seems to consist preparing for the examinations. As a result this, very few of them turn out to be great rs of books in later life. Besides, as they e to finish the syllabus within a limited e, they are generally so much overburdened their school studies that they have hardly ugh time to read books other than their pres- ed text-books. All this serves to stifle the iduality of the children, who are thus re- ed to so many machines for reproducing the rmation imparted in the class room at the mination hall. This constitutes one of the t serious defects of school education at the sent moment. The school children are, as a , lacking in general knowledge, as they have endency to confine themselves almost entire- o their text-books.

We must not also lose sight of the fact that work of a librarian requires a good deal of ert and technical knowledge. In our coun- a librarian is generally looked upon as a e "caretaker" of books, who does not need have special educational qualifications or r professional training. If good libraries are nsidered to be so many assets of consider- e value, the status of the librarians must o be raised. They should be recruited from e real lovers of books—from well-read and ll-informed persons, possessing high educa- tional qualifications. They need to be trained in the library technique too. It is quite grati- fying to note that the initiative has already been taken by the Imperial Library of Calcutta in this direction by opening a training centre for the purpose of training some candidates in the librarian's work. But, to my mind, special training courses should also be provided for the prospective librarians of the juvenile and school libraries. It is a pity that at the average school in Bengal the work is ordinarily entrust- ed to inexperienced teachers, who are hardly well-equipped for the task and who hardly take it seriously enough. The attention of the heads of all the secondary schools of the Province should be called to the imperative need of trained and qualified librarians. If the juve- nile and school libraries are to be properly organized in Bengal, first and foremost, an adequate number of qualified men and women should be trained in the librarian's work. In case no provision for their training can be made at the Imperial Library, special training courses may well be instituted by the Dacca and Cal- cutta Universities for the purpose. The mini- mum educational qualifications of the candi- dates eligible for such training should be fixed, and the standard of training as well as the length of the course is to be determined by a body of experts. Diplomas should also be granted at the end of these training courses, so as to enable the trained librarians to secure decent situations. Such a scheme is likely to prove practicable, and will not perhaps entail too much recurring expenditure.

In Bengal there are very few public libraries, which are specially intended to meet the needs of the juvenile readers. Sporadic efforts are, however, being made at the present time to supply this long-felt want by opening juvenile sections in one or two public libraries in Calcutta. But perhaps these juvenile sec- tions contain only a number of books suitable for children, and are hardly what a model juvenile library should be like. Juvenile libraries need to be organized on far sounder lines. If possible, trained and qualified women librarians should be appointed for the purpose

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of supervising the juvenile libraries, as women are expected to be able to appreciate the needs of small children better than men. Provision should also be made for suitable reading rooms in these juvenile libraries, where children can be provided with comfortable sitting accommodation. Care should be taken that the juvenile readers are afforded all other facilities for reading. The possibilities of opening a sufficient number of good public juvenile libraries in the rural and mofussil areas of the Province should be carefully investigated, as in these areas well-equipped school libraries are seldom available. Even in the urban areas of the Province all the schools cannot be expected to afford well-equipped libraries, the financial resources of some of them being quite meagre and insufficient. A good deal of economy can be effected by the interborrowing of books among the schools, if such a practice can, at all, be introduced. Such schools as have no well-equipped libraries of their own can, however, be benefited by public juvenile libraries also, as these latter institutions can perhaps be organized on a much bigger scale than what the limited funds of the schools permit of. If an adequate number of well-organized public juvenile libraries can be started throughout the Province, school children may well be taken round these institutions, now and again. Occasional visits to these places may help to engender a love of reading among the youthful visitors, even if these visits do not serve any other useful purpose. The pupils must needs be impressed with the value and importance of such institutions. The outward appearances of these juvenile libraries should also be imposing and attractive. "A direct appeal to the eye" being the most effective means of securing children's interest. The very atmosphere of these places should be conducive to the sacredness of feelings, with which the juvenile visitors ought to be inspired, when visiting these institutions. Much more systematic methods of lending out books should be devised, and the rates of subscriptions to be realized from the juvenile readers should be as small as possible, as otherwise these institutions will fail to be popularized. School children should be allowed special concessions.

In Bengal, perhaps only a small number of schools can boast of possessing well-equipped libraries. In each school, there should be a separate library for the use of the teachers. In addition to the common and general library (including the reference library), each class should have a library of its own, which should contain a choice collection of books, suited to the varying needs of children of different tastes. A good deal of discretion is to be exercised in the matter of selection. The books should be very carefully graded according to the ages of the children, and should be well adapted to the needs of each class. The subject-matter should be both instructive and interesting. It should also be of varied interest, so as to suit the different tastes of individual children. Attempts should therefore be made to cover the various branches of knowledge, such as fiction, science, travels, biographies, mythology, history, geography, stories of adventures and hunting expeditions and the like, and thus to enlarge the range of the pupils' reading. The bindings and the get-up of the books meant for the smaller children need to be pretty and attractive. These books should also be profusely illustrated with nicely coloured pictures. As children are apt to take a fancy to coloured things, they will naturally be attracted by the pretty colours and feel tempted to go through the contents of the books. Efforts should also be made to create the right type of tastes. The librarians in charge of the school and juvenile libraries should therefore be good psychologists too, as one of their main duties should consist in forming healthy tastes and developing the habit of reading. They must be keenly alive to the needs of the growing minds of the youthful readers and must be conversant with child-psychology. The librarians should also be well-acquainted with juvenile literature, as they are supposed to guide and help the children in the matter of selection. They should try to keep in touch with all the important up-to-date publications in the domain of juvenile literature and all the modern developments in the library technique. The stock of books should be added to from year to year. Some funds are to be annually ear-marked for the purpose. The children should be encouraged to borrow books regularly from the school libraries. Provisions should therefore be made for the regular and systematic lending out of books to the pupils.

The books should be nicely and properly arranged in the cupboards, and should be within easy reach of the pupils, so that they may not experience any difficulty, whatever, in choosing and securing the books of their choice. The children must have free access to the school libraries, which should form an important instrument of their education. It is a treat to see the juvenile scholars rummaging these storehouses of learning in quest of

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valuable treasure hidden in the books. The is must be afforded the opportunity of ing their thirst for knowledge as much as ible. So it will not do to restrict the use the school libraries, the object of which ld be to whet the children's desire for ning and not to abate it. Their intellectual sity should therefore be stimulated, and spirit of inquiry is to be roused. They ld not be allowed to take things for grant- and should always be encouraged to find out for themselves. Books should be the m sources of their information. The teach- are only to help and guide them in the isition of knowledge. Some of the school horities may object to letting the children e free access to the libraries on the ground t a good many books are thus likely to get and damaged. Such apprehensions may be absolutely groundless. But, to my mind, h depends on the training. If the pupils that the teachers are relying on them and ing them absolutely, they will perhaps try prove worthy of their trust, and may not inclined to abuse it. Their sense of res- ibility, too, will thus be appealed to. The hers in charge should see that the books n out are put back in their proper places the children themselves after they have e with those. The necessity and importance eatness and tidiness should also be im- sed on the pupils, who should be taught to take proper care of the books borrowed them. The monitors and monitresses of the ses will be directly responsible to the hers for any loss or damage of the books n out by their fellow pupils.

There should be regular periods for study g the school hours. Suitable reading rooms ld also be provided for the purpose. These t have a bright and cheerful aspect, and ld be well-ventilated and well-lighted. The hers in charge should see that strict silence bserved by the pupils during the reading rs as the seriousness of the purpose needs be brought home to the latter. The children ld never be allowed to indulge in idle talk, that they may not thus disturb their fellow ils in their reading. They will thus be med in the powers of concentration as well self-control. The school library can thus be the indirect means of developing the pupils' moral character too. If education is to act as a dynamic force in life, the training of character should go, hand in hand, with the development of the intellect.

It is no good collecting and preserving books only, unless these are well utilized. To test as to whether the children have actually gone through the books borrowed by them should be one of the important duties of the class teachers. Regular questions are to be set on the contents of the books, and marks are to be given on the merits of the answers. Provision should also be made for some special prizes for those who will be able to secure the highest marks in these tests at the end of the year. The general tendency of the juvenile readers is to borrow books on fiction only, which are ordinarily in great demand in the schools. But the children's education will turn out to be defective, if they fail to gain an all-round knowledge. So a versatile taste needs to be cultivated. Specialization is to begin at a much later stage.

The library movement, which is comparatively a recent development in Bengal, needs to be popularized throughout the Province. It is high time that organized efforts should be launched to give an impetus to the movement. Annual conferences of the librarians may be of great help in popularizing the movement and disseminating information regarding the scientific organization of libraries. In the future sessions of these conferences the juvenile and school libraries of the Province should be adequately represented, so as to enable these librarians to discuss their common problems, to evolve useful schemes and to profit by mutual exchange of experience and ideas. In connection with these conferences, book fairs and exhibitions of libraries may well be organized. In these the valuable collections of the juvenile and school libraries may also be exhibited. A special section may be assigned to the juvenile and school libraries. Such functions are likely to give rise to a healthy spirit of competition among the schools, and to focus the attention of the educated puplic upon the juvenile and school libraries, the practical utility of which can thus be borne in upon them.

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THE LOGIC OF KARNATAKA'S DEMAND

By V. B. KULKARNI

To those who have doubted the wisdom of creating linguistic provinces, the recent unedifying episode in the Central Provinces should serve as an eye-opener. Whether the C. P. wrangle was the outcome of personal rivalries among its Cabinet Ministers, or was a sequel to the inevitable conflict that arises out of a promiscuous grouping together of distinct and highly evolved linguistic units, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that the existing structure of the Central Provinces does not conduce to a smooth and orderly evolution of its administration. Small wonder, therefore, that a movement has been set on foot for detaching the Marathi area from the Hindi portion and linking it to Maharashtra. The Khare episode has been of especial significance to us of Karnataka, for, our erstwhile opponents have, by a strange fatality, suddenly turned themselves into staunch supporters of the principle of linguistic provinces.

Scenes such as those enacted in the C. P. are not peculiar to that Province alone. Madras and Bombay are faced with a similar problem, perhaps in all its worst aspects. Public life in the Southern Presidency is often vitiated by a perpetual quadrangular fight between four divergent linguistic units, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu and Kannada, although the sanity of the contending parties has so far prevented their rivalries from assuming the blatancy of the C. P. imbroglio.

In Bombay the friction between Gujerat and Maharashtra is wellknown. Although Karnataka has always wisely kept itself aloof from these bickerings, the very fact of its presence in full force as a distinct unit has added to the complexity of the problem. An example of the deep-seated linguistic rivalries that exist in this Province is provided by the Khare episode, which has been utilized as a welcome opportunity by a certain section of the vernacular press to indulge in unbridled vituperation against some of India's most respected leaders. It is suicidal to ignore developments such as these, for, they constitute a grave danger to our national solidarity.

But we cannot remove this canker from our body-politic by merely tinkering with the problem. With the best of intentions, the government of a composite province can be just to none. Take, for example, the South Presidency. The Tamilians preponderate. a majority community, their interests and in the Presidency are, naturally enough, greater than those of the other three linguistic units. The Government of Madras, which has the responsibility of ministering to a variety of interests, cannot, theoretically at least, give that exclusive attention to the minority community which it could undoubtedly secure in a province of its own. But numerical superiority and the consciousness of its importance ensure its being accorded preferential treatment which is, however, not half so advantageous as having a separate province. Favoured treatment must always be at the cost of others, resulting in an uneven distribution of governmental amenities and patronage. Thus none of the communities gets that full measure of justice which they have a right to expect at the hands of their Government. Speaking for Madras Karnataka, it has scarcely received any attention at the hands of its Government.

In the Bombay Presidency the situation is equally unsatisfactory. Despite their long standing rivalries, Gujerat and Maharashtra have taken good care to see that the strings of political power do not slip off their hands. Karnataka is nowhere in the picture, except that our pliant legislators are often made convenient pawns in the game of political ascendancy. It might be an exciting game for those who stand to gain by it, but we of Karnataka who are 35 lakhs in number and constitute 25% of the Presidency's population cannot share their edification. The consequences of such an arrangement are obvious. Heart-burning, friction, jealousy and even antagonism have become a chronic feature of the administrative and public life of the Presidency.

The only panacea to these provincial ills is, therefore, to accord the right of self-determination to each linguistic area, provided it satisfies certain fundamental criteria. Here are given the opinions of some of the compe-

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...orities on the subject to reinforce my ...ment in favour of creating linguistic ...inces.

Sir Bamfylde Fuller wrote thus:

"It would have been well for the country (India) ...its divisions into provinces for purposes of govern... followed the lines marked by race and language, ...s to reinforce the sympathy which arises by similari... feelings of pride in local government. The exist... administrative divisions are heterogeneous, so as to ... a directly contrary effect."

Mr. Lionel Curtis in his famous *Letters to People of India on Responsible Government* ...:

"To a detached observer one of the most pathetic ...es in the Indian situation is the tenacity with which ...elements of its people, and those the most vocal, ...to features in the system organised by us foreign... which are in fact the greatest obstacles to popular ...ment. One is our educational system, another is Permanent Settlement, a third the vast satrapies into ...our system has divided India. . . . The defect of present areas (of administration) is that they are too ...nical. . . ."

The observations of the Montford Report, ...h was written after a personal study of ...'s problems by the late Mr. Montagu, are ...lly trenchant. Says the Report:

"We are impressed with the artificial and often ...venient character of existing administrative units. . . ...cannot doubt that the business of government would ...simplified if administrative units were both smaller ...more homogeneous. . . . It is also a strong argument ...our of linguistic or racial units of government that, ...aking it possible to conduct the business of legisla... in the vernacular, they would contribute to draw into ...arena of public affairs men who were not acquainted ...English. . ."

An outcome of these recommendations was ...a specific provision under Sec 52-A of the ...ernment of India Act, 1919, was made for ...ing new provinces whenever it was found ...ible and desirable. The Simon Report ...orted the Montford recommendations. ...t is more important, Sec. 290 of the ...ent Government of India Act has provisions ...tially similar to Sec. 52-A of the Act of ...

I have before me quite a sheaf of authori... urging the wisdom of reshuffling our ...vincial boundaries on rational grounds, but ...have quoted enough to prove my point. ...ever, before I pass on to the next topic, ...me set down here what the Nehru Report ...to say on the subject. The observations ...this Report are of especial significance to us ...the Congress, which is now in power, stands ...mitted not merely to honour but to imple... the recommendations made therein.

After making a powerful indictment upon the present provincial distribution, the learned authors of the Report came to the weighty conclusion that

"There must be a redistribution of provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, other prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of redistribution has to be tackled."

Referring to Karnataka's demand the Report contains these observations:

"The case for the Karnataka was placed before us by a representative of the Karnataka Unification Sangh and the Karnataka Provincial Congress Committee. It had been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong *prima facie* case for unification was made."

The readers of *The Modern Review* are not unaware of the disabilities from which Karnataka suffers under the present arrangement.[1] I shall, therefore, spare them the boredom of wading once more through a a catalogue of our grievances. But one point deserves particular emphasis. In the recent exchange of memorandum and counter-memorandum over what is popularly known as the Bengali-Bihari controversy, the chief grouse of Bihar against its incorporation with Bengal was that

"As the Government installed in Calcutta was popularly known as the 'Government of Bengal,' the joint provinces came to be known as 'Bengal,' in common parlance, and the very name of the historic province of Bihar gradually came to disappear, even from the text-books on geography."

But, Bihar was saved from such a catastrophe by a timely recognition of its right to self-determination.

The Powers-that-be that undertook the dismemberment of Karnataka, at a time when its people were scarcely aware of the magnitude of the injustice done to them, were untrammelled by any considerations of maintaining the racial, linguistic and political integrity of a historic and cultured community. The dissection of our vast and compact territory was accomplished with ruthless thoroughness nearly two centuries ago, and about twenty ravenous powers of varying bulk and ferocity were unleashed to bite off as much area as they could. So successful were they in their work of destruction that the name of Karnataka does not occur in any map of India, whether political or geographical. The Congress alone is responsible for saving it from being consigned to the limbo of oblivion.[2]

1. I have dealt with this in sufficient detail in my articles in *The Modern Review* of November 1937 and July 1938 and in the *Triveni* of August 1938.

2. The four districts of Bombay Karnataka are

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That Karnataka does not deserve this treatment can be easily proved. I am aware that it is not a healthy sign in a community to glue itself irrevocably to the pages of past achievements, but I do submit that an occasional peep into the past is necessary, if only to prove that we are not a superficial and inconsequential people, over whose extinction not a tear need be shed.

At the end of the 13th century A.D. the Deccan was threatened with a danger, the manner and magnitude of which was totally alien to the experience of the people. The Muslim conquerors, having consolidated their power in the north, began to press southwards carrying everything before them and dealing ruthless blows to all that the Hindus held dear and sacred. The Hindu States were too disunited and feeble to organize a successful resistance to the menace. It was given to the rulers and people of Karnataka to rescue Hinduism and all that it stands for from certain extinction, by building up a powerful Empire with Vijayanagar, the City of Victory, as its proud capital. For two centuries and a half this Empire of Karnataka lived in unsurpassed splendour, serving as a citadel of Hindu Dharma and a terror to its enemies. Hostile historians like Ferishtah, foreign ambassadors like Abdur Razaak, European visitors like Paes, Nuniz and Barbosa, Court historians, and the numerous contemporaneous and subsequent epigraphical records and literary works unanimously testify to the greatness of Vijayanagar, which may be summed up in the following description of the capital by the Persian ambassador:

"The city of Bidjanagar (Vijayanagar) is such that the pupil of the eye has never seen a place like it, and the ear of intelligence has never been informed that there existed anything to equal it in the world."

This seemingly exaggerated description is corroborated by the accounts of the chroniclers mentioned above. It is indeed a sad irony of fate that the very champions of the civilization of the South are today faced with a threat to their distinctive existence.

Doubts have been expressed in certain quarters about the benefits which might accrue by bringing together only the eight districts and five talukas of British Karnataka, and whether it would not be more advantageous to wait for political circumstances in the country were favour the amalgamation of all the now widely scattered Kannada areas in the Deccan. While we have nothing but admiration for the greatness of this ideological conception, I am afraid we cannot postpone our demand to Greek Calends by placing reliance upon some fortuitous development. The sponsors of the unification movement, whose demand is at must necessarily be confined for the present to British Karnataka, will certainly welcome to their fold their brethren in the Karnataka States, if the latter develop sufficient strength to transcend the existing political barriers. The move must essentially come from themselves.

A certain amount of perturbation was recently caused in Karnataka by a persistent rumour that the Government of Madras had already submitted proposals, with the full support of H. E. the Governor, for the separation of Andhra and that no steps were taken in supporting our case. With a view to obtaining an authoritative expression of opinion about the latest attitude of the Congress on the separation of Karnataka, the Chairman of the Unification League wrote to Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, apprising him of the profound dissatisfaction that prevailed in Karnataka over the reported partial attitude of the Madras Government. In the course of his reply Sardar Patel observes thus:

"If the question of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis is to be tackled her after, as it somehow will have to be, I have no doubt that it will be done uniformly without any regard to the strength of agitation or the volume of noise that can be made by any particular province. If, however, your apprehension about the Andhra province being separated turn out to be true, your path of separation of Karnataka would certainly be very easy. I do not know if Madras Government has done anything recently, but you may be sure that on this question no discriminatory policy will be adopted. It would be unwise to rely too much on rumours, pre s reports and representations from provinces. The policy on that question has been defined by the Working Committee and you need have no apprehensions on that question."

It is but fair that the attitude of the Congress should be as set out in the Sardar's letter, for nothing would be more harmful to the cause of that organization in Karnataka than the adoption of a policy of discrimination. Karnataka's case is as strong as that of Andhra and her necessity for separation is perhaps greater than that of the latter. To ignore it is to commit a great political blunder.

designated as "Southern Division" although it is not evident what enormity the Government of Bombay would have been guilty of, if they were styled as "Karnataka Districts." The States in Karnataka are called "Southern Mahratta Country States" with what justice it is difficult to say. Even the railway that runs across our country is known as the "Madras and Southern Mahratta" Railway.

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SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

By SATYA N. MUKERJI, M.A. (Columbia University),
Member of the Indian Delegation

While war was raging in Europe and Asia every moment threatening to embroil the whole world, the youth of the world took the helm of international affairs at the second World Youth Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York, from August 16th to August 24th. In the sylvan surroundings of the Vassar campus far from the atmosphere of gloom and despondency of the foreign offices of the world powers, five hundred delegates and observers assembled representing forty million peoples of various organizations from fifty-three countries of the world. It was a replica of the League of Nations.

The first opening reception was held at Randall's Island Municipal stadium in New York City. It was a great spectacle: twenty-two thousand people watched and cheered lustily as each delegation walked in formation behind the national flag. A colourful program of music, songs and folk dances was presented by talented artists of various nationalities. Coro Italia supplied Italian songs and Inter-Club Chinese youth gave a program of songs of China. An expression of youthful frolic was offered in the form of folk dances by America, Russia and Czechoslovakia. The American Negro Choir sang spiritual songs of their race, which stirred the emotions of the audience to the highest pitch.

The Mayor of New York City, Fiorello H. La Guardia, said in the course of his address of welcome:

"If the youth of the world does not want war, there will not be war. Let your slogan be, 'Let there be peace'."

He urged the American and the foreign delegates, "to hand the world over to the next generation in a better and more happy state than we handed it over to you."

Mr. Adolph A. Berle, U. S. Department of State, in extending the official welcome of the Federal Government, emphasised collaboration between nations as the key to his government's policy.

"It is the conviction of this government that so, and not otherwise, can nations meet, can misunderstanding be avoided, can difficulties be resolved, and can people find the way of peace."

Towards the end of his address, Mr. Berle said:

"You must be ever on guard and capable in your watch against the many groups who seek to use you, not to forward the ideals of youth, but to forward some unspoken aim of power, ambition or conquest."

After the meeting at Randall's Island, the delegates returned to the International House, the temporary headquarters of the second World Youth Congress. Here, a secretariat had been busy looking after the registration of the delegates, observers and visitors, and their various needs.

The following day, Tuesday August 16th, all the delegates and observers except the American delegation left for Poughkeepsie on the 'Robert Fulton' of the Hudson River Day Line. The American Delegation took the train so that they would be at Vassar to welcome the foreign delegates. The boat trip to Poughkeepsie afforded an opportunity to see some of the beauty spots of the New York State. On the trip all the delegates were full of mirth and joy, especially the Czechoslovakian group and the Latin Americans, who sang native songs all the way to Vassar College.

The city of Poughkeepsie did not extend any official welcome to the delegates. The Congress was branded as Communistic. However when we landed, we were welcomed by a band which played various national anthems, the members of the board of trustees of Vassar College, professors and local citizenry. The delegates got into the 'buses which were waiting there to take us to Vassar College. When we arrived at the campus, we all walked in groups behind our national flags. Press and movietone took our pictures. Finally, we were escorted by volunteers—Vassar girls—to our rooms.

It was planned to have the opening meeting and reception at the Outdoor Theatre, but due to rain the plan was changed at the last minute. It was held at the College Chapel. The President's wife, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, addressed the delegates, citing the success of the "good neighbour policy."

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"I think the good neighbour policy of the United States with its Central and South American neighbours is something of which we can be justly proud."

"For some time it had been apparent that the United States with its neighbours to the South was a rather bullying big brother who was not always tactful," she said. The "good neighbour" policy, she said, was brought about through the wishes of the people.

"No government or leaders can successfully carry out a policy when the people are not at the back of it." "It is the people of a country who really have the deciding voice in whatever policies the leaders of the country may wish to carry out."

After the address of Mrs. Roosevelt, the President of Vassar College, Dr. Henry N. McCracken, addressed the audience. He sounded a note of optimism:

"Isolation is fatal. The idea of peace can be destroyed by distortion. Organized society can talk people out of the idea of peace and turn them to war. War is not only a trade and art,—it is a profession."

According to him, the greatest dangers to peace are the idea of justice and the various types of honour. He pointed out the attempt made at Vassar College in teaching history to correct the mistakes of past wars. He emphasised "common sense" as the basis of peace.

"It is reassuring to learn that youth is wishing to hear of peace," he said. "The reform of freedom is our call tonight."

Mrs. Roosevelt is a prolific writer and a very good speaker. I have heard her speak over the radio, I have read her speeches in the papers, but this is the first time I have heard her in person. She is sincere in what she says and leaves an abiding impression upon the listener. She has a column in a daily paper. She holds a union card of the Newspaper Guild. She is one of the outstanding women of our time, and probably the greatest living woman in America. She not only writes for American journals and papers but takes great interest in youth and education. She has addressed hundreds of meetings all over the United States embracing practically every subject under the sun. After the meeting was over, the delegates were invited to an ice-cream party at Ely Hall. Mrs. Roosevelt and Dr. McCracken were present. Mrs. Roosevelt shook hands with each delegate as they were introduced one after another by Joseph Cadden, Chairman of the United States committee of the World Youth Congress. President McCracken was occupied with ice-cream and at the same time, talking to various delegates. He is considered to be a truly liberal American. In his opening address to the delegates he said, "The college is yours while you are here."

The Main Building of the College was the centre of activity. The Congress Office was in this building, where practically all the foreign men delegates lived. Breakfast, lunch and dinner were served here. Dr. McCracken said the only complaint he had was from the cooks, the delegates ate twice as much as he thought they would! Many small committee meetings were also held here.

On the morning of August 17th, the first session of the Congress opened at the Student Building. It was called "the mutual information session". Three languages were used throughout the sessions of the Congress: English, French and Spanish. In the Student Building where the "mutual information sessions", "plenary sessions," and all the other meetings of the Commission A were held, every seat on the main floor was equipped with a pair of earphones which had five pegs. No matter what language the speaker used, it was immediately translated, and relayed over the earphone so that every delegate could understand the speaker at the same time. In other meetings, the interpreters had to explain every word that was uttered at the Commission. The entire procedure of the Congress was carried out on the basis of the League of Nations Assembly.

The international secretary, Elizabeth Shield-Collins of Great Britain, submitted her report. In the course of her report, she said that the gathering was a much more truly representative one than the first World Youth Congress at Geneva two years ago, when eighty per cent of the delegates were from Europe. She noted that this time fifty-six nations were represented.

She appealed to the delegates to join hands and work together for world peace.

As soon as the election of the presiding committee was over, the main business of the session began. The head of the delegation from every country read a report dealing with the conditions influencing youth in the country he represented. The time of each paper was limited to ten minutes.

It would not be an exaggeration to mention here that over five hundred speeches were made by delegates in all the four Commissions. They all centered around world peace, collective security, and the League of Nations in all its varoius ramifications. Since it is not possible within the scope of one article to mention what everybody said, I shall attempt here

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mention the chief points of what some of the delegates have said at the Congress.

For several years the discussion of American youth has been divided between isolationism and collective security, but at the Second World Youth Congress they agreed on a common Peace program of seven points, closely resembling that enunciated recently by Cordell Hull, Secretary of State. The individual members of the American delegation reserved the right to express their own opinion at general sessions.

The text of the announcement embodying the American program follows:

"Each day's developments make more and more clear the fact that our situation is profoundly affected by whatever happens elsewhere in the world.

"Whatever may be our own wishes, we cannot, when there is trouble elsewhere, expect to remain unaffected. When destruction, impoverishment, and starvation afflict other areas, we cannot, no matter how hard we try, escape impairment of our own economic well-being.

"When freedom is destroyed over increasing areas elsewhere, our ideals of individual liberty, or most-cherished political and social institutions are jeopardized.

"When the dignity of the human soul is denied in great parts of the world, and when that denial is made a slogan under which propaganda is set in motion and armies take the field, no one of us can be sure that his country or even his home is safe. We well know, of course, that a condition of complete chaos will not develop overnight; but it is clear that the present trend in that direction and the longer this drift continues the greater becomes the danger that the whole world may be sucked into a maelstrom of unregulated and savage economic, political and military competition and conflict.

"To reverse the present ominous drift toward international anarchy and armed conflict we propose the following program:

"1. Limitation and progressive reduction of armaments.

"2. Economic reconstruction, with the assurance of justice to all peoples as the basis of international well-being and stability.

"3. Adherence to the basic principles of international law as the guiding and governing rules of conduct among nations. Respect for and observance of treaties duly entered into. Modification of treaties by orderly processes when the nations concerned feel the need thereof.

"Respect for treaties should not, however, become the basis for freezing the status quo. Nations must undertake to evolve a new code of international law based on the principle of dealing out justice to all peoples.

"4. Abstention from the use of force in pursuit of national policies and from interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

"5. Collaboration in the freest possible intellectual exchange among nations.

"6. Support of international cooperation in such ways and by such methods as may be practicable and which will advance and not contradict the program.

"7. The equality of all peoples and races is basic to the securing of a peaceful world order. Economic, cultural and political rights should be guaranteed to racial, religious and political minorities within nations to lessen war tension. Subject nations and colonies should be started on the road to self-determination through the introduction of educational opportunities, abolition of oppressive tax laws, discriminatory employment laws, segregation legislation and through the establishment of universal suffrage."

Mr. P. Y. Yin of China was greeted with an ovation when he took the floor. He declared that,

"since the invasion of China by Japanese militarists, the youth of China from all walks of life have achieved an unprecedented solidarity."

The representatives of the Czechoslovakia delegation said:

"We are ready to collaborate with all people who hold the same ideal as we do—that is to say, a faith that international disputes must be settled by peaceful means, and according to the principle of liberty and equality."

Mr. Yusuf Meherally presented India's report which was widely discussed among the delegates from all countries. Many of the delegates who have spoken to me privately, said, "The report of your delegation was the best". This is what Frank Adams said in the *New York Times* of August 18th, 1938:

"A scathing indictment of British rule in India was delivered by Yusuf Meherally, who declared that one hundred and eighty years of 'foreign imperialist rule' had reduced 'a prosperous India to an appalling condition of poverty, mass illiteracy, and malnutrition.'

"He asserted that at present India was ninety-two per cent illiterate, and quoted Will Durant as authority for an estimate that it was fifty per cent illiterate when the British came. He said the expectancy of life in India was only twenty-six years, against fifty-six in Great Britain and that four hundred of every one thousand Indian babies died before the age of eight.

"The British delegates joined in the applause indicating their approval of Mr. Meherally's words."

It was not possible to finish all the reports in one day. So those who were unable to present their reports on the first day did so in sessions later in the week.

The first meetings of Commissions A, B, C, and D was held in the evening of August 17th. They were largely devoted to technicalities, such as what procedure should be adopted in conducting the meeting. Some time was devoted to discussing the agenda and very few papers were read in Commission C. I came to know next day at breakfast that the same difficulty held in other Commissions. Although there were five Commission meetings scheduled, there were a few extra sessions in some of the Commissions in order to wind up the work of the Commissions.

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The British foreign policy was defended as well as criticised by a number of British delegates. Miss Mary Stanley Clark of the Youth section of the British Conservative party defended the Chamberlain policy of non-intervention in Spain as a measure of keeping the Spanish civil war from spreading beyond its boundaries. Gabriel Caritt, delegate of the British Youth Peace assembly, attacked the Chamberlain foreign policy. He said it was necessary for England to revise its foreign policy with respect to Spain for three reasons:

"First, the bombing of British merchant ships in Spanish waters sets a terrible precedent. Second, toleration of Moorish soldiers in Spain may have harmful implications in colonial India, and thirdly, Britain's key defense positions in the Mediterranean, such as at Gibraltar, are in danger."

John Ballard declared:

"The British youth opposes and condemns the domination of one people over another."

A formal statement was issued by the delegates from Great Britain and her empire, read and approved by Elizabeth Shield-Collins. It declared:

"The British National government, as instanced by its departure from the League of Nations obligations to Ethiopia, Spain, and the Far East, and its refusal to take decisive steps to prevent aggression, has prejudiced the security of our country and of all peoples."

The delegate of Spain, Emanual Azcarates, son of the Spanish Loyalist Ambassador to London, said in the course of his speech:

"We come to defend the principles of collective security and the League of Nations. . . . The fundamental problem is not to discuss pacts or treaties, but to talk of the ways of carrying them out. One must find ways of mobilizing the forces of world peace. The victory of the Republic means peace for the world."

Mr. Paul Maurice of the American delegation asked Dr. P. C. Chang of China: "Under what conditions will the Sino-Japanese conflict come to and end?"

Chang's proposal was a Pacific agreement in which, he declared, all foreign troops should be withdrawn from China, and "not Japanese alone". His program was:

(1) the possibility of naval limitation; (2) political settlement, withdrawal of all troops from China; (3) make an improvement in the Washington treaty including economic readjustments."

An earnest listener to the Chinese plea was Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, wife of the President.

At the plenary session on Monday, August 22nd, each of the four Commissions submitted their report to the Congress. The important parts of those reports are as follows:—

Commission A, The Political And Economic Organization of Peace—The Report presented by Emlyn Garner-Evans of Great Britain.

"A new world order could be established in which a lasting peace could be founded on justice and preserved by the cooperation of mankind. In this regard emphasis was laid on Democracy as a safeguard of peace. As an ideal it was a great unifying factor making for solidarity among all people. As a system it placed international affairs under the control of the people and provided a guarantee that overwhelming opposition could be raised to the force of aggression.

"It was generally agreed that permanent peace required not only justice between nations, but also, social justice among peoples.

"It was strongly urged that cooperation among all the states of the American continent should be extended and many delegates saw in the closer unity of the Latin American countries a positive guarantee for the maintenance of peace over the whole continent. There was a general welcome for the 'good neighbour' policy inaugurated by President Roosevelt as a contribution to this end."

The organization of peace through disarmament—a general reduction in armaments was urged, and the problem of China, Spain, Austria, Ethiopia, and Czechoslovakia, adequately treated. Peaceful settlement of dispute and peaceful change were advocated, and the question of minorities (racial persecution—especially persecution of the Jews) was noted.

Under the title, Economic Organization the report points out economic causes of war and suggests the solution of economic difficulties by creating an international economic commission to deal with the economic problems.

The last point in the report is that of imperialism.

"Delegates recognized that not only is the economic and political domination of one people over another immoral, but it is also a constant source of conflict between the natives and the imperialistic state, and between the imperialist states themselves.

"There was general recognition of the right of peoples to self-government and self-determination. The achievement of this end within a specified time should be the object of all colonial policy. This requires education, freedom of speech movement, political and economic association, the prohibition of economic exploitation and the prevention of militarization. The extension of these rights should be internationally guaranteed."

Commission B, The Economic And Cultural Status Of Youth and Its Relation To Peace, the Report presented by Miss Renu Roy of India.

"We realize that the youth of most countries are faced with the same problems of war and peace, lack of unemployment, bad labour conditions, defective education, etc. What is needed today is an improvement in the material situation of youth which will help in giving them that confidence and hope in life which is

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guarantee of peace and liberty in the world. We are also convinced of the necessity of bringing economic help to those countries menaced or suffering from aggression. In order to save peace, it is necessary not only to unite goodwill in the political, religious or philosophical spheres, but also to find the necessary cures which will end the difficulties which trouble the world today.

"The aspirations of youth are identical everywhere. We want to enjoy security, leisure, health, to mould our lives in a free and progressive atmosphere and it was interesting in the Commission to note how indentical were the opinions expressed by almost every country on questions such as illiteracy, unemployment, labour conditions, vocational training, etc."

The rest of the report deals with various problems of youth point by point. The report emphasized, "free and compulsory education up to the minimum age of 16."

Commission C, The Religious and Philosophical Bases of Peace; the Report presented by Ian MacLaren of Australia included the following aims:

"1. To work against those forces in human nature and society which cause war.

"2. To reaffirm those principles upon which a just and durable peace rests.

"3. To develop an international mind in youth and those new forms of social, economic and political relationships which are essential for the advancement of civilization."

These are the two important points which the Commission C, recognized as obstacles to peace and desires to remove —

"(1) Idealization of hatred between races and nations.

"(2) Imperialistic domination over dependent peoples and aggressive policies toward weaker nations."

Of the six points which it reaffirmed, the most important is number one.

"Man's loyalty to religious or philosophical truth which comes before allegiance to any institution or individual."

Commission D, The International Role of Youth, the Report submitted by Olga Schieslova of Czechoslovakia:

"The youth of all lands must affirm its unity in building a world of peace through international co-operation and social justice.

"We reject completely the theory that youth must give unquestioning obedience to the state and leaders, but we stress the fact that the democratic youth feels no enmity with the youth of the totalitarian states, and will do all in its power to establish friendly contact with them."

In Washington, while the Youth Congress was in session, H. L. Chaillaux, American Legion official, brought charges against the World Youth Congress as a "front organization for Communism" before the Dies Committee on Un-American Activities.

In the first place the city of Poughkeepsie refused to extend an official welcome to the delegates to the Second World Youth Congress because the municipal government of the city will have nothing to do with "Internationalism," "Communism", and "Red". However, the Chairman of the American delegation, Mr. Joseph Cadden, and Dr. Henry N. MacCracken, President of the Vassar College, denied the accusation as false. The Congress may have a few Communists but certainly it is not made up of Communists. All kinds of views were expressed by delegates from fifty-three countries representing various organizations.

The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, four of them from England: Mr. M. Iftikar and Mr. Yusuf Meherally were from London, Mr. Arun Bose and Miss Renu Roy, from Cambridge. Mr. Tarapada Basu came from Paris. Mr. K. A. Abbas of the *Bombay Chronicle* came directly from India. Two members were added from the United States: Mr. Krishna Lal Shridharani and myself of New York. Yusuf Meherally was the head of the delegation and Arun Bose, the secretary. The latter showed me a memorandum which was drawn up in consultation with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Paris. The line of policy that the Indian delegation was to adopt at the Second World Youth Congress was outlined. The members of the meeting at London left out *Commission C, The Religious And Philosophical Bases of Peace,* as unimportant,* and so gave no consideration to it in the memorandum. When I was added to the Indian delegation, I was put in charge. In a nutshell the memorandum states that the Indian delegation must take a stand for self-determination, collective security, and the League of Nations.

While I supported the point of view of the Indian delegation, nevertheless, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that the League of Nations had failed utterly to stop war in Ethiopia, Chaco, China, and Spain; it has been occupied mostly with European affairs, it has not helped India to achieve her goal of independence—a problem of worldwide importance.

Having observed the trend of political movement in the Western Hemisphere for a number of years, I find it difficult to believe that collective security can be achieved on a worldwide basis under the aegis of the League of Nations. Since the Buenos Aires Conference, the tendency to solidify the Western Hemisphere is growing every day. Today if a

* This was a superficial, short-sighted and regrettable decision.—Editor, *M. R.*

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nation of the Western Hemisphere is attacked it becomes the joint responsibility of all the republics of the Western Hemisphere to defend the victim of aggression. On August 18th, 1938, President Roosevelt declared in the course of an address at Queens University, Canada:

"I give you assurance that the people of the United States will not stand idly by if domination of Canadian soil is threatened by any other empire."

The interests of Canada are swinging the Canadian foreign policy more and more towards the United States. Whether Canada will throw in her lot with Western Hemisphere or maintain neutrality in case of war, as a dominion of the British Commonwealth of Nations, and a member of the League of Nations, is a matter which ultimately will be decided in the Canadian Parliament. While a number of Latin American Nations are still members of the League of Nations, others have already left the League; not to speak of the four big powers who are already out of the League of Nations: the United States, Japan, Germany and Italy. All these facts indicate that a new orientation of international polity is in formation in the Western Hemisphere. Under the circumstances, it is, I believe, unwise for India, anymore to support collective security on a worldwide basis. That is why I am in favour of regional collective security—a League of Nations for each continent, and the World Court as a final resort to settle all international disputes.

At the Congress there was a considerable number of delegates who affirmed that "mutual assistance could best be organized on a regional basis."

The Indian delegation joined hands with other colonial delegations such as those of Africa, Indonesia, Palestine, etc., in condemning imperialism. Imperialism had a very bad day. There was great indignation against racial discrimination in the world. Nearly everyone stood up for self-determination and racial equality. There was a general recognition of the right of every people to self-government and self-determination.

There was a severe condemnation of Germany, Italy and Japan. No delegation was present from either Germany or Italy, but Japan was represented by a small group. An Austrian came to the World Youth Congress who was recognized as a delegate of Austria and there was a German who represented at a special meeting the views of dissatisfied youth of Germany. He distributed a copy of printed literature which gives the picture of present-day Germany. He condemned Herr Hitler and requested everybody to think of the German people who have contributed so much to human progress, emphasizing that German youth want peace and send us their greetings.

The threat of war, and its concomitant reactions in every fiber of civilized human beings today have roused the passion of youth as never before to banish war forever from the earth. There was an intense feeling in the Congress against all sorts of exploitation of the weak by the strong which in its train creates grave social injustice that invariably leads to war. The sentiment for world peace was very strong. At the same time there was a severe condemnation of imperialism. There was practically a universal cry for the recognition of equality of all peoples and races as a basis of a new world order. Regardless of what we have actually achieved at the Second World Youth Congress the fact remains, that in the name of world peace, youth have flocked to Vassar from the four corners of the earth to take part in the deliberation of our common cause—the cause of peace. That is a great step forward in the right direction.

To dream great dreams, to live in the high hope of achieveing them in one's own life-time or to make an endeavour to attain some high ideal is the eternal privilege of youth. What youth dreams today mankind shall realize tomorrow.

The Second World Youth Congress has proclaimed to the world what work it has set before itself for the future in the form of a resolution. With solemnity the head of the delegation from each country signed the Vassar Peace Pact.

Resolution on Future Work

Whereas the Second World Youth Congress held at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York State, from August 16th. to 24th., has been a unqualified success, and

Whereas a great advance in the matter of the number of countries represented has been made over the First World Youth Congress held in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1936:

The International Secretariat of the World Youth Congress Movement is hereby required and requested:

1. In view of the large representation from the states of Central and South America present at such a Congress for the first time to make special efforts to extend and strengthen the cooperation already existing between the youth of those countries and the rest of the world.

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2. In view of the considerable representation again for the first time at such a Congress of the youth from Colonial countries to make special efforts to help the youth of those countries; to offer them support from the youth of richer and more mighty organised countries; and to bring even more of the youth of the Colonial countries into the work of the World Youth Congress Movement.

3. With the object of extending the work of the World Youth Congress Movement the Second Congress charges the council to approach the big organisations which do not as yet collaborate officially with the movement with a view to obtaining their collaboration. The attention of the council is drawn particularly to the necessity of approaching the Socialist Youth International (who have already sent a fraternal representative to the Second Congress), the International Catholic organisations, and the International Trade Union organisations.

4. In view of the continued absence of the representation of the youth from several important countries to make fresh efforts to obtain their cooperation.

5. To convey to all those young people who have had the misery, waste and destruction of war forced upon them, the most profound sympathy of the youth of the rest of the world; and to help and alleviate the sufferings of the victims of these wars as a practical demonstration of the desire for peace of the delegates to the Second World Youth Congress.

The Vassar Pact

The delegation of youth from 53 countries present at the Second World Youth Congress

Deeply sensible of their solemn duty to promote the welfare of mankind;

Convinced that war and militarism are inherently brutalizing forces, destructive of all that is valuable in civilization and human personality;

Confident that war is not inevitable if the law between nations can be upheld and justice for the peoples established in accordance with the peaceful and democratic will of the peoples in each nation;

Hopeful that they may contribute their share to the preservation of peace which is existing, to the restoration of peace where it has been shattered by aggression and to the laying of the foundation for a universal and enduring peace;

Certain that the World Youth Congress movement has proved the profound desire of youth, regardless of nations, race and creed, to cooperate for peace, and has demonstrated that agreement on practical measures of common action can be achieved while differences of conviction are fully respected—

Have decided, on the tenth anniversary of the Kellog-Briand Peace Pact, to conclude this solemn agreement:

Article 1.

We swear to develop a spirit of fraternity and collaboration between the youth of all nations, to help unite the youth of our own nations and to work for unity with young people of all other countries without distinction of race, creed or opinion under the leadership of the World Youth Congress Movement.

Article 2.

We solemnly condemn any war of aggression directed against the political independence or the territorial or administrative integrity of a State.

Article 3.

We pledge ourselves to do all in our power to guarantee that the youth of our countries never participate in any war of aggression against other states.

Article 4.

We agree to bring pressure to bear, whenever the circumstances arise, upon our respective authorities to take the necessary concerted action to prevent aggression and to bring it to an end, to give effective assistance to the victims of treaty violations and aggression and to refrain from participating in any aggression whether in the form of supply of essential war material or of financial assistance.

Article 5.

We solemnly declare that the bombardment of open towns and civilian populations constitutes a violation of the canons of humanity and the rule of conduct among nations and undertake to mobilize the forces of world opinion to condemn any such action and to give aid for the relief of the victims.

Article 6.

We, recognizing that there can be no permanent peace without justice between nations and within nations, or without their recognition of the right to self-determination of countries and colonies seeking their freedom, undertake in a peaceful manner to set right injustices against peoples, regardless of race, creed or opinion, to establish political and social justice within our own countries and advocate that international machinery be immediately instituted to solve differences between nations in a peaceful way.

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INDO-AMERICAN COMMERCIAL RELATIONS

(First dinner-conference on the subject in America—Held on July 21st, 1938, under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce. Head Office: 225 Fifth Avenue, New York, U. S. A.)

The 14th floor of the Aldine Club where not so long ago the 77th birthday of Tagore was celebrated by the India League of America, again became the center of another great occasion—the first of its kind in America—when under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce a banquet-conference was held on July 21st to present and discuss the status of Indo-American trade relations.

Messages and telegrams reached the conference from British Guiana, Canada, India and various sections of America, from Mr. G. R. Channon of India Importing Co. of San Francisco; Dr. S. C. Ghose of India Incense Co. of Chicago; Mr. Oscar Thompson of Indo-Persian Fine Arts, Montreal, Canada, American Asiatic Association of New York, National Council of American Importers, Inc., New York, and South Indian Chamber of Commerce, India, and Indian Chamber of Commerce, Lahore, India. All wished success of the conference.

Mr. N. R. Checker, Chairman of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, presided. He opened the conference as the last course of the dinner was being served, and welcomed the guests with the remark that "India has always had international relations in the field of commerce, and it was due to India's great name as a trading nation that Columbus landed on the American soil. And this evening on this very soil—the romantic result of India's commerce—we have gathered together to discuss problems affecting trade relations between India and America. The objectives of the Indo-American Association of Commerce are (1) to find ways and means to facilitate and improve trade relations between India and America, and (2) to study the conditions affecting Indo-American trade relations with a view to create good-will between the two countries."

The chairman sprung a surprise as he announced the presence in the gathering of Mrs. Charles Perrin. In introducing the distinguished guest to the gathering the Chairman took this opportunity to pay tribute to her late husband, Mr. Charles Perrin of the Perrin Marshall Co. of New York, in these terms:

"India's progress in the iron and steel industry is due almost exclusively* to America. Not so long ago a very distinguished American engineer and a specialist in Steel went to India at the invitation of that most far-sighted of India's captains of industries, the late Jamshedji N. Tata, to make a survey of its iron resources which ultimately resulted in the establishment of one of the largest Iron and Steel Works in the world. Today India enjoys the third place among the steel producing countries. We feel greatly honoured, therefore, for having with us, this evening, the distinguished wife of that great American, Mrs. Charles Perrin." Mrs. Perrin rose amidst cheers and said:

"Gentlemen and all this distinguished company: I am greatly honoured at your words to my lately deceased husband who was so fond of India and her three hundred and fifty million people, and through whose hands flow millions of rupees each year in connection with the Tata Iron and Steel Works. It is a wonderful thing that you are doing here tonight. I can only say that I wish success (and good wishes) for future accomplishment."

Mr. Checker then introduced the speakers of the evening in fitting words.

* The name of the late Mr. P. N. Bose should also be mentioned.—Ed., *M. R.*

INDO-AMERICAN TRADE RELATIONS

By Mr. HEMENDRA K. RAKHIT,
Sogani & Co. Inc.

Commercial relations between the two countries like the United States and India are always fascinating: one of the foremost industrial nation in the world; the other still mainly agricultural. Yet it would hardly be true to say that of India. The fact is she is at once an agricultural and an industrial country. You will find India dotted with cottage industries; you will still find the village potter moulding his clay in the age-old way: he goes on working with a song in his heart. The theme of his song may be a sort of conversation between him and the lump of clay he is giving a shape to. "My Clay," he says, "you must be thankful to me. I am giving you a beautiful shape. Hundreds of people will come to see you and admire you." "Oh, no, Mr. Potter, you are mistaken," the Clay replies, "for, had I been where I was, a lump of clay, a rose might have shot through my bosom to proclaim my glory." You can imagine the wealth of culture that must have gone into the making of the potter to sing and appreciate and enjoy such a song.

And not very far from him you will find the great Tata Iron and Steel Works, according to Mr. Saklatwala, the head of the Tata Works and an Honorary Member of the Association of Commerce, the largest of its kind in the British Empire, employing over 25,000 men. India, today, takes the seventh place among the industrial nations of the world. To deal with such a growing nation of 350 million will require of you patience, courage, study and understanding—a task which is being admirably done by your Trade Commissioners in India. Thanks to their labour, those so-called unsurmountable barriers are no longer considered so; and today the trade between the two countries assumes a significant figure.

But this evening we want to draw your attention to certain factors that seem to retard the natural growth of trade between India and the United States. One of these factors is the existence of discriminating trade barriers.

The Hon. Mr. Francis B. Sayer, Asst. Secretary of State, addressing a distinguished audience in April last year, remarked:

> "Every time the United States loses a foreign market for its cotton, for its hog products, for its automobiles, or for its machineries, men are thrown out of work and economic dislocation follows . . . throughout the country."

This is true of any exporting country. And here the significant fact is that India is perhaps the only country where you sell less and buy more. The balance of trade has always been in favour of India and against the United States.

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This is not a healthy sign. This unhealthy situation largely due to the existence of the Imperial Preference system, commonly known as the Ottawa Agreements, a preferential tariff arrangements entered into among the nations within the British Empire in 1932. According to a great authority on the subject, the Hon. William S. Culbertson, former United States Ambassador to Roumania and Chile, and a valued member of the U. S. Tariff Commission, such preferential agreements as the Ottawa agreements "are in violation of the unconditional most-favored-Nation Principles." It is to remove such discriminatory trade barriers as these that the Secretary of State Hull is so busily and, so far, so successfully engaged in bringing about a genuine liberalism in the regulation of trade movements and equal and non-discriminatory commercial treatment.

We trust that as a result of Secretary Hull's continued negotiations with Great Britain this discriminatory trade barrier between the United States and India will be done away with. Only then can the two countries increase their trade to mutual benefit. For, as Dr. Taraknath Das, of the City College of New York, pointed out at a conference of the Academy of Political Science on International Trade last year, "India should not be treated as a colony of Great Britain, but should be treated as a nation of 350 million people, one of the greatest industrial powers of the world." An Economic peace cannot be ushered into this world when such a large country as India is subject to artificial trade restrictions. For, it is clear as daylight that unless you sell us more you will buy from us more. There lies our common interest and to it that the trade between the two countries grow equal space.

The harmfulness of the Ottawa agreements can be seen from the trade reports such as these. In his report of the Indian Trade Commissioner's activities in Japan, Dr. Meek observes :

"The grant of preference to our (India's) exports to the United Kingdom have, it must be observed, resulted in a policy of retaliation from several of the countries with whom India has had her trade relations for a long time. Owing to the Preference, Indian trade was diverted from those countries and her relations with some of them are not as cordial as before. A tendency is visible in various countries for purchasing their requirements from those countries which purchase from them."

The General Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce of India also, in a course of an article discussing the ill effects of the discriminating trade regulations such as the Imperial Preference agreements, stated : "Germany now is purchasing large quantities of raw materials which she formerly purchased from India."

It is to curb these tendencies in so far as the trade relations between India and America is concerned that we are in favour of Secretary Hull's untiring efforts to discontinue all discriminating treaties so that commerce may take its natural course.

I now come to my next point. Commercial discrimination abolished, a trade treaty between the two countries on a reciprocal basis becomes an urgent necessity. It is really unthinkable that these two great countries have gone on doing business amounting to millions of dollars without any treaty at all. The nearest such a thing was a convention hold during the Napoleonic Wars between Great Britain and U. S. A. Treaty India was mentioned in a casual way, as a right of which Americans enjoy all the privileges that citizens of England do in India while we of India are given no such privileges here. It was decidedly an unbalanced treaty. There is no criticism here of the United States. We did not know much about you then. The U. S. was mainly a country of the Redskins and a romantic land of power and promise. And to you we were perhaps nothing but a race the mothers of which were supposed to throw their darling babies on the Ganges so that the crocodiles might not miss their early breakfast ! But we are living in a new age and we know each other better.

It is true that the recent immigration laws may not permit us to become citizens of the United States, as in the case of Chinese and Japanese people. But that is the national policy of the United States which we must respect. However, while China and Japan have special commercial treaties which enable their businessmen freedom of movements in this country, India has no such treaties. Yet the volume of trade between China and the U. S. A. and between India and U. S. A. are approximately the same. Time has certainly come when negotiations between the proper authorities for such a treaty between the two countries should begin. The opinion of the business groups in America and India, we take it, will whole-heartedly support such a reciprocal trade treaty; and we feel sure that the two governments will look upon such a treaty with a favourable eye. But, we trust the business of America will take the lead in this matter, for, as I have said before, the balance of trade is still in our favour and you must sell more to us. Among the countries that have trade agreements with you under Secretary Hull's reciprocity plan, India is the only country where you can so easily export more. Removal of discriminating trade barriers and a trade treaty will go a long way to increase your trade with India.

Thirdly : We also propose establishment of permanent exhibition of typical American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America. America and India are at once agricultural and industrial countries. Industrially speaking their development must follow somewhat on similar lines, for India is comparable with the United States in size and varieties of resources; both have huge home markets and can afford to be liberal to each other in their export trade policies. India with its aroused millions under a most reasonably nationalistic regime that the world has ever witnessed, thanks to its great leaders, is bound to be a very important country in the world strategy of raw materials and the strategy of war and peace. You have such a market before you. And it is with this in mind that your Trade Commissioner in Bombay, Mr. W. G. Flake, wrote, "If only 1% of the population of India buys, United States will have more customers in India than the entire population of Cuba."

Fourthly : In the development of American Trade in China the presence in large numbers of Chinese students in this country was a no mean factor. It stands true of students from India also, who come to study in your universities. The knowledge they gain, the habits they form, and the friendships they make—the flavour of all these last much longer than the flavour of those certain products that Mr. Wrigley ships to India ! A large percentage of the trained men in responsible position in Tata Iron and Steel and Hydro-Electric plants are American trained men. We therefore urge our American friends to keep an eye on these students who are here, and even facilitate their coming in larger numbers.

The arrival of the first Trade Commissioner from India to this country at this time is a godsend. We feel sure that we will find our Trade Commissioner, Mr. H. S. Malik, very responsive to our objectives toward further—

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ing the growth of trade between India and America, removing all unnecessary barriers that seem to choke the natural flow of trade. Mr. Malik's presence here with his deep store of experience as India's Trade Commissioner to Germany and England, will be of immense value to us. For he is in a key position to promote and guide the course of commerce between the two countries. We wish he were here; but duty takes him to Washington. Nevertheless, we have his sympathies. Mr. Malik is intimately and sympathetically conscious of all our problems as outlined above and we expect great help from him.

Let me briefly summarise these points which are essential for increase of trade between India and America:

1. Removal of all discriminating trade barriers between India and America.
2. The urgent need for a Trade Treaty between India and America on a purely reciprocal basis.
3. Creation of permanent exhibitions of American merchandise in India and Indian merchandise in America.
4. Presence of students from India in this country must not be overlooked as they are an important factor in the development of trade between countries.
5. And lastly, in view of the fact that Indo-American trade is certain to assume significant importance, we request that the Foreign Trade Council create a India Department within their organization.

Mr. C. B. SPOFFORD, Jr.

Former American Trade Commissioner to India

I was American Trade Commissioner from 1922-1930. I was in India three years before that time working for an American firm, so all together spent 12 years of my life there.

I don't want to abuse the privilege of being allowed to say a few words, but I am very touched for several reasons: About 10 years ago, I had occasion to speak on India in the United States. That makes me feel ten years younger, because I did have a great personal interest in India, although not in an official capacity. What I think might be of interest to you to know is that in 1938, Sir Feroz Sethna, one of your distinguished members of the Council of State in India, whom I came to know quite well, asked if I could give some suggestions to support a resolution for the Council of State to form an Indian Trade Commission to this country. Of course, I was very anxious to further such a move, and I did give him some arguments in favour of it, that, along with his own experience apparently was sufficient, and the resolution when moved was accepted by the government without dispute. He did not attempt to question the desirability of it except in principle, and had visions of someone being sent in a few weeks. But, I found that due to one reason or another, it had been delayed. But I am very pleased to learn that at least now a trade commissioner has been appointed to this country. I hope to meet him and can only urge those present and all others interested in furthering business relations between these two countries, especially Americans, to give him full support and help, as good support and co-operation as members of the Indian community gave me while I was there. I received excellent co-operation, and am very pleased to see that this association is formed, and that you are now to have an Indian trade commissioner. There is so much to be gained by having an Indian trade commissioner. It seems that for too long we have had to know each other through third parties or through the press and unfortunate books that have been written which did anything but further our relations. I know that we have very much in common, and I think that the that will come to both, will be beneficial to all.

TRENDS OF COMMERCE BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND INDIA

Mr. S. M. AHMED,

Munds, Winslow & Potter

Influence Affecting Trade:

Economic activity to a large measure regulates flow of goods and commodities between the nations. United States being an industrial country, its foreign trade is influenced by manufacturing production trends. India being a predominantly agricultural country, volume of commerce is affected by crop yields and commodity prices. In general, curves of foreign trade volume of both countries have been running parallel each other. The value of total exports and imports the two countries reached extraordinary high levels during 1928-29, and was followed by severe declines caused world-wide depressed economic conditions. In 1933 the volume of foreign trade of the U. S. fell to approximately one-third, and that of India, to one-half of 1928-29 levels. Improving economic conditions experienced in the following years enabled the foreign trade of both countries to recover substantially. The U. S. Dept. of Commerce reported an increase in international trade larger in 1937 than in any other year since the depression low of 1932, and the quantity of foreign trade of the United States was the greatest since 1929, and the of value was the highest since 1930. Likewise, India trade enjoyed an exceptionally good year in 1937. The value of United States imports to India last year amounting to $43.747,000 was the highest figure reached since 1930, and was 63.2% more than in 1936. The value of exports to the United States reached a high level of $103,622,000 or a gain of 47.3% over 1936.

Tariffs and changing price levels are two other prominent influences affecting volume of foreign trade. Import tariffs have undergone extensive revisions, principally in an upward direction, and have been a retarding factor. Happily, during the last year or so, the reciprocal trade agreement program of the U. S. Government has reduced these handicaps appreciably. By the end of 1937, the U. S. Government had negotiated trade agreements with 16 countries, which together with their colonies account for well over one-third of the foreign trade of the U. S. Benefits resulting from these trade agreements were promptly reflected in the trade between the 16 nations, which showed a greater rate increase in trade volume last year than the non-agreement countries. In the absence of a treaty of commerce between India and U. S. the trade between the two countries is at present without the benefit of reciprocal or low tariffs. It is hoped that steps will soon be taken to negotiate a trade treaty between India and U. S.

In preparing statistics and summarizing results trade between India and the United States, certain qualifying factors must be considered. The figures in the report are compiled from United States Dept. of Commerce publications. Due to the fact that India is the entrepot for Afghanistan and other Central Asiatic countries the United States statistics include goods shipped to India from these countries *via* India. An important factor upon the value of trade is the price of goods exported and imported, and the price indices never remain the same. This yearly comparisons must take into account not only the value of goods exchanged, but also

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...ity. The change in the gold content of the dollar ...ed made a realignment of statistical tables necessary. ...considerable significance is the volume of trade done ...American corporations through their British sub-...ries to take advantage of lower tariffs, and is not ...cted in the figures covering direct trade between the ...countries.

Proportion of Trade

American trade with India represents only a small ...of the total United States volume of commerce ...the world. United States exports to India have ...ged about 1.3% of total exports during the past ...years, and imports to the United States a little ...3%. However, among the Asiatic nations, next to ...Philippine Islands, and China, India accounts for ...largest volume of the United States trade. In recent ...volume of the U. S. trade with India has been ...ding more sharply than with any of the principal ...countries. Using the 1931-1935 average total ...of exports and imports as 100, India's volume of ...with the United States in 1936 and 1937 was 123 ...respectively, as compared with China's 109 and ...Japan's 118 and 155 and Philippine Island's 118 and ...these years.

Total Exports and Imports
(Million Dollars)

	1937	1936
Japan	493	376
Philippine Islands ..	211	162
China	153	120
India	147	97

On the other side, Indian trade with the United States ...only exceeded by the volume of trade with the United ...dom and Japan. India's commerce with Germany, ...at one time was the third largest, has substantially ...off and now lags behind the United States.

The value of India's exports and imports to the ...States has undergone relatively little change in ...to the total volume of exports and imports. In ...a marked gain in this ratio was reported. Trade ...Japan has become of greater importance since 1930. ...In 1936 of the total value of imports to India, the ...States accounted for 6.6%, the United Kingdom ...Japan 17.2% and Germany 9.8%. On the export ...the United States took 9.2%, the United Kingdom ...Japan 15% and Germany 4.4% of total Indian ...ts.

India has enjoyed a favourable trade balance for the ...several years; its export being sizeably in excess of ...imports. While the total value of Indian exports has ...running 15% to 20% in excess of its total value of ...the excess margin of exports or imports from the ...States has been considerably greater, and has ...as high as 40%, in one year it reached 58%. In ...words, India buys about two-thirds as much from ...United States as she sells to the United States.

Being an agricultural and raw material producing ...country, exports of raw material account for more than ...half of total Indian exports. Food beverages, ...tobacco and semi-manufactured goods constitute the ...bulk. On the other hand, imports of manufactured ...goods represent nearly three-fourths the value of total ...imports. United States principal exports to India have ...been manufactured goods, and Indian exports to America ...have been largely raw material and commodities, with ...finished goods playing only a minor part. India, ...in to develop its economic resources, is interested in ...American machinery, electrical and agricultural, automobiles and finished goods, and willing to ship raw materials so useful and important to industrial enterprises here. The natural conditions in both countries are such that trade possibilities could be further exploited without any conflict of interest.

Distribution of Imports and Exports

On the basis of 1936 trade statistics, the latest available, imports from the United States to India consisted of the following principal items:

	in $1,000	% of Total Imports
Machinery ..	$6 406	20.6
Autos & Trucks ..	5.320	17.1
Lubricating Oil ..	3,212	10.3
Hardware ..	997	3.2
Canned food and provisions ..	689	2.2
Leather goods ..	652	2.1

Other articles of relatively less importance were tires, copper, zinc, patent medicines, coal-tar dyes stationery, wearing apparel, paints and colors. The importance of India as a potential market for American products can be better appreciated by examining the proportion which she received from the United States in relation to total imports. In 1936, India imported machinery of all kinds to the amount of $63,290,000 and only 10% came from this country. Of the total value of automobiles and buses shipped to India, approximately 40% originated from the United States. Hardware, tools and cutlery from America accounted for less than 8% of the total value of imports of these articles. Of the many other lines which India imports heavily—textile piecegoods, raw cotton, yarn and fabric, paper and cardboard, iron and steel, rubber goods and chemicals—representing nearly two-thirds of the total imports, only a negligible portion comes from the United States. In these fields especially, India offers the greatest fertile field for expansion of the American market.

The bulk of exports from India to the United States consists of raw material, and among the conspicuous items are:

(1936 figures)

	$1.000	% of Total
Jute burlap	$30,002	48
Jute raw	5.071	8
Goat skins and hides ..	5.505	9
Lac	3,076	5
Cashew nuts and fruits ..	3.711	6
Raw cotton	2.604	4
Tea	1,473	2
Mica	1,047	2

With the exception of Jute burlap and goat skins, exports of Indian commodities to the United States again represent only a small portion of total exports.

In the past few years there have been little changes in the shipment of individual items. The chief articles of trade have remained the same, showing variation in increases or decreases, except that volume of raw cotton, kerosene oil, tubing, piping and fittings have experienced a declining trend, while demand for lubricating oil has been steadily rising.

American Investment in India

The total value of American direct investment in foreign countries at the end of 1936 was estimated at $6,700,000 of which very little has been invested in India. It seems that most of the American investment has been centered in countries like Canada, South and Central

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Americas, and the United Kingdom, all closely situated to the United States. India, in my opinion, offers equally great opportunities for the employment of capital. She has enjoyed a stable government under British influence, and much capital is needed to exploit her natural resources, and to build up communications, utilities, and other service enterprises. Of note has been the interest of American and Foreign Power Company in several important Indian public utility properties.

It has not been possible in this brief paper and time allotted to discuss trends of Indian trade with the United States at length, but it is hoped that this brief summary may contribute something to the purpose of this conference. The statistical evidence supports the belief that much could be done to develop and promote trade relations between the two countries, and there is a need for compilation and dissemination of information on trade opportunities in the two countries.

AMERICAN EXPRESS COMPANY AND TOURIST TRADE TO INDIA

By Mr. RALPH E. TOWLE

Vice-President, American Express Company

If I may, I will speak on the subject dear to me and to you in regard to India in travel and transportation. It is a subject in which the American Express Company is chiefly interested, in spite of the fact that we do a large banking and international trade of a highly specialized sort. I am old enough to remember when there was in this city of New York the first "Round the World" Club with a very limited membership. Only those could become members who had proof that they had the courage to completely encircle the globe. That is not so very long ago. Today, tens of thousands of Americans could join the club, if that were the only requisite of membership. This happened within my lifetime and yours.

It was in 1921 that the American Express Company operated the first cruise which completely encircled the world. This was on the steamer *Laconia* that left from the Port of New York. Following 1921, we began to operate annual cruises around the world for seven or eight years.

The next was the Steamer *Franconia;* then the *Belgium Land* of the Red Star line. These boats touched Calcutta, Columbo and Bombay on their way around the world.

If the American Express Company in that way had anything to do with a change of trend in travel for pleasure and business in India, I am very happy. I want to pause to pay tribute to a great name and a great man, who on his own name, his own courage established a fortnightly ship for passengers around the World, Robert Dollar. It meant a great deal, I am sure to India. I want to thank those who are Indian citizens here for the co-operation and consideration they have shown to their country. We have three offices in your country, Ceylon (if we may call the Island of Ceylon a part of India), Calcutta and Bombay. You have been very kind to recognize the sky-blue money of the American Express Company, for which you always seem willing to give your money in exchange for the name of American Express on our bills.

We have a great interest in sending tourists and travellers to India. We have gone so far as to transfer one of our Indian Managers, Mr. Wilson, to our London branch, in order to establish an Indian Travel Dept., thus enabling each and every traveller to hear all about India. He has lived for many years in India, and holds offices. His only duty these days is to increase tra India.

We have just completed a thorough survey of all transportation and other facilities and sights of India the traveller. These facts have been brought down to in one very large document and distributed throughout the world showing that anyone in any part of the may have all the information they desire on India. had hoped to meet the new trade commissioner tonight, and tell him how anxious the American Company is to work with him, and also hoped would like America well enough to invite his friends India to come and visit America.

COMMERCIAL POSSIBILITIES BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By Mr. C. G. HOGG

General Motor Overseas Corporation

I feel honoured by the invitation to be your tonight and to have the opportunity of speaking on relations between India and the United States.

When I consider the present chaotic condition the world in general, with certain nations apparently doing all in their power to endanger peaceful relations with their neighbors, it is a pleasure indeed to have opportunity to be one of a gathering whose object promote an ever-increasing flow of trade both between two great nations.

In international commerce, just as in our dealings with each other domestically, reciprocity is essential to the smooth flow of trade. International commerce cannot flow down a one way street for very long nation can isolate itself and live in comfort.

Mr. Cordell Hull, Secretary of State, has taught much in this regard. Mr. Hull has always been in of the peaceful and profitable exchange of goods between nations. When he came into office he set about into practice the theories he held for some twenty years, and turned to the task of building up our trade. Free intercourse between nations is his goal.

If the standards of living in the countries of world are to rise to a higher plane, then the products these countries must be easily available to each other.

Having spent some years in India, it is extremely interesting to me to be associated even for a brief or two, with the affairs of that great country. Speaking the languages as I do and knowing as I do conditions as they exist there, I appreciate the necessity improvement—a great improvement—in the standard living of the masses in the cities and towns and particularly in the villages.

Rather than launch into a discussion on agreements and reciprocal trade programs, I would to talk about some of the circumstances that might be used to create more trade between India and United States. I would like to speak as one extremely interested in the welfare of India and as a business man, looking for business opportunities would result in benefit to both countries.

It is by being in close contact with other and nations that the masses in India will be educated desire the better things of life and just as the father to the thought, so is the thought parent act.

Looking back down the years, one finds that

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tions were the vehicle for the transfer of ideas and ds in modes of living. Nation learned from nation well as bought from each other the good things of and it is to consider how this objective may be best ered between our respective countries, that we are

In this regard, one thing above others occurs to me. ing a free trader myself, I naturally think of respresen- e, we, in India, and India here.

A great stride has been made in this direction, even the last few days. I refer to the arrival of Malik to these United States as Indian Trades missioner. I am in no position to know how many ian business houses have offices or agents here, but is indeed gratifying to see India appoint a Trades missioner to our country.

Although we are apt, when considering international merce, to have in mind the big staple products, such cotton, rice, iron and so forth, there are many other ucts of the soil that may become of importance in rnational trade. For instance, I was sailing down Malabar Coast in one of those small steamers—the ssarty, or the *Parvatty*,—I just forget which, when t a young American. He told me he was interested the collection of Caju nuts and Cocoanut kernels to shipped to the United States. He said he saw a future for this business. Some years afterwards, I n met him and found that he was exporting Caju and Cocoanuts from India to the United States in e quantities. Factories for the roasting and husking the Caju nuts and shelling and drying the cocoanut nels had been established along the coast, and many ple were employed in the work. This new activity ubtedly brought prosperity to the neighborhoods re the factories are located and increased the chasing powers of the communities involved. Here concrete case of how trade with the United States ed, a practically new industry, and benefited both ries. The cocoanut, I believe, is sold in this country desiccated form and the Caju nuts as we know, are popular as an item of food. There must be many cases scattered through the length and breadth of land.

I recall that his Highness the Maharajah of Mysore been very progressive in the matter of establishing industries in his State. On the occasion of one of visits to the State of Mysore, I happened to arrive shortly after his Highness' private secretary returned a leave in England. It appears during his in England, he had noticed certain children's toys ered for sale. They were cut from thin pieces of d gaily painted to represent Fairy Tale and other es, such as "John Bull" and mounted on pedestals. y were simple but very effective in appearance. Knowing the capabilities of the Mysorian carpenters, Highness' Secretary purchased some of these figures samples and brought them back to Mysore. He showed the figures that had been cut and finished by the rian workmen, and I must say that they were in y way equal to the samples. Other figures represen- personalities of interest in India, such as the rian "John Bull"—I just forget the very well fed leman's name,—were added to the line to meet l choice.

Here is a case where a foreign market was found, h an Indian product could fill. Unfortunately I know whether these figures were ever exported from h in quantities, but I don't see why they should not

A business might well be developed from so small a thing and if many such businesses could be developed and their products exported, to me it seems a better thing than having one's eggs all in one basket, so to speak, by depending entirely upon the exporting of staple products with their ever-fluctuating prices. During my travels, I often used to wonder why certain commodities were not produced in greater quantities and exported to our country.

Take tea for instance, some years ago; during my visit to the Nilgiris, I have talked to tea planters about the possibility of importing tea into this country, specifically for the purpose of making iced tea, for, as we all know, iced tea is a very popular beverage in this country during the summer-time, and great quantities of tea could well be used in the making of iced tea. On one occasion, I had the good fortune to meet a gentleman who was an official in either a tea-growers' organization or a Government commission, I forget which, to do with the advancing of Indian tea interests, and I also had a long chat with him on the same subject and he was very interested. Not that I for one moment believe that any of these very casual conversations of mine have had anything to do with it, but it is of interest to me to note that the tea growers of India are now staging a big campaign in this country along those very lines.

I tell this story to stress the point that I have been and am trying to make, which is the necessity for Indian merchants to be as aggressive as their Western brothers in the matter of advertising and campaigning, for I firmly believe that other things being equal, India can achieve more in the way of reciprocal trade with the United States by these methods than any others.

India produces good rugs. I know that because I own some, and since there is a ready market in these United States for rugs, it seems to me that here at least there is an item that could be investigated and probably profitably. True some Indian rugs are sold in this country, but many of them are of inferior quality, such as "Numdahs."

In India I found very shrewd and able merchants who had for generations been importing into India the things that are necessary to Indian life. I came across a few exporters of products other than cotton, rice, and the big items, but not many.

While visiting Trichinopoly, where I went many times, I inquired of the cigar manufacturers there why they did not export. They told me their difficulty lay in the fact that there were many small concerns making cigars, but that there was not one really large manufacturer amongst them. I am convinced, conditions such as these exist in other industries, and it seems to me that much of India's foreign trade problem will need to be tackled right in India itself.

We know that Indian workmen, properly trained and provided with modern tools and machines, can produce good work and good products, and though there are diverse opinions on the advisability of industrializing a people, I, for one, think that within reasonable limits it is a great benefit to any country.

To launch an enterprise of this character, even after the product and the market have been found and fitted, if it be rugs we are considering, much work is necessary in the way first of educating the public to the fact that Persia does not have a right to pre-eminence for India too produces good rugs. It would then be necessary to create in the public mind an Indian rug consciousness, so that when rugs were mentioned, Indian rugs would come to mind. This would need to be done through systematic advertising in American Journals, establishing distributors in this country, who in turn, would place the commodity

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with the retailers, in brief, as we would term it, a complete merchandising organization.

Now this may sound somewhat fanciful and these words may appear to be those of a person who has not given much thought to the subject under reference, but believe me gentlemen, this is not so, and I know that unless we engender in our minds some definite plan and set for ourselves a goal that is really worthwhile—we shall achieve little.

I must make myself clear and say, that notwithstanding these high ambitions I speak of, I fully realize that we must walk before we run and this organization would need to be built up slowly and with thought and composed of carefully selected men, each of whom would not only need to be an expert in this line, but would also need to be fired with that eminently necessary quality which we call enthusiasm.

It seems to me that to effectively establish lasting and ever-increasing commercial intercourse, it will be necessary to have a very well-thought out plan of campaign. I visualize an organization here, studying the American markets, trying to find out how many of its needs India could well supply. An organization in India studying availability of material, both staple products and manufactured articles and then these two organizations working in such close cooperation, that the staff in India would know the kind of market open to them and would keep the Indian staff in the U. S. informed as to the possibility of their supplying the commodities for which there seemed possibilities.

I know that it is easy to stand here and suggest that, this, that or the other be done to achieve a certain objective, and the fact that I have lived in India makes this knowledge all the more significant to me, but I do say that no matter what we essay to do, must necessarily spring from small beginnings, and be carried on to completion through the many stops that business grows.

India is so full of years and wisdom, she has a civilization at least as old as that of ancient Egypt, and a philosophy that has been found to fill not only the needs of our own people, but those of many foreigners. It is therefore not easy for a westerner to essay to give advice to the East and I make these suggestions with due reservation. It would seem that some industrialization, some departure from the now prevalent method of doing business in a restricted and in many cases family manner toward business on a bigger scale, might do a great deal toward the improvement of Indian foreign trade.

NEW PRINCIPLES IN THE PROMOTION OF INDO-AMERICAN TRADE

By Dr. VAMAN R. KOKATNUR

Autoxygen, Inc.

Introduction

I am very happy to be able to participate in this conference. My pleasure is doubled as I have interests in both countries. I was born in India, but I am a naturalized American citizen. As an American I am naturally interested in the promotion of American trade with India. As a son of India I am deeply solicitous of the welfare of the land of my birth. It is exceedingly fortunate that the two countries which are so intimately related to me are on such friendly terms. I feel proud that India, the most ancient democracy of the world, and the United States, the modern leader of democratic ideals, are meeting together on the same platform to discuss mutual trade relations. If I did not believe that the development of commercial relations between the two countries contributed greatly to the peace of the world and to the enrichment of the two countries that are dear to my heart, I would be reluctant to take active part in tonight's proceedings.

My approach to the subject is not that of a practical business man. Although I have had considerable contact with certain aspects of trade, it is as an industrial chemist and a research worker that I undertake to present some new principles for promoting trade between India and America. It may be unnecessary to speak of the importance of trade relations between the two countries. Suffice it to say that India is one of the largest importing countries, only second in importance to the highly industrialized countries of the West, namely, England, Germany, United States and France. Although India is on a par with countries like Italy, Belgium, Holland, Japan and Canada in her world trade, Indo-American trade relations are not on a par with America's trade relations with Belgium, Holland, Italy and Canada.

While the increasing trade relations of the two countries prove that India needs American products and her market, and that America needs products of India and her vast but still unexplored market, a great deal still needs to be done if the trade relations of the two countries are to be at all commensurate with the potentialities.

I propose to outline briefly certain suggestions for the construction of an Indo-American trade bridge that will serve well today and with timely improvements will serve the future even better.

Preface

In my treatment of the subject I will deal mainly with three topics:

I. Indo-American Trade should be promoted on Mutual or Reciprocal Lines.

II. Although all the factors involved in trade promotion must of necessity be considered, certain factors are of greater importance than others in reciprocal trade promotion.

III. The lines which both countries should follow for effective and profitable reciprocal trade promotion.

I

Trade relations between countries are either built by natural forces operating between them, or deliberately moulded to fulfill certain definite objectives. Up till now only the natural forces operating between the two countries have been for the most part responsible for the Indo-American trade.

Historical study of international trade and commerce will show two definitely marked tendencies.

Up to the latter part of the 18th century the trade of the world was based primarily on the principle of "laisse-faire" exchange. Up to this time the principles of "give and take," played the prominent role. The trade during this time followed the path of least resistance. No paritcular effort was made either to promote it or discourage it. Whichever country had the excess of commodities was willing to exchange her excess for commodities she did not possess.

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution international trade has taken a new turn. This has been characterized by deliberate planning, the profit motive and the application of force backed by financial, military or political strength. There has been a seeming disregard of the principle of exchange as well as the principle of "live and not live." This has given rise to many things such as competition, subsidies, tariff walls, economic upheavals

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troubles, etc. Dictatorships have undoubtedly due to the necessity of enforcing means for nomic nationalism and national self-sufficiency. These have been particularly aggravated during the last decades. But at last we are beginning to see some of remedying, partially at least, this unfortunate situation. Our distinguished Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, following the "good neighbor" policy President Roosevelt, has introduced a refreshing idea ternational trade policy. This is popularly known "theory of reciprocal trade relations." Although it likely to be misunderstood in some quarters, it is ent question an outstanding contribution in this

The European countries, not being self-sufficient in ources, have been compelled to push their trade by or unfair means, into international markets. nately, the United States has ample resources in culture, forest products and minerals. This has to the United States trade policy a liberal trend. this reason the American point of view on trade is different from that of the European countries.

Reciprocal trade relations are based on the exchange products having their origin in natural complementary ences in resources. When blessed with such a tionship neither nation steps on the toes of the other. two countries are competing to sell the same modity to each other, due perhaps to certain advan- of subsidy, lower wage standard, lower price level, ess monopoly, etc., conflicting interests are certain to ip. This may lead to retaliatory measures, shifting nomic balance, depressions, dictatorships, and even war. We all know how the center of gravity of world omics and finance shifted from London to New York the end of the World War.

To have reciprocal trade, the countries must have re- ces of men and material so differentiated that they are plementary, that is, for complete trade each should the resources of the other. Although no absolutely situations are to be expected, the greater the number complementary resources between the two countries, greater the possibility of reciprocal trade relations. India and America each requires for complete what the other possesses in complementary ces. No other two countries are so similar in n resources and yet so complementary in others, as United States and India.

II

If we wish to increase this trade relationship without ing the beaten path, and plan deliberately for rocal trade relations, we must study some of these ors.

Without attempting a long enumeration of the various ors, I will mention just a few that seem to me the important:

1. The effect of relative industrialisation of the two countries upon each other

The high industrial development of America, on the hand, and India's lack of industrialization, on the make the two countries complementary to each other. India's vast population and her consequent home tself, automatically set a limit on her export of ain commodities such as sugar, cotton, iron, food- etc. India requires these common resources for own consumption. Even if she wanted to export them, lacks the necessary manufacturing skill as well as the tal. Although India is nationalistically inclined and determined on industrial expansion, this need create no fear. In fact, this will create an expanding market for equipment goods such as industrial, transportation, power, plantation, engineering, etc.

2. The possible nationalistic barriers such as tariff walls, economic policies, etc.

While India has a tariff, it makes no distinction between one country and another. From this standpoint India remains to this day a country of free market.

3. Cultural differences and their effect

From the traditional standpoint all other political philosophies except that of democracy, are foreign to India. American ideals have made a greater imprint upon India than upon any other foreign country, due to the common English language as well as training and experience of many Indians in America. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington are better known in India than perhaps in any other foreign country, be it in Asia, Africa or Europe. For these reasons direct American representation in India would be desirable and helpful.

4. Certain business traditions and their effect

Certain set ways of carrying on business in India are in general foreign to American methods. The managing agency system and conducting import business on "Indent" seem to be definitely under discard, due to impact of American business methods carried by Indians trained in America.

5. Traditional customs and ways of thought and their effect on export advertising

In this connection Carl Crowe's book "Four Hundred Million Clients" comes to mind. India is a vegetarian country and yet I recall an American firm advertising its bakery goods as containing the finest triple-pressed stearin. If idioms and trends of thought are not understood, export advertising becomes very ineffective.

This brings to my mind an instance in which the entire meaning of an idiom was changed after being translated into Japanese and re-translated into English. The idiom was "Out of sight, out of mind." This was translated into English by a Japanese to read "Unseen is insane."

6. Life habits and their effect on commodity shifts

One can easily see the difficulty of selling a large volume of tooth paste to India which has used from the remotest antiquity the shoots of certain trees to clean teeth. Although India buys over $10,000,000 worth of drugs it would be difficult to increase the sales of endocrine products because of India's prejudice to animal products.

7. The differing effects of conflicting and complementary resources, human or material

Although India and America possess certain conflicting common resources, due to the high industrial development of America and to India's vast home demand, these resources become complementary instead of conflicting, as shown in my discussion on the effect of the relative industrialization of the two countries upon each other.

Although comparatively little serious study has been given to the effects of these factors on mutual trade relations, it seems to me that no thinking person can take successful issue to my thesis that India and America meet quite fully—perhaps as fully as any two countries—

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these requirements for successful, mutually profitable trade relations.

III

India and America are ideally situated for reciprocal trade. In the development of the milling, sugar, canning and steel industries, and in the development of the manufacture of chemicals, America can be very helpful to India. India's gratitude for this help will be America's best guarantee against competition in products based on common resources.

India has been blessed more graciously by Providence in natural monopolies than any other country in the world. Compared with Canada's nickel and cobalt, America's helium, Russia's platinum, Brazil's coffee, China's antimony, Malay States' tin, India has the world's monopoly in jute, shellac, castor beans, monazite, mica, sandalwood oil, rubies, sapphires and tea, and virtual monopolies in manganese, chromite, magnasite, graphite, tannin-producing materials, crude drugs, coconut oil, etc.

If India wants to improve her trade relations with America with economy and least resistance, she should follow the reciprocal line of trading based on complementary resources.

In her program of industrialization India should devote greater attention to the production of semi-finished or finished products in her international trade. For example, she may find it profitable to export chromium steels, ferro-manganese and other ferro alloys instead of selling as at present, the raw ores. Or again, she may profitably extract oils from such raw products as castor beans, sesame, safflower, for export. In general, the aim should be to export only such raw materials as cannot be utilized either for domestic consumption, or for profitable processing at home. India has already followed this procedure in at least three commodities: jute, shellac and cashew nuts.

India should attempt to control her exports to the United States in such a way that they conform to the tastes, fashions and traditions prevalent in America. As a wealthy country, the United States requires luxury items, delicacies in foods, and unusual artistic products that have taste in color and line. America should offer a great field for the export of tropical fruits and vegetables both preserved and fresh. The fragrant rice of India, canned green chick peas, safflower oil, special nuts like the cashew and bibba, special preserves from cashew fruit, custard apple, mangoes and avala, canned shevagas, pickles, chutneys, perfumes from Kevada, vetivirt, mogra, jasmin, ashoka, champaka, etc. should open a profitable export field.

America is developed along manufacturing lines, while India has developed, from antiquity, in handicraft. India's handicrafts are finding a profitable outlet in American trade. India should devote greater attention to exporting these handicrafts catering to American taste.

Sialkot in Punjab has special resources in men and materials in producing sport goods. The Sialkot Importing Company has done pioneernig work in the introduction of the Sialkot sport goods to America. The line appears to offer splendid prospects for the future.

As to America's part in the promotion of mutually profitable trade, it would seem to me that the danger of future misunderstanding can be avoided almost completely by a policy of frank assistance in the industrialization of India, for this can be done in such a way that America will earn the eternal gratitude of India and be sure of mutual co-operation. As an example of this kind of co-operation the enterprise of General Foods in the introduction of India's cashew nuts to America is worthy of note. If more companies follow in the footsteps of General Foods, both America and India will benefit thereby.

Without resort to aggressive methods and following the "good neighbor" policy, the United States has achieved second place in some of India's imports.

The fact that America is fourth or fifth in her exports to India in things where she should be the first or second, clearly proves this non-aggressive policy between the two countries. The United States is foremost in the development of textiles, hardware, steel, electrical and metal-working machinery, rolling stock, scientific instruments, sport goods, glass, drugs and pharmaceuticals, dyes, chemicals, paints, soap, toilet requisites, paper and petroleum products. She could well afford to hold the first place in India's importation of these. Except in toilet requisites, metal-working machinery and soap, she holds fourth or fifth place in India's imports. The fact that Japan and Germany and even Belgium and Italy should supplant the United States in some of these products, is a sad irony in Indo-American trade relations. In view of facilities of language, training, experience and political institutions, there is no reason why America should not take a place at least second to England in India's trade.

MERCHANDISING INDIA'S PRODUCTS IN AMERICA

By Mr. J. A. KEILLOR

Vice-President, B. Altman & Company

There is probably no great country in the world that is so little known to the average American merchant as India. I am looking over the guests: I see that there is a sufficient number with thinning hair to know that they completed their studies in the last part of the century, who if they had looked at the map of Africa would have seen great spaces marked undiscovered. And yet, in the Atlas of the average American merchant, it is still unexplored, and it is little wonder. It was a long way off. It seems but yesteryear that I took 17 delightful days from Trieste to Bombay, and only a few days ago, you and I sat with bated breath in front of the radio while a little group went around the world in 3½ days.

India is no longer remote. But, we must understand one another and one must understand what the other wants. It is not my province to say what India wants of us; but I can still hear the laments of the Bombay merchants who received a shipment of raisins packed in cardboard boxes during the monsoon season. Perhaps you and me have been in the great Bazaar on the day of the arrival of the Caravan from Tival. If you have done so, you have a memory that will live with you forever. But ladies and gentlemen, glorious as that memory may be, it is not the bazaar merchandise that is going to make the growth in trade. It is an understanding of what the people here want, and create merchandise suitable to this market that in itself is a long drawn task, but one that is filled with the joy of accomplishment.

We can market goods from India. We should every year with the seasons to bring an understanding of what is wanted here, and have it developed, and after long, long patient years be successful in results.

Take the textile industry: It is in fields like the cardinacs. As I sat and listened while the speaker

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matter of his clay, I couldn't help but think of the industry developed in Czechoslovakia and that are not working so hard today. This is the of India. The great exports of India will always materials, and millions of Rupees of manufactured that can be sent to this country. But, it avails if the colors are not fast. It is of no avail ladies here to have beautiful luncheon sets, that taken us a long time to design, to have them run the wash.

There has been more set backs from various parts the World than you have any idea. The aim is not the price down, but the quality up.

There are many markets of this world closed today. I point out to you, is a great opportunity for

TTON TRADE BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA

By Mr. C. THACKAR

Member, Bombay Cotton Exchange

It is with a feeling of great pleasure that I address as representatives of business; which has become problematical question of this modern world. I very appreciate such opportunities and that, too, in this country of America amongst its good business

Anyone who happens to travel through various lands be impressed how free international business spirit capable of creating world-wide co-operation and peace. ideal, to which I wish to call your attention, should cultivated zealously for the future prosperity of this anced world. Now we are passing through the age quent world business depressions; and to our mind "too much machinery" is responsible for it, which fear is a serious problem before the world, and the solution for it, as we believe lies in co-operation of the nations of the present "distrust" world.

Now to be frank I must admit that our big country lies undeveloped with every scope of immense pro- in every direction. As a result of my saying this, rally the question arises that why so much behind. this, painfully I have to say that Indian commerce industry is still controlled by the ruling power to its own ends. At the same time, it gives me pleasure disclose before you freedom-loving people, that a ment of great international significance is going on India with Mahatma Gandhi at our head, and it will be long before the Indian commerce and industry spread to enrich the commercial world.

In the first place, India is fighting a peaceful battle gain her independence from a foreign power which has her for a long time out of the community of free tions. The all 350,000,000 people of India are not becoming conscious of their sovereign political rights, also they are anxious to increase their contact and intercourse with the rest of the world. This will ulti- mean a systematic exchange of cultural thought well as increased commercial relations with other tions.

And, in the second place, India is sending her re- sentatives as unofficial ambassadors to other countries with a definite aim to study their conditions and to gain her good-will. Now we are sure in due course of time will participate in the councils of the world to make contribution for the advancement of business.

Now coming to my own business "cotton" and its relations with the world, I am happy to say that America stands at the head not only in cotton but many more factors and leads the business world. India stands next as a cotton-growing country having its average production nearly 6,000,000 bales every year. Your country imports our cotton several hundred bales every year and we also import your several hundred thousand in spite of we both are big cotton-growing countries.

Our agricultural methods are still very poor; and labor inefficient. For improved cultivation we look to this country and like to carry away modern equipments to enrich our soils and growths. Up till now we have only 350 textile mills producing cloth, 85% of our requirements, but as a matter of fact, the majority of our population is still without proper clothing and as we advance, would probably require three times the number of textile industries and so the great scope of importing machinery is still there. If we do not do this we shall have to allow imports of cloth to fulfill our increasing demands. Japan is our common cotton export market but having different varieties we have no competition there with American export.

Our other products are wheat, rice, jute, tea, tobacco and so on.

American automobiles and radios are very popular in India and an overwhelming demand will be forthcoming as we advance. As an Indian business man, I feel it is my duty to remind you that the benefits of free trade and co-operation, much as we understand them, are as old as Indian civilization. But, unfortunately, the influence of Hindu culture has not been sufficiently felt by the west. At the same time, we feel that with the genuine co-operation of business nations, we shall popularize Indian commerce.

General Discussion :

At the end of Mr. Thackar's speech a general discussion followed in the light of the addresses delivered by various speakers.

Mr. S. Anhalt of National Drapery Association emphasised the importance of India's having an exhibit in the World's Fair in New York. It was suggested that several of the merchants get together to further the interest of private merchants in an exhibit. In this connection India's art and culture should not be forgotten. Mr. K. C. Ghose reminded the gathering that inasmuch as other types of fibres and paper are cutting into jute and burlap business it is high time that the Jute Mill Owners Association and Jute and Burlap Shippers Association engage in research to find other uses of jute and to increase consumption. He would also like to remind the industrialists in India that since America changes its factory equipments oftener than any other nations a buyer of second-hand machineries would get a better bargain in the United States both as to quality and price. Mr. Hogue of General Motors and several members, both from India and the United States, felt that Secretary Hull's trade policies and the presence of Mr. Malik will be of great help in the solution of problems as outlined and discussed during the evening. The following resolutions, as representing the sense of the gathering, were passed :

Resolution No. 1. This conference held under the auspices of the Indo-American Association of Commerce, welcomes the First Trade Commissioner of India to North America, Mr. Hardit Singh Malik, and offers its cordial greetings and pledges its co-operation.

Moved by—Mr. B. V. Mukerji, Secy. Indo-American Assoc. of Commerce.

Seconded by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.

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Resolution No. 2. Be it resolved that approach should be made to proper authorities to remove discriminatory trade barriers between the U. S. A. and India, and to start negotiations for a new reciprocal trade treaty between the two countries to carry out the principles of Open Door.

Moved by—Mr. C. G. Hogg, Sr., General Motors Overseas Corp.

Seconded by—Mr. H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Company, Inc.

Resolution No. 3. Be it resolved that a committee be formed for the purpose of engaging in research work covering the presenet tariff situation and along the lines of reciprocal trade agreement between India and America, with the following members constituting the committee :

1. Mr. S. Anhalt, National Drapery Association.
2. „ L. F. Blenheim, the United Agencies Corp.
3. „ John F. Chapman, Foreign Editor, "Business Week."
4. „ N. R. Checker, Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.
5. „ K. N. Ghose.
6. „ C. G. Hogue, General Motors Overseas Corp.
7. „ H. K. Rakhit, Sogani & Co., Inc.

Names of the Business Concerns and their representatives who attended the conference :

1. Allied Purchasing Corporation—Mr. J. W. Cance.
2. Altman, B. & Co.—Mr. J. A. Keillor, Mr. Milton S. Klein.
3. American Exporter—Mr. Franklin Johnston.
4. American Express Co.—Mr. Ralph E. Towle.
5. Automobile Manufacturer's Association—Mr. Joseph A. Jones.
6. Autoxygen, Inc.—Dr. V. R. Kokatnur.
7. Baldwin Locomotive Co—Mr. J. Remix.
8. Birla Bros. Ltd. New York Office—Mr. Simon Swerling.
9. Bombay Bullion Exchange Ltd.—Mr. C. S. Thakar.
10. Calco Chemical Co. Inc.—Mr. J. L. Clark.
11. Checker Brothers, New York, Bombay—Dr. B. V. Mukherji.
12. Dayton Price & Co.—Mr. H. H. Hort.
13. Electro-Chemical Industries Ltd.—Mr. N. [illegible] Chowdhury.
14. Export Trade and Shipper—Mr. W. R. Bick[illegible]
15. Fairchild Aviation, Inc.—Mr. C. A. Harris[illegible]
16. Furs, Skins Merchants—Mr. G. J. Sawal.
17. General Electric International Co.—Mr. F. [illegible] Callahan, Mr. H. C. Maher.
18. General Motors Overseas Corporation—Mr. C. [illegible] Hogg.
19. General Shaver Corp. (Remington-Rand)—[illegible] William Moss.
20. George E. Mallison Importing Co.
21. German Department Commerce, New York—[illegible] Herbert Gross.
22. Gondrand Shipping Co. Inc.—Mr. K. N. Gh[illegible]
23. Heeramaneck Galleries—Mr. C. Heeramaneck.
24. Indo-Persian Fine Arts Co.—Mr. N. R. Check[illegible]
25. Industrial Plants Corporation—Mr. Paul [illegible] Lowinger.
26. Kenyon Importing Co. Inc.—Mr. C. F. Bedign[illegible]
27. Lambert Pharmacal Co.—Mr. R. Clairmont.
28. Manufacturer's Trust Co.—Mr. Jack O'Hall[illegible] Mr. J. Patterson.
29. National Assoc. of Manufacturers of U. S. A.—M[illegible] B. H. Horchler.
30. National Drapery Association—Mr. S. Anhalt.
31. National Export Advertising—Mr. Paul Krum[illegible]
32. New York Trade Sugar Laboratory—Dr. F. [illegible] Zerban.
33. Sialkot Importing Corporation—Mr. J. R. Vad[illegible]
34. Sogani & Co. Inc.—Mr. H. K. Rakhit.
35. Studebaker Export Corporation—Mr. D. J. Elm[illegible]
36. United Agencies Corporation—Mr. R. [illegible] Daugherty, Mr. L. E. Blenheim.
37. U. S. Steel Products Corporation—Mr. M. [illegible] Borrison.
38. Westinghouse Electric International Corp.—[illegible] I. F. Baker.
39. Woman's Wear Daily—Mr. Edward Atkin[illegible] Mr. Lewis.

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POSITION OF INDIAN MERCHANTS IN AMERICA

By RAMLAL B. BAJPAI

s position of Indian merchants in America humiliating and disgraceful. An Indian chant is not allowed to acquire real estate ings in California, or to become an erican citizen. On the one hand he is pro- ted in the state of California from entering a marriage contract with a native-born erican and on the other hand not allowed bring an Indian wife into this country. All s in spite of an Indian investment running hundreds of thousands of dollars in erica, Indian merchants live here like ists who must leave this country after a stipulated stay. And yet the Secretary the Indian Government, pocketing a salary er than that of any member of the American inet, derived from the taxation of poor ians, has persistently side-tracked this entous issue of making official representa- and protest to the American Government behalf of Indian merchants wishing to trade America.

The appointment of commissions to look such matters, conferring fat-salaried posts Englishmen and a few selected Indians, and ting to the favourable balance of trade yed by India in her dealings with the U. S., are standard alibis to stall off any effort direct action in the matter.

If similar treatment was accorded to Bri- merchants or for that matter to the chants of any other civilized nation and r accredited government agents or councils failed to protest or to bring about honour- adjustment of trade relations with the S. A., a Cabinet crisis would arise resulting the demand by those nationals for the signation not of one member but of the whole inet. The representative who is paid sump- usly out of the taxes collected from the poor dian people, however, sleeps undisturbed over iniquitous treatment accorded to Indian chants by the Washington Government.

There is reason to suspect that since about per cent of the business between India and U. S. A. is directly in the hands of British chants it is to their advantage that such itions and odds against Indians in America tinue to prevail. If a new agreement is e on just and honourable terms, a larger share of trade would go into the hands of Indian and American merchants.

Will not the members of the Legislative Assembly, Chamber of Commerce, Indian National Congress, and President Subhas Chandra Bose stir the Indian Government to take immediate action to negotiate a new trade treaty between India and America and thus help to lift this stumbling-block in the way of Indians wishing to engage in normal commercial relations with the American people?

The Indian people have great confidence in men like Mr. Ghanashyamdas Birla, Walchund Heera Chand, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, Bhulabhai Desai, Satyamurti, Kumarappa and others from Congress. If an official delegation of such representative and reliable persons were sent to represent the Indian people and their Government to the U. S. A., it would be possible for such a delegation to study actual conditions and opportunities here and to undertake negotiations for furthering commercial relations between India and America.

Scholars like Dr. Taraknath Das, Mr. S. G. Pandit, Attorney-at-Law, Principal Shanker Rao Gokhale, retired consulting engineer for the General Electric Co., and Mr. Maganlal S. Dave, Vice-President of the newly formed Indian Chamber of Commerce of America, and others will co-operate and benefit the delegation by a knowledge of the situation gained from years of study and experience.

It is obvious in this day and year of disturbed international balance that imperialists while striving to perpetuate their stronghold upon defenceless peoples, and dictators are busy forging new chains for enslaving humanity once more, leaders of the Indian National Congress and other enlightened persons interested in India's economic reconstruction should take all possible steps to establish direct trade relationship with the U. S. A.

India cannot make headway unless and until artificial trade restrictions placed upon her merchants are removed, and all normal avenues of commercial intercourse are opened to her. Both India and the U. S. A. stand to gain by mutual understanding and co-operation.

New York.

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FUTURE AND GANDHISM,—AND WHAT THEN MUST WE DO?

By X

While the twentieth century has been a witness to the greatest display of violence on wide areas, on unprecedented scales, it has also witnessed the emergence of non-violence as an active and dynamic force in the shaping of the history of a nation. While the school of violence camouflaged as Fascism is out to proclaim that "Life is essentially appropriation, conquest of the weak, suppression, incorporation and exploitation"—a plea for spiritualization of politics or economics, and of the very springs of human activity is put forth with singular simplicity and beauty by a Man who is content to give it no higher name than his Experiments with Truth. Thus Militarism, Class-war and Profiteerism stalk a world whose only hope lies in the predominance of the fear of losing what has been gained, over the desire to gain more, in its dictators. The dawn of Gandhism in such a world of warring nations and interests has arrested attention and compelled admiration. What will be the future? Will the seeds of non-violence sown in a remote corner of the world by a saintly man and fostered by his limited followers, be shrivelled by this terrific world-temperature, or will non-violence grow and spread by its all-conquering strength?—this question is before the thinking men all over the world, but we in India who have been privileged to see the saintly sower taking infinite pains and nurse the seedlings against enormous odds that seem to rise out of the stuff of human nature itself, can and ought to answer with hope and faith. And faith and hope and prayer of millions are just the requisites needed for clearing the heavily charged atmosphere that is stifling the growth of the mighty seedling today.

And yet, just at the present moment, the world-situation as well as the Indian atmosphere both seem to arrest all hope and faith. Though the credit of the Mahatma as a practical idealist appears to have reached the peak, and though the associates of Gandhiji in the Congress function as members of the Government in 7 out of India's 11 "autonomous" provinces, many events have recently combined to bring to a prominence the question of the Future of non-violence as Gandhiji interprets it, and it is even said by those who ought to know best that of late, the Mahatma has shown himself as seriously afraid that even the Congress as a whole does not understand and is not prepared to follow the doctrines, he has always considered essential.

Writing under the caption 'The Choice' in *Harijan* of April 9, 1938, Mahatmaji in confirmation of some of these fears, has even gone to the length of suggesting an alternative to Non-violence, and has pointed out that a retracing of the steps may be necessary if the Congress wants to do what is being done over the world—'Forbear when we can, but when we must'. In moving words he has stated 'If that is to be our policy, we have lost precious years. But 17 years in the life of a nation are nothing.' Rather than playing with what he considers to be Truth, he is prepared to make the supreme sacrifice of obliterating his life-work, though in his modesty, he calls this nothing in the life of a nation which has no faith in it. Those who have made an intimate study of Mahatmaji's personality know that he is capable of making any sacrifice provided he feels that his principles demand it. Many years ago, in *Young India* of August 1920 when he set forth his ethics of non-violence, Gandhiji wrote prophetically:

> 'India's acceptance of the doctrine of the sword will be the hour of my trial. I hope I shall not be found wanting. If I have a living faith in my religion it will transcend my love for India herself.'

Very significant words these, and when read together with this Mahatma's recent statement on the communal riots— 'to the extent the Congress ministers have been obliged to make use of the Police and the Military, to that extent we must admit our failure.' We may very well appreciate the spiritual crisis which we find him engulfed. When the world stands amazed and perplexed to hear that for the first time in the past fifty years, he finds himself in a 'slough of despond' must we also join the gaping crowd while the culmination of a supreme career is thwarted before our very eyes? Surely we can not afford to be passive onlookers like the rest, we who saw him fashion

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monumental deeds ablaze with the flaming of vision.

What then must we do? What must be to save this vision for our all-encompas- problems and for the world seething with ism, class-war and militarism? But per- we are wrong in stressing only the vision- aspect of the message of Gandhism. Have not seen the vision translated to tangible Have we not witnessed his ceaseless of himself to the last limit of sacrifice, what is more—have we not had demonstra- that the 'unconquerable spirit that creates already been released?' There may be a tion as to the nature of the Congress non- ence. As a matter of fact there has been tion, 'Can national and social groups be sufficiently this individual creed of non- ence, for it involved a tremenduous rise of kind in the mass to a high level of love and ness?' But the fact has also been admit- that the only desirable ultimate ideal is to humanity to this level so that hatred and ness and selffishness may be abolished. at any rate is above all question. Now atma has shown us a way which, if we w, will not only lead us to this level but us to lead others as well. It can not be ally or intellectually questioned that the and method of Gandhism is fundamentally d. As Dr. Tagore stated only the other

'Arduous indeed is the quest of Righteousness while are beset with the battling forces of evil around and us. But whether any one of us is or is not of rising to the heights of Ahimsa, accept it believe in it, we must; for have we not in this modern age, a man who by his own life and le, holds aloft this standard for us to follow?'

So the only question is why in spite of our lectual acceptance we do not take up this of righteousness? Why we are content to it formal assent rather than practical ation? It is freely said that he has ght a new force into public life but it has had time enough to be universal, and until does, be it the Congress Ministry or any er, they will have to use old and recognised hod of keeping law and order. Gandhiji ever is unable to fall in with this view. All he has tried to make his own ideal—the ersal ideal. He has not been content to e it even the ideal of a social group, and he been against grouping unities as such. As nted out in a celebrated article,

'My modesty has prevented me from declaring from house top that the message of non-violence is a message to the world. It must fall flat, if it does not verily bear fruit in the soil where it has been delivered.'

So he took pains all along to make his movement neither exclusive nor aggressive but health-giving, religious and humanitarian. Still there has been the danger of its falling flat, and this is due not to any inherent weakness in his technique but to the poverty of response even in those who took the pledge of non-violence under his guidance. With failing health and with the sands of life running out, the Mahatma who is human through and through in spite of his great soul tells us what he feels. Those familiar with his autobiography know that in spite of his great soul, he has the spirit of a child. So he feels a bit the child's desire to share his sorrow, and the world's sympathy is with him in his hour of trial. But it is dynamic response more than passive acceptance, actual application rather than sympathy and smooth words that can preserve for India and for the world,—the redeeming force that is in Gandhism. So the problem before the world and India today is how to release mass energies through non-violence. The passing phase in India shows that with many chances of success —we have not solved the problem. This does not show however that the problem is insoluble. No doubt some amount of violence appears to be the basis and foundation of our acquisitive society and it is also true that the machineries of property and of governments and of the present order stand between and hide the hearts of man and man, yet as Gandhiji said:

'If only we watched the latest international developments in Europe and Eastern Asia with an eye to essentials, we could see how the world is moving steadily to realize that between nation and nation as between man and man force has failed to solve problems.'

Apparently this increasing realization has not meant much, for in spite of a wide-spread belief that failure would lead to world-catastrophe, the repeated failures of international conferences to find a solution even for the problem of disarmament show that 'the approach was wrong and the people concerned did not dare to go the right way.'

We make bold to claim that in Gandhism not only India but the world as well can find a clue to that right way. Indian politicians who adopted it as a right policy deserted the implications of its practice as soon as a measure of success gave them the right to use its alternative. Situated as they are, perhaps there is some justification for their action. But cer-

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tainly more was expected of them. That they failed to apply against their own erring countrymen what they so often preached and sometimes practised against an alien government, and that they put up with a major evil for fear of a lesser one, can hardly be gainsaid today. But that disappointing performance can not mean defeat of the principles or of the techique of non-violence. As Gandhiji wrote in 1932,

'Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings can not do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it and it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed by making their conversion easy.'

Now these principles of Ahimsa were explained by him again and again. He has called it Truth-force or Satyagraha, as its root-meaning is holding on to Truth. From his own experience, he discovered that the pursuit of Truth did not admit of violence being inflicted on one's opponent but he must be weaned from error by patience and sympathy. For what appears to be Truth to the one may appear to be error to the other. So the doctrine came to mean vindication of Truth not by infliction of suffering on the opponent, but one's own self. At one time, on the political field the people could use it in opposing error in the shape of unjust laws. But the application of the mighty principle need not be restricted to this. The same struggle between might and right, the spirit and the flesh and between Truth and untruth is going on all over the world. Why not apply this solvent which though re-discovered is as old as the dawn of human conscience, and which the *Mahabharat*, Buddha, and Christ preached through the gospel of overcoming evil by good? Mahatmaji's unique and powerful contribution is in his application on a mass scale to political and social movements what was formerly an essentially religious and individual method. He has always regarded man as a man first, and brute afterwards. Nobly optimistic he states:

'I am not a visionary. I claim to be a practical idealist. The religion of non-violence is not merely meant for the Rishis and saints. It is meant for the common people as well.'

Elsewhere he has explained the object he aimed at and its metaphysical implications in the following words:

'I do not believe that an individual may gain spiritually and those who surround him suffer. I believe in Adwaita. I believe in the essential unity of and, for that matter—of all that lives. Therefore believe that if one man gains spiritually, the world gains with him; and if one man falls, the world falls to that extent.'

This stress on the religious and spiritual side of non-violence was not heeded by those who took it up as an expedient, and they gave his teachings a partial homage and tried it as a policy piecemeal. Hence the trend today towards 'Forbear when we can, hit when we must' or worse still 'Hit when we can, forbear when we must'. The results Gandhiji promised and expected have not been fulfilled though there have been splendid instances of individuals going up in the human scale. But as Pandit Jawaharlal has rightly pointed out:

'Groups and communities have not improved greatly though a non-violent technique has affected the individuals on the other side and gained over world opinion.'

But then the blame must be with those who took to the letter rather than to the spirit of the doctrine. They omitted to note Gandhiji's stress on righteousness and character and forgot that Gandhism—though not a dogmatic religion, meant a religious outlook on life. And it is only such religious approach that can save the world by going to the root of the evil whose manifestations we see everywhere today in class-war and militarism on the one side, and in imperialism and profiteerism on the other.

That Gandhiji is not the only solitary thinker on these lines will be apparent from the following quotation from Dean Inge's famous book on England:

'There is no disguising the fact that England is in a state of chronic civil war today, and that the forces of law and order are on the defensive against anti-social organizations which have no aim except to wreck the existing civilization.'

After dilating on several other dark spots in England today the Dean formulates:

'In plain living and high thinking will be the salvation or the salvation of the remnant which will survive the turmoils of our age of transition. Plain living will be forced on us whether we will or not, for the conditions of prosperity are in part slipping from us and in part are being wantonly thrown away. High thinking will not only make us citizens of the city whose type is laid in heaven, but will mitigate the acerbities of a struggle for which the responsibilities cannot be laid on the shoulders of any class.'

Mahatma Gandhi is much more radical and universal than the gloomy Dean. Only in one point are they at one—and that is with regard to the present social system. Rather than abolish it altogether, both would have a change

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heart on the existing superstructure, involv- a root and branch change of the mode of . Still Mahatmaji has been called a re- ionary by communists, because, with all his mpathy for the underdog, he can not imbibe anti-feeling against the top-dog. Here again is impossible for the irreligious to understand eligious personality of the highest order. hiji however has made his position, as a r of men rather than of ideas, clear as :

'The socialism and communism of the west is d on certain conceptions which are different from One such conception is the essential selfishness man nature. Our socialism and communism should based on non-violence, and on the harmonious eration of all.'

Even prominent people like Pandit Jawahar- however fail to see the truth in the reason- that if non-violence is successful against gners with their pride of racialism and , *prima facie* it would be easier to use it st indigenous selfish interests and com- al acerbities. But Mahatmaji hopes to ert them all. As he briefly put it at the of his Congress presidential address, 'Truth- e is my Kalpataru—my *Jam I Jam*—the universal provider.' At any rate, that it may serve as a panacea, if rightly applied—is beyond question. The question is whether it will be applied at all? The question is whether in this imperfect world, the gospel of moral perfection will not fall flat?

Yet with gloom and despair prevailing all around, the Mahatma has put in a plea for a non-violent army in India who will act unlike armed men in times of peace as of disturbance, and would be engaged in constructive activities that would make riots and clashes impossible. The need for such armies is great not only in India today but perhaps in every country of the world. While the mad race for armament is going on and while world-catastrophe is looming large in the horizon, will humanity fail to note these portents? Will not even a handful of men in every country stand up and practise this long-suffering and all-redeeming gospel? If they do, undoubtedly the great idea of non-violence will grow, and more and more affect the action of the world. And a day may at last dawn when mankind will be disinclined to use violent methods and will try and succeed in peacefully meeting every situation. It must take time, but for those who have faith there is no haste.

THE GUJARATI THEATRE

By Professor HIRALAL GODIWALA, B. A. (Oxon.)

I LEARN from a reliable source that the bay Radio Station proposes to broadcast two the famous plays of Nanalal, *Jaya-Jayant* *Shahjahan*, some time next month. Syt. ndravadan Mehta—the well-known poet- atist-producer of Gujarat, now working the Director of Gujarati Programmes with V. U. B.—deserves to be congratulated on venture. It is rarely that Nanalal's plays produced—more rarely still, with a mixed , as is proposed in this case; and we do not ow of any brilliant or even successful duction of Nanalal. It is time some fresh cept was made in this direction.

The difficulties of producing Nanalal's plays great as they are in other respects, and ainly literature of a high order—are the as those which would present themselves producer of say Shelley's *The Cenci*. Even Harindranath Chattopadhyaya's plays suffer from the same handicap—to a lesser extent, may be—except when a brilliant and original producer like the author himself undertakes the task, when his acting, wit and music and his original, often symbolical, settings carry away the audience. Nanalal's are a poet's plays, meant more for the study than for the stage. Dialogue rather than situation, poetry rather than drama, idealism rather than realism—these are some of their characteristics. May be, production on the air may make a difference, doing away as it would with the necessity of settings and, to some extent, of the convincing management of stagecraft. There is a technique of radio production as of stage production. And much depends on how these plays are handled.

The production not only of Nanalal's plays

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but of any good play is a rare phenomenon in Gujarat today. One almost feels like saying that the film has driven out the play; but then one remembers that there was not much of a 'play' to drive out before the advent of the film. There has always been a paucity of good plays in Gujarat—thanks to the want of talent or taste displayed by the professional theatre and to the general apathy or superiority, resulting in a neglect of the theatre, on the part of those respectable writers and gentlemen who knew, or professed to know, better and had better taste. The attempts of a brave writer like Rancchodbhai Udayram to give some good stuff to the Gujarati theatre in the last century —attempts pursued with almost missionary zeal—met with remarkable success, and even made the theatre a popular and respectable resort of the middle classes, a centre not only of entertainment but of instruction and social reform. But though Rancchodbhai left some lasting influence on the theatre, his attempts were not followed up. No great literary writer took up the task after him as earnestly as he had done; and the novel took the place, in the popular imagination, of the drama.

Meanwhile the professional theatre continued the tradition of cheap, vulgar farce or bombastic 'history' and 'tragedy'—occasionally accompanied by first rate hystrionic talent (as in the case of 'Sundari' or some Parsi actors) which should have been given better opportunities and a better environment. When a good play like Ramanbhai's *Raino Parvat* or later, Ramanlal Desai's *Shankit Hridaya* appeared, the contact with the professional theatre was not established; and such a play only remained a play for the study till some amateur producer thought of producing bits from it at some school or college theatricals.

The hero of the professional stage carried on, in the Elizabethan manner, rattling off fustian and 'making damnable faces.' And the heroine—some effeminate, undergrown boy with a shrill, piping voice—attempted to entertain the audience with her affected coyness and exaggerated sexy gestures. The songs too fitted ill into the play and hardly deserved to be called music, depending as they did for effect more on their sex-appeal or their cheap didacticism—which had a great appeal for the degenerate taste of the overfed city bourgeois who formed bulk of the audience—than on their musical content. The writers of these plays were mostly unknown and lived and died in obscurity. Somtimes a brave young soul like Barrister Vibhakar attempted to refine the professional stage and even seemed to succeed for a while. But it was difficult to break the vicious circle of bad plays and the bad taste of the audience to which they catered; and soon things became what they had been before.

During the present century, the theatre has sometimes attempted to produce some historical play giving a glorified picture of the feudal times and seeking to appeal to the national sentiment. Or, sometimes some effete sentimental 'social comedy' has appeared—a none-too-bold 'problem play' where some conventional social problem has been taken up and solved by resorting to a too easy or impossible idealism and where Jack has always succeeded in having his Jill and all has ended happily. These plays must have satisfied the bourgeois audiences to whose decadent taste the theatre managers have been in the habit of catering. And it would be but in the scheme of things when—as used to happen during the years of the Satyagraha movement—the hero appeared in a plain khaddar *kurta* and a Gandhi cap (and not in the gaudy expensive-looking clothes in which all ranks used to appear in former times) and even goes to jail if the occasion demands it.

A professional theatrical performance has become a rare thing these days. The bourgeois audience has taken to films. But when occasionally a professional company appears in a provincial town like Surat, one notices welcome changes like the acting of female roles—at least the main role—by females. And the plays have always acted to full houses, showing that the people are fond of films these days, they have not forgotten that a good film is no substitute for a good play.

The growth of something like an amateur theatre movement—particularly among the middle class youth of both sexes—has been a notable tendency in Gujarat during recent years. But even here the difficulties have been many. Even when the right talent is available, good actable plays are all-too-rare. Mixed acting—females acting female roles—has not yet been universally accepted by the social conscience. Amateur circles in Bombay and sometimes Ahmedabad—and in some of the colleges (after a great struggle)—have taken to mixed acting. But even among educated circles in some of the big towns, it is not rare to come across people who—probably out of fear of orthodox reaction—would 'rather not see a play produced than have a woman to act the female role.

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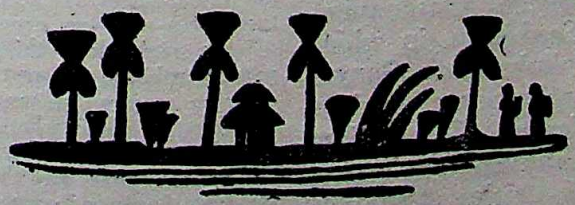
the insistence of a young playwright like Chandravadan Mehta—and even of old, venerable, greatly respected writers like Prof. B. K. Thakore—on only females taking female roles in their plays whenever they are produced has helped the social forces in the right direction, though it has sometimes prevented some young enthusiast from producing one of their plays.

The frequent and successful amateur production of Syt. K. M. Munshi's social comedy *Lokani Shashi* and of Syt. Chandravadan's plays have been notable features of the amateur theatre movement in Gujarat. The latter has written many plays. Poet, scholar, teacher, and now a director of programmes on the radio), this young writer has already given proof of remarkable original talent in the direction of writing, acting and producing plays. He has a versatile genius. He has successfully rendered foreign plays into Gujarati—plays that almost seem to spring from the soil—thanks to his mastery over local colour and his knowledge of dialect. He has written realistic plays like *Ag-Gadi* ('The Iron Road')—frequently produced by the author, and once with an all-writers cast—giving a kaleidoscopic picture of the life of our railway workers; *Nagna-Bava* ('The Naked Faquirs'), depicting the multi-coloured life of our beggars; *Santa-Lukdi* ('Hide-and-Seek'), dealing with the problem of our backward primary schools; and *Ramakadan-ni-Dukan* ('The Toy Shop'), a fascinating musical play for children—produced by children once under the direction of the author. Syt. Chandravadan's genius lies in the direction of comedy; and there is something Shavian about his ways. He has successfully introduced the practice of writing critical prose prefaced to plays and has attempted innovations like introducting the 'Sutradhara,' the author and the audience as characters in his latest play—*Veer Narmad*—woven round the life of the famous poet rebel of nineteenth century Gujarat. It is only fair to add that Chandravadan owes not a little of his success to the co-operation of other writers and of some brave young girls who have come forward to act in his plays and to the support given him by his appreciative audiences.

Mention must also be made, in this connection, of the numerous plays—mostly one-act plays—written by Syt. Yashvant Pandya, Syt. Batubhai Umarvadia and many young writers. Some of these are sometimes produced at school or college gatherings or at charity concerts. But even today the dearth of good actable plays and of first class productions is felt. And, despite well-meaning, enthusiastic Rangabhoomi Parishads (Theatre Conferences), a 'National Theatre' or 'People's Theatre' remains but a distant cry in this philistine world of Gujarat.

It may be said by way of conclusion that the theatre in Gujarat—even the amateur theatre—has up to now been catering to the needs of the middle class; and the great masses of the countryside have had to remain content with very rare—and now almost extinct—crude, productions of semi-mythological plays (*Bhavais*) given by some wandering players. 'Proletarian plays' have been attempted by young writers like Chandravadan, Umashankar Joshi, 'Sundaram' or Indulal Gandhi. But no attempt has yet been made to approach the masses directly—in town or country—and to revitalize the theatre from this great fountain-source of life.



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KESHUB CHUNDER SEN AND "NATION-BUILDING"

By RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE

KESHUB CHUNDER SEN was born on the 19th November, 1838. This year, 1938, is the centenary of his birth. It will be celebrated in various places in India and abroad in the current month and in December. In fact the celebrations began some time ago in England, many Indian and British notabilities taking part therein.

Keshub Chunder is rightly known as, above all, a man of religion, and all his other activities sprang from his deep and intense spirituality. In this brief article, however, we shall refer mainly to those activities of his which have, directly or indirectly, gone to the making of an Indian nation.

India has been inhabited for centuries past by many religious communities. In order that these may form one united nation it is necessary that they should respect one another's faiths. Like his "spiritual grandfather" Rammohun Roy, Keshub Chunder respected the scriptures and the prophets of all religious communities. Inspired by his teaching and example some of his co-workers made particular studies of the scriptures of particular religions. Girish Chandra Sen translated the Quran into Bengali from the original Arabic, his being the first Bengali translation of the scripture of Islam. He also wrote and published in Bengali a book entitled "Tāpasmāla," containing the lives of eminent Muslim saints. Protap Chandra Mozoomdar wrote "The Oriental Christ," forcibly reminding Western Christendom thereby that Jesus was not an occidental priest but an oriental teacher of spirituality. Aghorenath Gupta wrote his biography of the Buddha entitled "Sākyamuni-Charit." Gour Gobinda Upādhyāy wrote learned works on the Gita and other Hindu Sastras. The Bhakti movement was started in which the emotionalism of Bengal Vaishnavism was revived by means of *Sankirtan*, in which the "singing apostle" Trailokyanath Sanyal took prominent part. An anthology of sayings culled from the Hindu, Jewish, Zoroastrian, Buddhist, Christian, Islamic and Sikh scriptures was published under the title "Shloka-sangraha." Keshub taught the harmony of all faiths. He did not stop short there.

"He practised and prescribed for his immediate friends and co-adjutors a form of spiritual culture known as Sadhu Samagam or 'Pilgrimage to saints and prophets.' By close study, meditation introspection and prayer these devotees sought within their hearts to commune with the departed saints and prophets—the messengers of truth and light in every sphere of life. The life and personality of Moses, Socrates, Buddha, the Hindu Rishi Fathers, Jesus, Mohamed, Chaitanya had formed the subject of special study and contemplation and were followed up by those of Faraday, Carlyle, Emerson and the like."—P. K. Sen, *Keshub Chunder Sen*.

So long as the caste-spirit, caste and 'untouchability' remain, the solidarity of a united Indian nation must remain more or less a dream. Keshub Chunder, therefore, determined so far as as he could to do away with caste not only in matters of food and drink but in marriage also. Act III of 1872, which was passed at his initiative, validated intercaste marriage. Many such marriages were celebrated during his life time and more continue to be celebrated.

In no country is it truer than in India that the nation dwells in its hovels and huts and cottages. Therefore, he who would uplift the nation, build it up, reconstruct it, must be one in spirit with the masses, must sympathise with them literally. Keshub felt that he was one of them—one with the poor. The following is from his *Jeevan-Veda* (Scripture of Life):

"Often have I asked myself whether my soul is of rich or poor lineage. The answer to this question forms an important chapter of my *Jeevan-Veda*. One must know the caste in which one's soul is born . . . I am convinced that my soul belongs to the class of the poor. The articles of food, my daily habits—all bear ample evidence of the spirit of the poor . . . The practice of poverty is not a difficult exercise with me; it comes naturally. My nature takes delight in (plain) rice and herbs. This fact reveals to me an unspeakable secret of my inner life. I take it to be a sign of God's special grace for me. If I have to travel by railways, I usually go third class. I hesitate to travel first class lest I transgress my own province and trespass on the domain of the rich; lest things and thoughts foreign to my nature rob me of rest and peace of mind. And this decision comes in an instant,—the mind instinctively seeking the place where the poor and the lowly are. Whenever I travel first class, it is because I am obliged to. Where the poor are there is rest for me, there is joy for me. I never learnt this poverty by effort, it came to me naturally."

Here it would be appropriate to give the

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lation of a few sentences from Keshub's weekly, the "Sulabh Samāchār." of 1871:

who are the really great folk? In our country humble people (*chhota lok*). Had they not existed, could have their food ("bhat"), who could have in their carriages to see the races, or who could smoked their nargilehs propped up against bolsters? how the humble folk are giving us our all. We are as big people with *their* wealth. But who think expressing special gratitude to them? Taking trouble and night, perspiring—they are giving us our food; how many of us think of their condition? That has so much wealth, so much power and —whence did these come? From those same folk. In this world a day will come when the people will no longer remain dumb, no longer prostrate on their earth-bed. Even now in they have become so strong that they do not for or obey the king, do not care for or obey the men;—they are asserting their rights and expressing puissance themselves.

Keshub then goes on to give the example Ireland, and sums up by saying: "Thus in great countries a struggle has begun between common people and the big folk." Address- the readers of "Sulabh Samāchār," he

Our readers, those among you who are tenants ns), or artisans or craftsmen, stand up and gird up loins together. Make the utmost effort for your own and for putting a stop by your own strength to tyranny, cruelty and repression of the prajas (the or the tenants). It is for your good that we have this small newspaper. Do not sleep any more. the time has come. See, there is no one to speak The King's officers do not get to hear what you to say, the big folk slight you, do not care for Will you bear such insult for ever? Are you not Has not God created you with knowledge and gence? Then why do you lie asleep in the sleep orance? *You are the great men of this country.* you not know that, but for you, this country would wrack and ruin? Therefore, take pains, make endeavours, acquire knowledge. Then when you understand your own rights, when you yourselves do your own work, then the officials will be pelled to listen to your demands, the tyrannical big will become afraid seeing your valour, and ultimately not be able to refrain from honouring you."

These words, addressed to peasants and kingmen sound very much like those of a rxian labour leader addressed to the prole- t. But Marx's German book on *Capital*, translated into English for the first time 1886, and the words from the "Sulabh āchār" translated above were published in 71. Some Marxists and Leninists appear to ve that it is their atheistic masters and rades' who care for the proletariat, but believers in God do not. But evidently atheistic Keshub did care for them—a fact which there are other proofs in his writings pronouncements.

But he did not rest content with merely writing and speaking.

The third department of the Indian Reform Association established by him, namely, Education, undertook to educate the labouring classes, and also to instruct the middle classes in industrial arts—thus seeking to obliterate the distinction between the labouring and the intellectual classes. The Working Men's Institution and the Industrial School were opened on the 28th November, 1870. Besides imparting to the labouring class elementary education in the mothertongue and English, the Working Men's Institution afforded them such recreation after the day's work as might keep them from bad company, intoxication, idleness and demoralizing amusements. The Industrial School gave instruction in useful arts with a view to training the middle class students thereof for independent occupations. Carpentry, tailoring, clock and watch repairing, printing, lithography and engraving were among the subjects in which instruction was given. Keshub himself took to these occupations with workman-like avidity, and could turn out little pieces of furniture so neatly executed that it was said that "he could not have done better if he had given his whole life to carpentry alone."

The Indian Reform Association mentioned above was established in 1870. Its object was comprehensive and was to be attained through five departments of activity—Cheap Literature, Improvement of Girls and Women, Education, Temperance, and Charity. The object of the first department was to disseminate useful and scientific information among the masses by the issue of a cheap newspaper and the publication of cheap and useful tracts. Accordingly on the 16th November, 1870, a week pice paper, the "Sulabh Samāchār," mentioned before, was started. It was the first of its kind in India. In two weeks its circulation rose to 5,000, and in two months to 8,000—high figures for those days. It attained still higher circulation afterwards. Keshub's friends and co-adjutors went about hawking the pice paper from door to door and from street to street. It had great influence in those days. It wrote vigorously against the tyranny of the officials and the landlords.

Under the auspices of the Female Improvement department was started a Women's Normal and Adult School for the education of adult ladies who wished either to be instructed themselves or to be trained for imparting

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instruction to others. A small Girls' school was shortly after attached to it, which served also as a practising school for the students of the Normal School. There was a Bāmā-hitaishini Sabhā (society for the welfare of women). There was also the women's monthly journal, the "Bāmābodhini Patrika", established in 1864. The ideal of Keshub Chunder and of the Brāhmo Samaj was that women should be meet companions of men in knowledge and spirituality, participating in the larger life of the world.

The activities of the department of Education have already been referred to.

The object of the Temperance department of the Indian Reform Association was two-fold: first, to instil into the minds of the rising generation a definite aversion to the drink habit, which was a growing evil in the seventies of the last century; secondly, to wage war against the drink evil by exposing the iniquity of the Government's liquor policy and by reforming the excise administration of the country. The first object was served by the Band of Hope for young men. The members took the vow of total abstinence. They walked in processions, banners flying, singing temperance songs with great gusto. They had lectures and pamphlets and tracts, through which they carried on the crusade till the membership swelled to large numbers. Many a young man of those days has, later in life, testified to the tremendous influence which the Band of Hope exercised on the life and conduct of that generation. The second object of the Temperance section was served by a vigilant propaganda, by publication of statistics of crime, disease and death arising from intemperance, by formation of branch societies and by co-operation with the leaders of the Temperance movement in England, specially with the United Kingdom Alliance. A Bengali paper under the name of "Mad nā Garal" ("Not Wine But Poison") was started and broadcast gratis. Various substantive proposals for reform were pressed on the Government in a variety of ways.

Equally active was the Charity section. Apart from almsgiving or extending help to the distressed and the indigent, it organized distribution of medicine and food supply to large tracts of country suffering from epidemic diseases.

Here a reference to the first Youth Movement in the country would be appropriate. It was also a Movement for Inter-provincial Amity and Goodwill.

In the first quarter of the year 1861 came the terrible famine that devastated Upper India. Keshub organized a special famine relief campaign after divine service. Maharshi Devendranath Tagore delivered a soul-stirring address. All members of the Brāhmo Samaj and others under its influence did their part to the best of their ability. They begged for alms at every door. The poor helped with their mite. Women parted with their jewellery. Thus considerable help could be given to the famine-stricken.

In November of the same year there was an epidemic of fever in Lower Bengal. Relief was given to the sufferers by organised co-operation.

These were the beginnings of the first Youth Movement in the country harnessing the enthusiasm of youth to the noble cause of relief.

No nation can remain or grow strong in mind and body if it consists for the most part of the offspring of child marriages. Keshub Chunder struck a blow at child marriage by the same Act by which intercaste marriages were validated. The minimum age for marriage of the bride and the bridegroom was fixed at 14 and 18 respectively, these ages being generally exceeded in Brāhmo marriages.

The various kinds of publicity and agitation which a growing nation requires cannot be carried on without organs for moulding and giving expression to public opinions. One organ, the "Sulabh Samāchār" in Bengali, which Keshub established, has already been referred to. Another organ, the *Indian Mirror* in English, was established by him earlier, in August 1861. It was started as a fortnightly newspaper. At that time the *Hindu Patriot* was the only other English newspaper in Bengal under Indian control and editorship. It gave a warm welcome to the *Indian Mirror*. The *Mirror* has a distinguished career as a Nationalist journal. It started as a fortnightly, subsequently it became a weekly, and in 1871 it became the first Indian daily paper in English—at the time of the starting of the *Indian Mirror* Keshub Chunder had conceived a comprehensive scheme of education to which he could give effect only in part in later years. As he died when only 45, he could, alas! complete little indeed of what he had to do for India and the world. Keshub proposed a simultaneous agitation in England and India for educational reform to bring home to the public and the Government the urgency of certain radical changes in the educational machinery of the day.

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"If Brahmo Dharma was the religion of love, he then it must be realized that it could not consist belief, or a passing rush of good impulses. Nor it exhaust itself in empty praise of God in the It must become the sovereign law of life and abundant fruit in acts of service. It must invigorate body, inspire the soul, and fire the will for serving around. It must naturally manifest itself in initiating ments of reform all along the line, and in co-operaith existing movements of reform wherever found. would not do to depend on Government for help in particular . . . Self-help and self-reliance must watchword for all workers . . . Education not be the monopoly of the rich and the prosperOf what avail would it be if education merely the surface and left the bulk of society in ess? How would the barriers of caste be broken education were thrown open to all, irrespective rank and respectability? . . . The country never prosper unless and until the light of educapenetrated the zenana. Educate the men as you the women folk, if left uneducated, would always drag on society. Women must first be rescued their deplorable condition before salvation could to India."

With all his zeal for education, Keshub absolutely against the least denationaliin. In his day the process of tionalization was in full swing. There was dency to eschew all that was of the East to ape and adopt what was occidental. was against this indiscriminate rejection doption. He himself never wore European me. In many a speech in many places in and he spoke against the denationalization dians. Speaking at Bath he said:

"While other nations that are now in a state of ment and civilization were sunk in ignorance and rism, India possessed a high order of civilization. . I can never look upon the redeeming features of past history without feeling a thrill of patriotic ming through my heart. Proud of our nationality and ask you to give us all the good things you have gland, but not your corruptions."

In Birmingham he said:

"I for one would not allow myself to be nalized. Bring the influence of English education ger upon the work of Indian reformation, but I ask to let the spirit of Indian nationality develop is good therein in a national way."

The following passage occurs in a letter ten by Elizabeth Sharpe to Rajnarain Bose the 28th August 1870:

"I cannot help wishing to tell you that one of the we greatly admire in Babu Keshub is his strong that his country shall not be denationalized, but shall be elevated and improved according to its nature; it seems to us India can only be thus truly modern, having life of its own as the basis of reforma- not adopting in all things foreign ways and habits." *Autobiography of Rajnarain Bose*, pp. 164-165.

In another letter to him, dated the 15th ch 1871, she wrote:

"I can give you another instance of how strongly we respect those who honour their own country and national life. Another friend of mine was struck with pleasure by nothing so much by Keshub Babu's last speech in London as by his saying: 'I came here an Indian and return a confirmed Indian'."—*Ibid.* p. 165.

He was opposed to the advocacy or promotion of the interests of any particular community, class or section of the people of India. In the course of his speech on "England's Duties to India," he said:

"I do not this evening represent any class or sect, political or religious; I stand here as an humble representative of the people of India. . . . If you desire to do good to India as a whole you must look to all the numerous sections of its varied community, and try as far as possible to do justice to the whole nation."

Keshub was critically appreciative of British rule in India and of the British connection. His criticism was as vigorous and unsparing as his appreciation was ungrudging. With reference to some of the criticism in the lecture referred to above, Bepin Chandra Pal observes in "The Brahmo Samaj and the Battle of Swaraj in India" (pp. 60-61):

"For the time Keshub was abused by the Anglo-Indian Press with an energy and unanimity which caused some anxiety to his friends. Every Englishman who subscribed for our newspaper, the *Indian Mirror*, withdrew his name, Keshub's motives were cruelly aspersed, and one irate Briton in Bombay publicly threw out a challenge that he would give Rs. 500 to any one who would venture to read the lecture on England's duties to India in his presence while he stood horsewhip in hand."

Communism as regards property has prevailed in India among some orders of Sannyasins (Hindu and Buddhist monastic orders) from ancient times. In his Bharat Ashram Keshub Chunder introduced and maintained it so long as it lasted. Pratap Chandra Mozoomdar writes of it:

"About twenty-five families, consisting of men, women, and children, thus lived together, having their devotions, studies, and meals together, and showing the noblest dispositions of love and good will towards each other. The Brahmo missionaries and their families formed the centre of them all . . . He meant it to be a modern apostolic organization, where the inmates should have a community of all things, and where every worldly relation should be merged in spiritual fellowship."

Keshub probably meant this Ashram to be the experimental nucleus of the organization of the brotherhood of man, on a national and international scale.

The political bearing of monotheism cannot have escaped the intellect of Keshub Chunder Sen. Walter Bagehot writes in his *Physics and Politics*:

"Those kinds of morals and that kind of religion

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which tend to make the firmest and most effectual character are sure to prevail, all else being the same; and creeds and systems that conduce to a soft limp mind tend to perish, except some hard extrinsic force keep them alive. . . . Strong beliefs win strong men, and then make them stronger. Such is no doubt one cause why Monotheism tends to prevail over Polytheism; it produces a higher, steadier character, calmed and concentrated by a great single object; it is not confused by competing rites, or distracted by miscellaneous deities. Polytheism is religion *in commission*, and it is weak accordingly. But it will be said the Jews, who were monotheist, were conquered by the Romans, who polytheist. Yes, it must be answered, because Romans had other gifts; they had a capacity for p a habit of discipline, and of these the Jews had least. The religious advantage was an advantage; it was counter-weighed."

[This article has been compiled in great part Dr. P. K. Sen's book on Keshub Chunder Sen. writer is responsible for the arrangement. He is in to Mr. Yogananda Das, son of Dr. Sundarimohan for the extract from the *Sulabh Samachar* and Bepin Chandra Pal's book.]

MASS LITERACY CAMPAIGN IN BIHAR

By the Hon'ble Dr. SAIYID MAHMUD
Minister of Education and Development, Bihar

Bihar occupies a most minor place in the literacy map of India. It was therefore natural that the first opportunity should be taken to initiate measures to improve her position. India could not afford to wait for another generation to see the results of a renovated system of primary education on the children of today, as the presence of millions of illiterate adults was a drag on all progress, and it was a positive impediment to the spread of primary education itself. Hence was inaugurated the Mass Literacy Campaign to liquidate the illiteracy and ignorance of the masses, widen their intellectual horizon and make them better citizens.

Our financial position is not strong and the demands on a fast dwindling Provincial Exchequer are steadily growing; hence it was idle to think of the investment of large sums of money and the recruitment of a large number of paid teachers in our attempt to liquidate the illiteracy of 70 lakhs male and 80 lakhs female adults between *the ages of 15 and 40*. We had, therefore, to fall back upon the vast resources of man power with which we are luckily endowed. We impressed on all educated persons that it was their duty to pay their personal tax to society by undertaking individually and jointly to teach our illiterate fellow countrymen. This appeal was made to the teachers and students of all grades just before their Summer Vacation and the response was very favourable.

The Literacy Campaign was inaugurated on the 26th of April last and on that day meetings and processions were organised all over the Province. Messages were received from eminent persons in the country and they created a good effect. The Mass Literacy Comm within a very short time, recruited and tra thousands of volunteers, printed Charts Primers based on the Rapid Method of Te ing Adults and organised Literary Centres over the Province. The buildings of Colle and High and Primary schools were utilised holding classes. Boys of the Junior classes Schools formed themselves into bands persuading adults to attend the Cent College Professors and School Teachers orga ed series of lantern lectures on useful topics supplement the ordinary instruction given these centres. The funds for the contin expenditure were raised locally by subscrip and in some cases grants were given by L Bodies. The text of the Charts and Pri was in Hindustani and they were printed Nagri and Urdu scripts. In a large numbe Literacy Centres both these scripts were t with the result that many Hindus and Mu have learnt both these scripts. It was fo that an adult learnt to read and write aft to 8 weeks' regular attendance. At most of Centres caste Hindus as well as Harijans side by side to acquire knowledge.

Literacy work was organised in the and the prisoners showed great enthusias joining these classes. This has given the new outlook on life and the Jail looks li real school when the Literacy Period be Teaching work is conducted by the prisoners, outside volunteers and the Jail S

Arrangements have been made to ma army of Police Choukidars literate with next six months.

The industrial magnates in the Pro have evinced marked interest in this

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Tata Iron and Steel Company have started work of Literacy Centres at Jamshedpur thousands of labourers are receiving tion. Many of the Sugar Mills also have this work in their Reserved areas.

The Government have recently granted a of Rs. 80,000 with a view to make this ment permanent. Under this scheme the machinery of the Education Depart- will be utilised for the organisation and vision of this work. The main agency for uction as before will be the voluntary of teachers, students, unemployed young and social workers, but in some cases, with to enable the workers to devote more to this work, provision has been made for payment of a small honorarium of Annas per adult made literate. Small grants- will also be paid for meeting the cost ntingent expenditure. To ensure lasting a graduated series of Readers on a illy drawn up plan is being prepared and sion has been made for the publication of a Fortnightly News Sheet in Hindustani printed in Nagri and Urdu scripts. Special provision has been made for the expansion of literacy among women and this work will be entrusted to a Ladies' Committee.

The experience gained during the past five months has been very encouraging. During the months of July, August and September when the agricultural work was in full swing and large tracts were flooded it was apprehended that the Movement would collapse, but although the attendance has suffered the fall is not alarming. If the Movement can be intensified it may be possible to liquidate illiteracy from Bihar in less than 10 years.

The figures so far received, till August, show that *over 3 lakhs of adults have been made literate during the last four months.* A sub-division has been selected for intensified work and *it is hoped that within one year the entire population of that sub-division will be made literate.*

COMMENT & CRITICISM

Indians in East Africa

Sir,

I have the pleasure to have read the contribution appeared in *The Modern Review* of the current month the heading of 'Indians Abroad' and I wish to take portunity of expressing my great admiration for formative articles that I find appearing in your under the 'Indians Abroad' section.

But, the immediate and special reason for my writing this letter is that the report that has been used of my speech at Lucknow in connection with the conditions of Indians in East Africa is incorrect in one serious particular and the mistake gives a more favourable picture of the conditions of the Indians than they really are. I refer to page 273 column 2 where I am reported to have stated that the Indians in Kenya who number 41,000 have only 11 seats on the Legislative Council of the Colony. The truth is more serious than that. It is that in the council which consists of 41 members—

Indians who number	41,000	have	5	elected seats
Europeans "	18,000	"	11	" "
Africans (Natives) who "	3,000,000 (3 Million)	"	no seat	
Arabs who number	10,000	have	2	seats 1 elected & 1 nominated
Nominated Officials all Europeans			21	seats
Europeans nominated to represent native interests			2	"
			41	

The picture you will appreciate is gloomier than the quoted in your paper will make out to be. I the error is unintentional and the reporter seems have mixed up the number of the seats for Europeans the population figure of the Indians. I think it serve the purpose of putting the truer and of the more unpleasant picture before the public as as that of correcting the misreporting if you can the figures I am giving above in the September of your esteemed 'Review.' I may add that I am the person supposed to have spoken as reported. I had the honour to be the Member and the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian Deputation. And, I am at present the Honorary Secretary of the East African Indian National Congress. If you desire I can later on send the figures regarding the position in the other territories of East Africa.

I am,
Yours most appreciatively,
S. G. Amin

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SIR,

After writing the accompanying letter but before the posting of it, it occurs to me that it might be more appropriate for you to publish the figures regarding the composition of the legislative councils of the four territories of East Africa under the British Rule and governed directly by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The figures regarding Kenya colony are already given in the other letter, but, for the convenience of the printer I am putting them here also along with those of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. The much trumpeted equality of all races under the British Crown is exposed in the ugliest nakedness in these parts of the world which are not yet enjoying Self-Government and the Imperial Government cannot excuse themselves under any pretext of local opinion forcing them to the policy of Racial Arrogance for which South Africa is notorious.

KENYA COLONY

Indians	population	41,000	have	5	seats (elected)
Europeans	"	18,000	"	11	" "
European Officials			"	21	" (nominated)
Europeans to represent native interests			"	2	" "
			"	2 seats	1 "
Arabs population		10,000			1 (elected)
Africans (Natives)		3,000,000 (3 million)		No seat at all	

TANGANYIKA TERRITORY (MANDATED)

Indians	population	32,000	have	3	seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	8,926	"	7	" "
Europeans Officials		ex-officio		13	" "
Africans (Natives)		5,105,705	(5 million)	No seat at all	

UGANDA PROTECTORATE

Indians	population	14,860	have	2	seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	1,994	"	2	" "
Europeans Officials		ex-officio	"	6	" "
Africans (Natives)	population	3,646,245	(3½ million)	No seat at all	

ZANZIBAR PROTECTORATE

Indians	population	14,242	have	2	seats (nominated)
Europeans	"	278	"	1	seat "
European Officials			"	8	seats (Ex-officio)
Arabs	population	33,401	"	3	" (nominated)

The Imperial Government's declared policy in East Africa is that native interests will be paramount. 'Paramountcy of Native interests' and the Theory of Trusteeship is carried out in practice as the figures given above so eloquently describe.

I beg to remain
Yours,
S. G. Amin

AN EXHIBITION OF MADAME SMULDERS' PAINTINGS IN PHNOM-PENH, CAMBODIA

AN EXHIBITION of Madame Smulders' paintings was held some time ago in Phnom-Penh, Cambodia. It met with great success, and was important not only from the artistic, but also from the ethnological point of view.

Portrait of the artist, Madame Smulders

Madame Smulders is a Dutch artist. Many of her pictures were a revelation to all sections of the art-loving public in Cambodia, whether Cambodian, European or Annamite. A wonderful variety of types was presented to the public. Her power of drawing does not prejudice the delicacy of her pencil, and the touch of colours that she uses does not alter the classical simplicity of her art.

Mrs. Smulders who is a Doctor of Law practised for several years in the Dutch Indies as legal adviser. She gave up her post, so that she might be able to give herself entirely to art and study the soul of the people she sees by fixing in her drawings either the expression of their physiognomies or their feelings revealed by their gestures. An artist with such a rich variety of portraits is rarely to be met with. Mrs. Smulders is going to exhibit her work also in America and Europe.

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FAR EASTERN TYPES
Madame Smulders' Paintings

The Cambodian dancing girl

Modern Chinese young woman

A Cambodian boy.

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TOP : Chinese motherhood
BOTTOM : A Chinese baby

A Japanese woman
The sweet Chinese boy

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TOP : A Coreen pandit
BOTTOM : A Balinese girl

A Manchu princess
A Balinese drum-player

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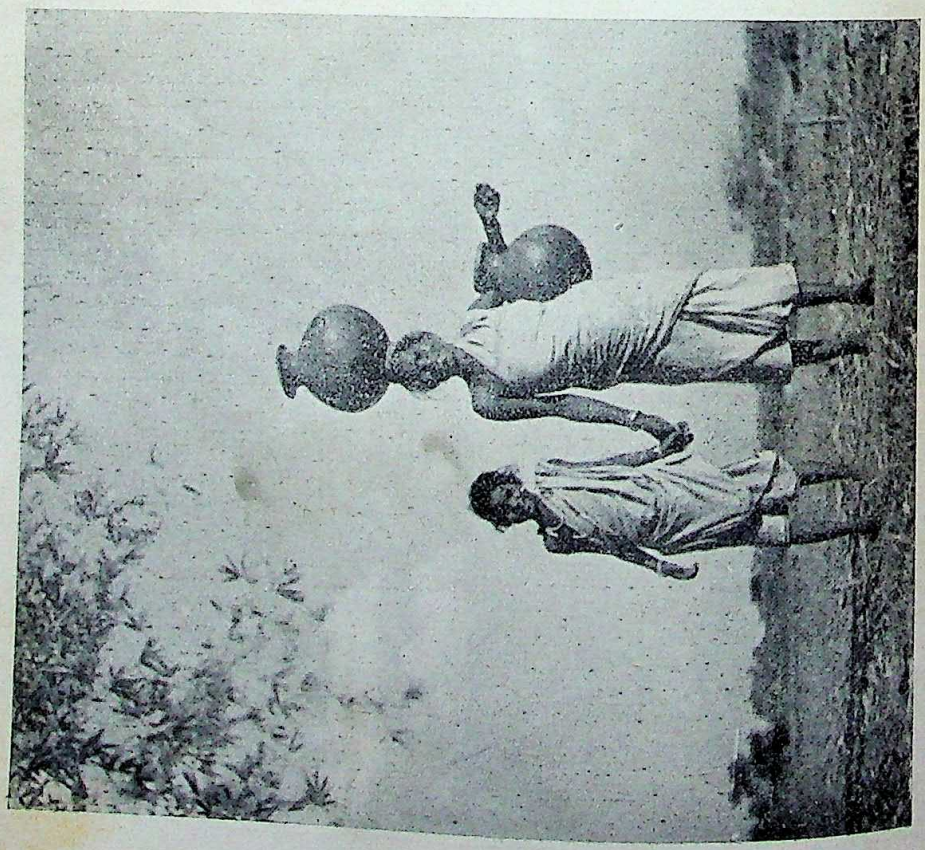
SANTAL WOMEN IN A VILLAGE FAIR — *Sudhindra Dutt*



SANTAL MOTHER AND DAUGHTER — *Sudhindra Dutt*

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Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in THE MODERN REVIEW. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.
—EDITOR, THE MODERN REVIEW.

ENGLISH

SELECTIONS FROM OFFICIAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE LIFE OF RAJA RAMMOHUN ROY: *Volume I, 1791-1830. Edited by Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda, F.R.A.S.B., Late Superintendent of the Archaeological Section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, M.A., LL.D. (London), of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law, Advocate, High Court, Calcutta, & sometime Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Calcutta. With an Introductory Memoir by Ramaprasad Chanda. A Portrait of Raja Rammohun Roy and Facsimiles of six Bengali, Persian and English Documents. Special Crown Quarto, pp. lxxxix+570. Neatly printed on excellent paper, cloth-bound & well got-up. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 9 Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta. Price Rs. 12-8. There are twenty pages of Persian documents. A Glossary and an Index of Proper Names add to the usefulness of the work.*

In addition to the illuminating introductory memoir, this volume contains 253 documents. They throw new light on the life and personality of Raja Rammohun Roy. As is stated in the Preface :—"The volume has been divided into three parts. The first part contains records relating to the private affairs of Rammohun Roy and his sister and brothers. The second part contains records of cases brought against the Raja in the Supreme Court and the Sudder Dewany Adalut. The third part contains records of proceedings against the Raja's eldest son. The records embodied in the second and third parts are the very annals of the Raja's long persecution, and these bring into clear relief the greatness and patriotism of the man, who, in the midst of these attacks to bring his ruin and disgrace on him, never lost sight of his self-imposed mission of uplifting his countrymen." We are now able to get a clear and definite idea of, the forms of persecution to which he was subjected, owing to his religious opinions, by his mother and other relatives and by the Maharaja Tejchand of Burdwan and his other enemies, "protected and encouraged, not to say instigated" by many men of the English official class.

Within the compass of a brief notice it will not be possible to narrate even briefly the course and results of some of the law-suits brought against him and his son Radhaprasad Roy, all false and all meant to crush him. They are narrated in the book and summarized in the introduction. His truthfulness intelligence and the righteousness of his cause triumphed in the long run *in every case*. Colonel Young, an Englishman who occupied high office in India in those days wrote to the British philosopher Jeremy Bentham in the course of a letter on the 30th September, 1830 :

"His (Rammohun Roy's) whole time also has been occupied for the last two years in defending himself and his son against a bitter and virulent persecution which has been got up against the latter nominally—but against himself and his abhorred free opinions in reality—by a conspiracy of his own bigoted countrymen; protected and encouraged, not to say instigated, by some of ours—influential and official men who cannot endure that a presumptuous 'Black Man' should tread so closely upon the heels of the dominant white class, or rather should *pass* them in the march of mind. Rammohun Roy, after an arduous and prolonged battle through a gradation of tribunals, has at length, by dint of talent, perseverance and right, got the better in the last resort; but the strife and the magnitude of the stake, and the long despair of justice, have shattered his nerves and impaired his digestion and bodily health, and his energies of mind. It is now over, and I hope most fervently that he will recover himself again."—Bowring, *Works of Jeremy Bentham*, Vol. XI, p. 7.

It is to be noted that even during the worst years of his persecution Rammohun Roy carried on his controversies with the orthodox pandits and the orthodox Christians and did not relax his efforts to promote the great mission of his life. Such was the extraordinary strength of his mind and the virility of his intellect, sustained by his living faith in the Supreme Spirit. It is noted in Mr. Chanda's Introductory Memoir that when the (false) criminal case against his son Radhaprasad Roy for alleged embezzlement of Rs. 1,36,360-8-3 was pending before the Sadar Nizamat Adalat and so "when the fate of his son was hanging in the balance," he founded his Vedanta College. Mr. William Adam wrote on the 27th July, 1826 :—

"Rammohun Roy has lately built a small but neat and handsome college, which he calls the Vedanta College, in which a few youths are at present instructed by a very eminent Pandit in Sanskrit literature, with a view to the propagation and defence of Hindu Unitarianism. With this institution he is also willing to connect instructions in European science and learning, and in Christian unitarianism, provided the instructions are conveyed in the Bengali or Sanskrit language."

The extent of official prejudice against Rammohun Roy can be guessed from some facts connected with the false criminal case for alleged embezzlement instituted against his son, originally at Burdwan. Mr. Molony, Superintendent and Remembrancer of Legal Affairs, was appointed by the Board of Revenue as a Commissioner to inquire into the alleged embezzlement. But even before he had made any inquiry he "openly avowed that he had suspended or removed from office some of the ministerial officers of the Burdwan Collectorate on account, in addition to other grounds, of their connection

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with Rammohun Roy, father of Radhaprasad Roy"! One of these officers, whom he suspended, was one Kunjabihari Roy, who was taken to be a relative of Rammohun Roy, though he was not a Brahman, which Rammohun Roy was! Against all decent judicial procedure this Mr. Molony used to sit with the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan trying the case and to annoy and insult the witnesses for the defence in various ways. Thereupon, on a petition of the accused Radhaprasad Roy, the officiating Senior Judge of the Court of Nizamat Adalat who heard the petition, ordered that the following instructions be issued to the Judge of the Court of Circuit at Burdwan:

"While you admit the Superintendent as prosecutor, you should on no account allow him to sit on a level with yourself or your Assessor the Law officer, that you should not permit him to put any illegal or improper questions to the witnesses or to make any harsh or irrelevant remarks upon their evidence, that you should not communicate with him in any but the native language so that all which passes between you may be intelligible to all persons."

For the great trouble that Mr. Ramaprasad Chanda has taken to master the intricate and dry details of the judgments of law-courts and other official documents in order to be able to write a lucid introduction to the work, as also for his other strenuous labours for the preparation and publication of the volume, he is entitled to high praise and the gratitude of all those persons who sincerely honour Rammohun Roy. Entitled to high praise and public gratitude is also his co-worker Dr. Jatindra Kumar Majumdar, who, in addition to working with Mr. Chanda in the Calcutta High Court Record offices and Bengal Government's Record office, repeatedly went to Burdwan for finding out and copying documents there and spent month after month in New Delhi rummaging among musty Imperial Records. The editing and arranging of the materials, the correction of proofs and the preparation of the glossary and the index have taken up months of his time. Much valuable material has already been secured for the second volume. For fresh materials Dr. Majumdar has again gone to New Delhi.

The volume under review, which in many portions makes very interesting reading, throws light not only on the life of Rammohun Roy, but indirectly also on the manner in which administration was carried on in the years covered by the documents included in it. For this reason, it deserves to be studied not only by those who honour Rammohun Roy but also by students of the early British period of Indian history. The best way in which we can show our grateful appreciation of the labours of Messrs. Chanda & Majumdar is to study the volume which they have presented to the public.

THE EVOLUTION OF NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE, *being a Survey of the History and Constitutional Development of N.-W. F. Province in India. By Rai Bahadur Diwan Chand Obhrai, Senior Advocate, Federal Court of India, Advocate, Lahore High Court & N.-W. F. P. Judicial Commissioner's Court, and Author of Many Legal Works. The London Book Co. (India), Peshwar, Nowshera, Rawalpindi, Murree. Price Rs. 12, or 18s. Royal 8vo., pp. xxx+362. Fifty-two illustrations printed separately on art paper and a map of North-West Frontier Province. Dedicated to Mahatma Gandhi.*

The work consists of sixteen chapters, and four sub-chapters giving an account of the Hindu Period, the Muslim Period, the Sikh Period, the British Period, N.-W. F. in the 20th Century, External Relations with Afghan during the great war, the World War, External Rela after the great war, External Relations with Tran region after separation, the Frontier Enquiry Com and Internal Administration of the Districts, Com tional Development in N.-W. F. Province, the R Statutory Commission, the National Struggle, the R Table Conference, N.-W. F. Province Subjects Com the Communal Question, Round Table Confere (continued), Second Round Table Conference, Change Constitution of N.-W. F. Province, and Government India Act (1935). There is a Postscript dealing with working of the Congress Government in N.-W. F. Pr vince. The elaborate subject-index makes it easy consult the work.

The bare mention of the contents of the book given above will show how useful the work is to students the contemporary history of India. Journalists and other publicists can obtain a definite idea of frontier and tribal frontier affairs from it. College and University libraries and public libraries will find it necessary to have it for their readers. It is a mine of information relating N.-W. F. Province.

The illustrations are very interesting and include portraits of many famous Sikh and Afghan heroes, many living notabilities, photographs of many forts, etc.

LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF V. L. LENIN: *R. Palme Dutt. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York. 50 Cents. Pp. 95. Portrait of Lenin on dust cover. Cloth-bound.*

Mr. R. Palme Dutt, the author of this book, is an internationally well-known Marxist journalist. In he presents a clearly written outline of the life and teachings of the Russian revolutionary leader and founder of the Soviet State. He places the main emphasis upon Lenin's teachings, setting them against the background of the period in which he lived. Special emphasis is placed upon the question of the State, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the nature of bourgeois democracy, the national and peasant question, and the problem of building of socialism.

This reviewer is neither a Marxist nor a Leninist but he appreciates the unapologetic tone in which Mr. Dutt has presented his book to the public.

The author writes:—

"The living ass not only kicks the dead lion, but what is worse—patronizes him and brays over him in terms of deepest ass-nature's approval."

We do not know to what extent Lenin has been a victim of this sort of misfortune, but we do know that some of India's great men have had such ill-luck.

FROM TSARDOM TO THE STALIN CONSTITUTION: *By W. P. Coates and Zelda K. Coates, authors of Armed Intervention in Russia, 1918-1922, The Soviets, Five-Year Plan of Development of the U. S. S. R., Stories from Soviet Life, &c., &c. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., Museum Street, London. 10s. 6d. net.*

Messrs. George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., are, evidently not propagandists. In the work under review, published by them, the impression which the authors produce in the mind of the reader is that Soviet Russia has made great economic and cultural progress within the last twenty years. They defend the Bolshevik regime against all criticism and attacks, maintaining that even the recent state treason trials were necessary and just.

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publishers have also published *Russia Under Soviet* by N. De Basily, who "was formerly counsellor the Russian Embassy in Paris, an intimate colleague Foreign Minister Sazonov," etc., in which work the concludes that Bolshevism has been the ruin of freedom and democracy towards which pre-Revolu- Russia was clearly moving, and that the indus- achievements of Bolshevism are of little note when cost is viewed, and when the trend of the former towards an industrial economy is taken into Meanwhile, Socialism remains a mirage and the are forced to accept a lower level of living than the Tsar."

So the publishers present both sides of the medal. In *From Tsardom to the Stalin Constitution* the authors a bright picture of the Soviet regime. The book absorbing interest. Beginning with pre-war Russia gives a connected account to the end of the second year plan. This is followed by chapters on "What the Workers Gained?," "The Trade Unions," What Have the Peasantry Gained by the Revolution?," What Have the Women Gained?," "The Intelligentsia," The National Minorities," "The Stalin Constitution," "The Recent State Treason Trials."

The achievements standing to the credit of the Bolsheviks, according to this book, are truly remarkable. A very few items can be cited here.

"By 1932, illiteracy, which by 1928 still claimed 46.1 per cent of the population as compared with about 79 per cent in 1913, fell to about 10 per cent." This the result of the first five-year plan. By the same "For some forty-two nationalities who had previously had no written language, such an one was worked out, in a number of cases where the alphabet complicated and difficult to learn, it was Latinized."

"One of the first tasks undertaken by the Soviet authorities was the stamping out of illiteracy. In Tsarist Russia about 79 per cent of the population were illiterate. Now, with the exception of a comparatively few old people and young children, there are very few illiterates, and universal compulsory elementary education has been established throughout the country."

"Molotov in a speech in May 1938 at a conference professors and organizers of the Soviet higher educational institutions (universities, etc.) claimed that there were more students in such institutions in the U. S. S. R. than in those of Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Japan taken together."

Agriculture, manufacturing industries, road-making, railways, aviation, transport in general, and mechanization have made marvellons progress. The medical and health services have been doing splendid work.

"The number of doctors practising in the U. S. S. R. has increased from 19,785 in 1913 to 90,692 in 1936, and in 1937 there were over 100,000 (These figures refer to present territory)".

According to Dr. Clara Segal in *The Financial Times*, U. S. S. R. Supplement, November 8, 1937, "the principal cities and towns of the U. S. S. R. show at present a lower death-rate than some foreign capitals. In 1935, for instance, the mortality-rate per 1,000 inhabitants in Moscow was 11.6, Leningrad 11.3, Kiev 12.3, Minsk 10.3, and Tiflis 10.7, while Berlin had a death-rate of 20.1, Bucharest 16.7, Tokyo 13.5, Paris 12.2, and London 12.2."

The chapter on "The National Minorities" concludes as follows:—

"If the Soviet Government had done nothing else, the solution of the question of the friendly co-existence of the numerous nationalities within the frontiers of the U. S. S. R. would secure for it an honorable place in world history. But, of course, the question of national minorities, which is agitating so many parts of the world cannot be solved as it were in space. The Soviet Government, with the best intentions, would have been powerless to bring about amity between Cossack and Jew, Ukrainian and Great Russian, Pole and White Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Tartar, etc., etc., were it not for its general economic policy. In a society based on co-operation, on production for use and not for profit, there is naturally no room for exploitation of one nationality by another, just as there is no room for the exploitation of one class by another. The success of the Soviet national policy is a living proof of the fact that there is no necessary national antagonism among the different races and nations. In a society based on socialist principles, every nationality may be given full freedom to develop to the full its own national language and culture, even to enter into friendly emulation with one another without arousing mutual national hatreds."

The attention of British Imperialists and Muslim Communalists is drawn to the following passage, which follows the previous paragraph:

"If peace and amity between some two hundred nationalities—which at the outset were at vastly different stages of economic, political, and cultural development—could be established over one-sixth of the world's surface, all enjoying full freedom to develop their own characteristic national culture, then there is no reason whatever to doubt that the same could be done in the rest of the world, if capitalist exploitation of class by class and nation by nation were eliminated."

As regards private property, under the Stalin Constitution "side by side with the dominant socialist economy, the law permits small private farms and handicraft enterprises in which no hired labour is employed. Moreover, every household with a Kolkhoz (collective farm) has for its own use, in accordance with the statutes of the agricultural artel, a plot of land, a house, livestock, and minor agricultural implements."

"The private property of citizens resulting from their earnings or savings, their dwellings and household goods, as well as all property for private use, is protected by law. In other words, private property continues to exist, but no one will be permitted to use it for exploiting other people's labour power."

X.

PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION INTO MEASURES OF A NATIONAL OR INTERNATIONAL CHARACTER FOR RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING. LEAGUE OF NATIONS. *Pages 91.*

This Memorandum by Mr. N. F. Hall, Director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research, London, has been prepared in accordance with a resolution adopted by the Assembly in October 1937, which invited the Economic and Financial Organisation to examine measures of a national or international character for raising the standard of living. There is obviously a very close relation between this enquiry and the one previously conducted by the League into the problem of Nutrition.

Mr. Hall suggests that the first step in any concerted international action designed to make possible further advances in human welfare should be the ascertainment, in a more precise form than has been done hitherto, and as a basis for the action of public opinion, of the extent to which existing standards of living fall short of the minimum desirable, in the light of modern knowledge, for the maintenance of health and physiological well-being.

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Mr. Hall claims that Governments can do much to promote increased production and consumption by paying careful attention to relative prices charged to consumers for the necessities of life; by wisely planned systems of taxation; by the application of appropriate social policies; and by facilitating the education of consumers in regard to the opportunities for improved consumption made possible by advances in science and productive technique.

An examination is made of the general character of measures likely to raise levels of production and consumption. The author emphasises the relationship between low standards of living and low productivity and shows the desirability of increasing the productive efficiency of agricultural countries (by improved local communications, marketing and credit facilities, and so on), and of securing in them a greater degree of local interchange of agricultural produce. At the same time, the industrial States should base their long-term agricultural policies on an increased local output of protective foods, obtaining more of their supplies of energy foods and animal foodstuffs from the agricultural countries. In this way, the latter would be assisted in improving their productive efficiency since the increased outlets abroad for their goods would provide them with the means of importing equipment. This demand for equipment goods—and later, as the productive capacity of the agricultural countries rises, for consumers' goods—would in its turn benefit the external trade of the industrial countries.

Mr. Hall devotes a separate section of his Memorandum to the important problem of the economic development of peoples less advanced economically. An acceleration of measures to relieve poverty in such cases is, as he shows, a matter of real international concern—quite apart from any humanitarian considerations.

Although the Memorandum is only a preliminary investigation into a vast subject, it may well be fruitful in its ultimate results, particularly if it succeeds in "giving a clearer sense of direction to economic activities" and in "inducing and deepening a sense of conviction that technical progress in industry, agriculture and transport has created for the world as a whole unique opportunities for promoting human welfare by wisely-balanced increases in production and by well-planned measures of economic co-operation between nations." This should be noted by "orthodox" and literal followers of Mahatma Gandhi in economics and industries.

STUDIES AND REPORTS ON STATISTICAL METHODS. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

1. *Statistics of the Gainfully-occupied Population. Pp. 32. Price 1/- $ 0.25.*
2. *Minimum List of Commodities for International Trade Statistics. Pp. 62. Price 2/- $ 0.50.*
3. *Timber Statistics. Pp. 17. Price 9d. $ 0.20.*
4. *Statistics Relating to Capital Formation. Pp. 22. Price 1/- $ 0.25.*

These four *Studies and Reports on Statistical Methods* prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts have just been published by the League of Nations.

1. STATISTICS OF THE GAINFULLY-OCCUPIED POPULATION: *Definitions and classifications recommended by the Committee of Statistical Experts:*

Contains an international minimum programme for statistics of the gainfully-occupied population, mainly intended for the use of Governments at their next census of population. The definition of the persons to be considered as gainfully occupied, as well as those not to be so considered, and the discussion of the various principles which can or should be followed for their classification (*e.g.*, by branches of economic activity, by personal status, by individual occupation) will be of interest not only to the compilers of such statistics but to all those who have to use or interpret them. A nomenclature of Industries is annexed to the Report.

2. MINIMUM LIST OF COMMODITIES FOR INTERNATIONAL TRADE STATISTICS: *Revised edition prepared by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The List is now applied by 25 countries representing the majority of world trade. The principles which have guided the Committee in establishing the List itself and the additional groupings of commodities by their stage of production and according to use are fully explained.

3. TIMBER STATISTICS: *A Minimum Programme of Timber Statistics drawn up by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

The Committee makes concrete proposals for recording statistically the timber supplied and the timber consumed for industrial purposes, the stocks of such timber, and the production and stocks of simply transformed timber products (such as sawn and planed products, boxboards, wood-pulp, etc.).

4. STATISTICS RELATING TO CAPITAL FORMATION: *Note on Methods by the Committee of Statistical Experts.*

This note is an attempt to describe and to define the phenomena which statistics relating to capital formation are intended to measure. Its object is to promote among economists and statisticians effective discussion of the extremely complex problem of capital formation and of the various possibilities of measuring statistically the process of capital formation at various stages. The definition and the measurement of savings, of the funds available for investment and of the money outlay for the acquisition of newly created capital goods are considered. Certain outstanding examples of attempts to measure capital formation in various countries are briefly reviewed.

WORLD ECONOMIC SURVEY, SEVENTH YEAR, 1937-38. LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *Ser. L. o. N. 1938. II. A. 13. Pages 244. Price: in wrappers $. 1.50: Bound in cloth 7/6; $. 2.00.*

The new edition of the World Economic Survey is the seventh annual publication in this series. The volume is based largely upon the more specialised publications of the Economic Intelligence Service of the League, and upon information supplied by other bodies and, in particular, by the International Labour Office. It presents, both for the economist and for the general reader, an outline of the important change in the trend of economic development that has occurred during the last year as a result of the decline in economic activity.

The greater part of the first chapter is devoted to an analysis of the causes of the recession particularly in America, and to the effects of the recession on economic conditions in other countries.

The effect of the general recession in trade activity is the main theme that runs through the following chapters of the volume. The fall in employment and the reappearance of unemployment in many countries, the decline in production and the accumulation of stocks of primary products, the change in the trend of prices from a rising to a falling movement, the fall in the quantum and the value of world trade after a period of considerable expansion—these are the main subjects

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sive chapters. Emphasis is also laid upon the in the trend of commercial policy which has from the decline in world economic activity, a number of cases a period of liberalisation of of quotas and exchange controls has given place increased restrictions. In a similar way attention is to the effect of the recession in causing a sharp in the production and export of those primary which have been subjected to schemes of inter-regulation.

In addition to the central theme which runs the volume, there are a number of interesting features in the different chapters.

A special section is devoted to the present scale of expenditure on armaments and to recent policies monetary expansion and public expenditure, such as "spending-lending" programme of the United States.

WORLD PRODUCTION AND PRICES, 1937-38. LEAGUE OF NATIONS: *Ser L. o. N. P. 1938. 11. A. Pages 137. Price 5/-; $. 1.25.*

The volume on World Production and Prices 1937-38 a wider scope than previous editions and its form been somewhat modified. It begins with a chapter general trends of world production from 1920 to 1927 contains the main statistics for this period and some general conclusions to be drawn as to the opment of production. The world indices of primary tion and stocks are calculated, as in previous on the basis of averages for 1925-1929=100. The former have, as far as possible, been calculated to 1920, so as to afford a better view of the general New world indices of the manufacture of capital consumption goods have been calculated, and new added concerning production per head of popula- and yearly rates of progress.

An interesting feature is a summary of the principal brought out by this volume. These facts are too to mention in detail, but it may be stated that, compared with 1929 world primary production in 1937 % higher, the output of crude foodstuffs 6%, and industrial raw materials 19%, while world visible of primary commodities were 6% lower. The current increase in world manufacture amounted to 2%. The simultaneous decline in the international of commodities was reflected by a decline of the quantum of world trade from 1929 to 1937. Though the necessary basis for forming a judgment forming future developments is still lacking, it is out that, in spite of a certain decline, world as a whole has shown a relatively high degree resistance to depressive influences.

D.

LIFE OF GOPAL KRISHNA GOKHALE: *By the Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Published by the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd., Mysore Bangalore City. Price Re. 1.*

At the invitation of the organisers of the Extension lectures of the Mysore University Mr. V. S. Srinivasa delivered at Bangalore and afterwards at Mysore lectures on the life and work of late Gopal Krishna These lectures have been published in the of the book under review. In the first lecture the has given us the details of the early life of his by which name he calls late Gopal Krishna the starting of the Fergusson College and the played by Mr. Gokhale, his coming under the of Ranade and Joshi, the political rishis of that time, and his connection with the Welby Commission. Much has been said about the Apology incident for which Mr. Gokhale's conduct was criticised as cowardly by many of his countrymen. While in England in connection with the Welby Commission Mr. Gokhale received letters describing the ravages of the plague in Poona and the wrong steps taken by the Government to mitigate its horrors which led to the assassination of Mr. Rand and Lt.-Col. Ayerst. Mr. Gokhale criticised publicly the conduct of the Government and the matter was discussed at a meeting of the House of Commons. On the information given by the Bombay Government the whole thing was termed as a malevolent invention and Mr. Gokhale was asked to apologise when he set his foot in Bombay. He did apologise on the advice of his friends and this was taken as a betrayal by the extremist section of the public. Mr. Sastri quotes a few extracts from Mr. Gokhale's diary to justify his conduct. In the second lecture the author gives an account of his public work, both inside and outside the Legislative Councils, and reviews it from the stand-point of a moderate politician. Some may differ from the author's conclusion regarding Mr. Gokhale's attitude towards Mr. Tilak and his friends, but the author has defended his master's conduct in an inimitable way. In the third lecture the author describes the last years of Mr. Gokhale's life, his enthusiasm for the spread of elementary education and his part in the Indian National Congress in bringing about Hindu-Moslem Unity. For all the work in the later part of Mr. Gokhale's life his name has become a household word in India and the author has delineated these later years in an exceedingly interesting way. Mr. Sastri's style is lucid, forceful, in short, masterly, his command over the facts is admirable. We welcome this work on the life of one of the greatest Indian statesmen by his ablest disciple and hope that a copy of this work will be preserved in every library, public and private, in the towns and villages of India. The printing and the get-up of the book are excellent.

SUKUMAR RANJAN DAS

BANKING FRAUDS IN INDIA: *By V. R. Sonalker, B.A. Published by Messrs. D. B. Taraporevela Sons & Co., Bombay. Pp. 179. Price Rs. 3.*

With the spread of banking habit in India, there has been brought about many changes in the banking system aiming at better and more effective service to the public. But however rigid the system might have been, there are people unscrupulous in their very nature, who have systematically devised new and novel ways to defy this rigidity of the system and perpetrated frauds on the banks. In this book the author took great pains in indicating the very many pitfalls, in the banking system, taking advantage of which many banks have been victims of frauds and consequently huge losses. Problems to checkmate evil designs on banking comes to be a subject of public importance.

Although there is much need for improvement over the present system and practice of Indian banking, the history of banking frauds in India, reveal the ugly facts of betrayal on the part of bank officials. This has been acknowledged by the author of this book. The only possible remedy to do away with this growing evil is undoubtedly the spread of banking education. The book from beginning to end is interesting reading and will be immensely useful to all bank official and the business people as well.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

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IMMANUEL KANT ON PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL: *By Humayun Kabir. Published by the University of Calcutta. Pp. cl+90, with an Index. Price Rs. 5 or 9s.*

This is a translation from the original of Kant's book on Philosophy in General. The translation is preceded by four introductory essays by the translator and also an abstract of the book translated. A knowledge of Kant is indispensable for students of western philosophy and any addition to the extensive literature on him is always welcome. For Indian students, specially, a book on Kant from the pen of an Indian who has read him in his own language, will be doubly welcome. Prof. Kabir is well-known in the field of philosophy and literature and his book, we are sure, will be profitably used by his students.

The printing and get-up of the book is all that could be desired. But the Preface seems over-loaded with too many references and too much of thanks-giving.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

WALKING TOGETHER: A STUDY IN LIVERPOOL NON-CONFORMITY 1688-1938: *By Anne Holt, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. Published by George Allen & Unwin Ltd., Ruskin House, 40 Museum Street, London, W.C.I. Pages 262. Price 5s. net.*

Miss Holt, in this nicely got-up volume, traces the history of the oldest dissenting community in Liverpool for two hundred and fifty years from its very inception to the present stage. The history of this one non-conforming congregation shows, in microcosm, the religious thought and practice of Protestant England throughout that long period. Started in Liverpool by the ejected ministers, Protestantism first took to Calvinism, passed through Arianism and Presbyterianism and finally consummated in the Unitarianism of Channing, Martineau, and Hamilton Thom.

About the bigotry of the then Church of England, Milton declared that it would rather lose a soul than part with a syllable or a surplice. It cost Protestantism many a bitter struggle to liberate Christianity from the Catholic conservatism and narrowness by introducing toleration in the Church-creed and granting religious liberty to its followers. Non-conformity, for the first time, rendered the Bible into the Vernacular, laid emphasis on social service as an essential factor of religious life, and contributed a good deal to the social progress by their fight against slave-trade and other social abuses. Rituals and formalities were relegated to a position of insignificance in the Church; Trinity of God was superseded by Unity of God-head and marriage was allowed to the Clergy. The reformers, however, had to pay heavy penalty for these innovations and for the recognition of their community. They had to face martyrdom and suffer from ecclesiastical censures and social disabilities.

With the advent of rationalism in religion, the thoughtful people in all countries revolted against the dogmatism of their respective faiths. Protestantism came into being not only in Christianity but also in all religions of the modern world. What Protestantism has done to Christianity, Brahmoism has done to Hinduism. It betrays lack of thinking to stigmatise Protestant Reform movements as destructive and dangerous; but the fact is, that they stressed the social and humanitarian aspect of religion which was lamentably neglected by the Orthodox school.

The book, with five illustrations, is an instructive manual to all, particularly, to Catholic Christians who will do well to peruse and ponder over its contents.

The book has been so named from a saying of Jacob's Church Covenant wherein the dissenters were exhorted to 'walk together' in all God's ways and ordinances.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDIA'S FIGHT FOR FREEDOM: *By Sardar Singh Caveeshar. Second edition. The National Publications. Chamberlain Road, Lahore. 1936.*

The first edition of the book (1934) was published under the title "Non-violent Non-co-operation," and we had occasion to review it in this journal for August 1934.

We are now glad to welcome the second edition, for it, at least, indicates that the public is taking a certain amount of interest in the history of the Gandhian movement. Two valuable appendices have been added in the present edition *viz.*, "Mahatmaji on Non-co-operation" and "Mahatmaji's Statement." But unfortunately the printing has been done in the same slipshod manner as before.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

THE CHANGELING: *By Hassan Ali. Published by Herbert Joseph, London, 1933. Pp. 267.*

This is an interesting picture, in the form of a novel, of the social and cultural conflict that has always resulted from the contact of the east and the west, among educated Indians, and contains a sympathetic presentation of the tragedy that it often entails. It emphasises the view that the inherent disparity between the ideals of the east and the west will for ever operate as an insuperable obstacle to a true fusion of the two, and that there is no hope that the twin will ever meet. It suggests that the voluntary adoption of western modes of life by people in India and the compulsory absorption of Indians sojourning in western lands in the life and atmosphere of those countries are alike productive of an abnormal state; and this is set forth in the book in a vivid manner enlivened at times with fine poetic touches.

But while the work is a creditable performance as a depiction of this conflict it is not very remarkable as a novel. The plot is thin, the love-story is unimpressive and is brought to an abrupt and unnatural close, and the references to current Indian politics are a mere digression.

But the style is entertaining and lively all through and altogether it is a readable book produced by a writer who has a competent knowledge of his intricate theme and has a command of the idiom of English fiction, which is remarkable in a foreign author.

P. K. GUHA

THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE EAST AND THE WEST: *Edited by E. R. Hughes. Published by Oxford University Press.*

A group of distinguished Oxford dons have collaborated in this fine endeavour to bring home to the undergraduate that the best venue for the pursuit of knowledge is *not* the bottom of the well, but that the wider interests of living have their own rights to be considered. Among these interests is that of the relation of the individual to society, which has been brought to the fore by recent events in Europe, and probably in the Oxford Union itself as well. So the pages of the lectures have been devoted to its discussion from various angles, of the primitive, the Indian, the Hebrew, the Chinese, the Greek and of the modern world. The grand (and typical) conclusion is that the individual is irrepressible, that the measure of individual liberty

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the surest guarantee of Social stability. "Different phases in civilizations involve different bases of social equilibrium and these involve the individual. He turn sets to work and readjusts the emphases in his relation. So the cycle goes on, with the individual ously adapting and being adapted." The Volume with the same noble assertion of faith in the individual who is declared by Professor Powicke to be unmerable having his roots in the very nature of as a social being.

To an Indian the book is highly flattering to his ews and convictions. It challenges and successfully ishes the doctrine that Christianity had discovered individual. (A lecture on Ikhnaton, the first individual in history would have been welcome.) There pleasing references to the Bhagavat Gita and Sir Radhakrisnan has contributed a lucid lecture. The tion of the recent past but with his prestige telescoped the present had been brought up in Anglo-Saxon and today is almost convinced that the fortress his individual soul has been beseiged by the Marses the women in revolt. These latter have of course soul. This struggle for him is rationalized into a between the individual and society. For our elder threrefore this book will have a special through its insistences no less than through its rable style.

Fortunately, our young men do not read. If they they would have unconsciously resented the mellow of these pages. So far as the reviewer knows their attitudes, their idea is that in India, at least, all animals the individual is the most improbable the existing circumstances, their approach towards problem is neither from the individual nor from both in fighting trim, but from the no-man's autonomous land of relationship between the

SOCIOLOGY: A BRIEF OUTLINE: *By K. Motwani, M.A., Ph.D. Published by Ganesh & Co., Madras.*

The reviewer remembers to have read this essay in author's study of Manu, the Law Giver. It was a there. In the form of a booklet of 63 pages the has merits, which, of course, would have been enced if the author had a clear-cut approach and fulled his undoubted learning. The book has a able bibilography.

DHURJATI MUKERJI

ESSENTIALS OF HINDUISM: *Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas eight*

In this book extracts from Swami Vivekananda's ings and speeches have been so arranged as to give the a comprehensive idea of Hinduism in all its aspects.

BHAKTI-YOGA: *By Swami Vivekananda. Published by the Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Price annas twelve only.*

This is a nice reprint of Swamiji's Bhakti-Yoga. get-up of the book as well as the printing are

ISAN CHANDRA RAY

MYSORE DASARA EXHIBITION 1938: *Official Handbook and Guide.*

This sumptuously illustrated volume will prove valu- for travellers in Mysore. It maintains the standard get-up of former years.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

BENGALI

UPANISHAD RAHASHYA OR GITAR YOUGIC VYAKHYA (*Secret of Upanishadas or esotoric interpretation of Geeta 10th part*): *By Srimad Bijoy Krishna Debasarma. Published by Sj. Kumudranjan Chatterjee, Korarbagan. Howrah, 565 to 747 pages. Size Royal 8vo. Price Re. 1-4.*

The book is written in Bengali language. It contains the text of the Geeta from 9th to 12th chapter, a Sanskrit annotation and then the Bengali explanation. In this explanation the author gives first the current interpretation of the text, and then the esoteric explanation, which is the essential part of the book. It is written in pure simple chaste Bengali, and in a very fluent style. The writer has based his views on Vedantic thoughts, apparently of non-dualistic school, but really it embraces the ideas of qualified monisim. It seems the author did not pay much attention to the distinction of those two schools, probably for the benefit of general reading public. On the whole the book facilitates a very happy reading of the Geeta, and deserves every encouragement from the reading public.

RAJENDRANATH GHOSE

GUJARATI

ABAD HINDUSTAN: *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pages 244. Price Re. 1 (1937).*

MAHAVIR SWAMI NO ANTIM UPADESHA: *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabal. Thick Card Board. 149. Price annas eight (1937).*

SHRI KUND KUNDACHARYA'S TRAN RATNA: *By Gopaldas Jivabhai Patel. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Thick Card Board. Pp. 149. Price annas eight (1937).*

All the three books from the pen of Mr. Patel betray his literary activity in various directions. The first is a translation of William Digby's *Prosperous British India.* The facts and figures relating to the economic condition of India have been brought up-to-date, and thus the book made useful to students of the subject. The language of the translation is easy. The two other books have been brought out by the Jain Sahitya Prakashan Samiti and necessarily relate to Jain subjects. The first is the translation of that Uttaradhyayan Sutra, an Agam granth of Jain literature. A scholarly Introduction discusses the Sutra from various points of view and the text itself with the footnotes help the reader greatly in following the last precepts given by that great religious leader, Mahavir Swami. Their utility is such as would endure for all time. The third book deals with Kund Kundacharya, the well-known old Acharya of the Digambar section of the Jains. His three books called by the translator—Three Gems—have been ably translated with commentary in this book. The subject being a metaphysical one can hardly be made popular, though the writer has striven to do so.

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MARU KUNJ : *By Mathuradas Trikamji. Published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Paper Cover. Pp. 156. 2nd Edition. Price -/8/- (1937).*

Mr. Mathuradas was a victim of T. B. While undergoing treatment he studied the subject closely, as the bibliography at the end of the book testifies, and as the result thereof has been able to find advice, both as to the prevention and the means of cure of that fell disease. An informative introduction from the pen of Dr. Juraj N. Mehta, M.D. adds to the usefulness of the book.

GAVRI KIRTAN MALA : *Published by K. G. Bhachech. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Cloth bound : Illustrated. Pages 280. Price Rs. 2/- (1937).*

Gavribai, a well known Gujarati poetess (V. S. 1815 to 1865) belonged to the Nagar Brahmin caste and had become a widow when quite a child. When grown up she lived the model life of a chaste Hindu widow and passed her time in worship, study and writing. Her devotion to religion was so great that Princes invited her and the Ruler of Benares where the closing years of her life were passed, greatly honoured her. She has composed religious songs (Bhajans and Kirtans) in Gujarati and Hindi and they have all (nearly 612) been collected and printed in this volume by their assiduous collector. A short sketch of her life is also given. The songs are printed in Devnagari script and therefore can be read and understood by people outside Gujarat. Great credit is due to the compiler for rescuing them from inevitable oblivion, as the present progressive trend of Gujarati literature does not favour such writings. They breathe the spirit of the old devotional literature of Gujarat.

TAPOVAN : *By Govind H. Patel. Printed at Vakil Brothers Printing Press, Baroda. Illustrated. Paper-Cover. Pp. 110. Price annas twelve (1937).*

This small book contains two very good peoms—Tapovan and Yajna Shikha—with explanatory notes and appreciatory prefaces. The first poem describes in feeling language the story of Savitri and Yama and the second the heroic sacrifice and martyrdom of the Sikh Gurus. Both incidents lend themselves to suitable treatment by poets and Mr. Patel has done ample justice to them. They sustain the reputation of Mr. Patel as a writer of great promise.

K. M. J.

ENGLISH-KANNADA

STUDENTS MODERN CONCISE DICTIONARY (ENGLISH—ENGLISH-KANNADA) : *Compiled by K. B. K. Edited, Revised and enlarged by Vaidyabhanu D. Bhardvaj, M. D. Ay. Publisher P. C. Shyabadimath, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. xii+1877. Size 3½″×5″. Price Rs. 2.*

STUDENT'S MODERN PRACTICAL DICTIONARY (ENGLISH-KANNADA) : *Compiled by D. Bhardvaj. Published by P. C. Shyabadimath, Book Depot, Gadag, (M. S. M. Ry.). Pp. viii+1184. Size 4½″×3 Price Rs. 2.*

These two publications contain nearly 25,000 English words with their Kannada equivalents. Their usefulness has been enhanced by the addition of tables of weights and measures, useful data, nautical measures, table of specific gravities, abbreviations etc. The size is handy, printing and get-up good. They deserve appreciation by the Kannadigas.

T. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED

HINDU NATIONALISM: *By Lala Lajpat R. Published by The Central Hindu Yuvak Sabha, Lahore. Pp. 26. Price Two Annas.*

THE HEROINES OF HINDUSTAN: *By Rajasekharam. Pp. 151. Price Re. 1.*

RIGHT OR WRONG (A PLEA FOR THE FRANCHISE) : *By P. V. Ramanujaswami, M.A., Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Vizianagram. Pp. 32. Price*

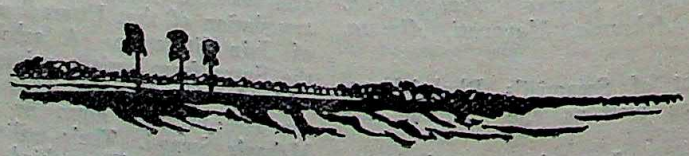
ON THE FRONTIER: *By B. Shiva Rao. Copies available from the author from Hyde Vale Cottage, Sion, S. W. Pp. 27. Price three annas.*

A brief discussion of the problems of the North Western Frontier.

ISLAM—A UNIVERSAL RELIGION OF PEACE AND PROGRESS : *By Abdul Karim, B.A. Published by Mr. A. Rasu., 13-1, Wellesley Square, Calcutta. Pp. 29.*

BENGALI :

MAHATMA GANDHI O SWAMI VIVEKANAND (MAHATMA GANDHI AND SWAMI VIVEKANAND) : *By Kalinath Ghose, M.A., Headmaster, Jalpaiguri Foundation High English School. Pp. 32. Price annas two.*



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DISTRIBUTION OF POWERS IN THE INDIAN FEDERATION

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Introduction

is not possible to understand the distribution powers and functions in the Indian federa- unless we seek first to understand the basis this distribution, and the basis of this dis- ution is to be found in the very genesis of Indian federal scheme.

On the angry reception that the report of Simon Commission got everywhere in India, became clear to the British Government that re was no chance for the acceptance by India any constitution which did not concede at st partial responsibility at the Centre. But British Government did not desire to accord sponsible government to British India unless ould ensure that government's conservative racter. That objective could be achieved by (a) bringing Indian States into a rme of all-India federation, (b) giving to se States a comparatively larger measure of presentation in the federal legislature than eir numbers would warrant, and (c) imposing obligation on the part of the States to move wards representative or responsible govern- nt, for such a movement might destroy the nservative character of States' representation. ce secured, the result of such a plan[1] would to substitute for direct British control of the ntre an indirect but permanent control ough the agency of conservative Indian ele- nts themselves which are opposed to the ance of democracy on principle.

From the British point of view, therefore, was of the prime importance that the for- lation of the proposed federal structure must ere with the inclusion into it of the Indian tes. The inclusion of the States, however, s bound to create legal difficulties, parti- larly so after the report of the Indian States mmittee of 1928 which had ascribed to these tes a notion of sovereignty as against the vernment of India. Any notion of sovereign- of the Indian States, from the historical standpoint, it must be noted, is an absolute myth. There is undoubtedly a peculiar kind of dignity which the Indian Prince is frequently invested with; but as the Indian States Committee also admitted, this dignity is purely superficial and formal. As against the Paramount Power, no Indian Prince has any unimpeachable rights at all. But it suited the purpose of the British Government to say that although the Indian Princes had no rights against the Paramount Power, yet the Paramount Power did not mean the British Government of India: it constituted the British Crown in its personal capacity—a conceptual basis, it must be pointed out, which is quite inconsistent with the whole spirit of the British constitution, and therefore incomprehensible on any grounds of constitutional propriety.[2]

The sovereignty of the Indian States was, however, recognised in theory as against the Government of India, and the structure of the federal scheme was built upon its foundation. That explains some of the intricate and unsound features of the scheme of the constitution. That also explains, incidentally, the juridically erroneous exposition of the legal and constitutional aspects of federalism as given by the Lord Chancellor at the third meeting of the Federal Structure Committee of the First Round Table Conference.[3] The Committee found itself faced with the difficult question as to how it could combine States, which were insisting upon their sovereignty, with British-Indian Provinces, which were subject to the authority of Parliament, and Lord Sankey tried to resolve this difficulty by explaining to the Committee the essentials of a federal government. It is a little unfortunate that he did so on the basis of an extract from the Encyclopaedia Britannica, a book of general reference, rather

1. This opinion is based on the authority of Professor A. B. Keith. See Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), pp. 142-3.

2. For fuller criticism of the Report of the Indian States Committee, 1929 (Cmd. 3302), see my essay on 'Indian Federation' published as Fabian Society Tract, No. 245.

3. Refer to Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-committees (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 20.

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than any accurate and authoritative literature on the subject of federalism; for this extract allows itself of two or three implications which have no basis at all in any true scheme of federation.

In the first place, it refers to the powers and function of the supreme federal government as delegated to it by the States. This is obviously inaccurate language; for delegation implies agency, and it is well understood that the powers of a federal government are neither derived by delegation from the States nor exercised in virtue of any agency but are definitely granted to it by the constitution. The more usual way of describing the process is to say that the component States had, as a condition of entering the federation, surrendered their powers to the nation, which by the constitution invests certain of these powers in the central and others in the State governments.

The passage goes on to say, and this part was particularly stressed by Lord Sankey as going to the very heart of the matter, that

'so far as concerns the residue of powers unallotted to the central or federal authority, the separate states retain unimpaired their individual sovereignty and the citizens of a Federation consequently owe a double allegiance—one to the state and one to the federal government.'

This statement of the nature of a federal constitution is open to strong question. It says, firstly, that as regards residual powers the States retain their individual sovereignty unimpaired. To talk of the individual sovereignty of Indian States is in any case meaningless, but even as regards the position of units in a federal constitution, sovereignty is not the correct word. It is quite well known that in every federal constitution there is a provision for constitutional amendment whereby powers may be shifted from State to national government and vice versa. The Lord Chancellor's talk of double allegiance also militates against the primary character of federal government, which dictates that sovereignty in any federal structure does not belong either to the States or to the national government, both of which are creatures of the constitution, but belongs to the nation as a whole, which has control over the constitution irrespective of its territorial divisions—a proposition which has been judicially held in the United States in *Texas* v. *White* (7 Wallace, 700).

Faulty in theory,[4] however, this description of federalism was convenient from the Brit point of view. It achieved the purpose of British Government to bring the Indian St into the federal scheme, however unsound made the federal scheme itself.

DISTRIBUTION OF LEGISLATIVE POWERS

In the determination of the allotment legislative powers, two sets of conflicts their play. Within British India itself th was a conflict between two opinions, one wish to keep the predominant power in the Cen and the other wishing to keep predomina power in the Provinces, the extent of this conf making each of these opinions look with greatest suspicion in the residuary field, one opinion demanding that the residuary fie should remain with the Centre and the oth demanding that the residuary field shou remain with the Provinces. To this conf there was added the jealousy of the States secure the fullest freedom in their own affai and to retain or—in cases of some arbitra decisions by agents of the Crown—to regu their sovereignty and internal autonomy, implied by treaties, sanads, and other enga ments.'[5] Said the Maharaja of Bikaner:

"The Princes do not want to be levelled down fr their present position of internal sovereignty. If it desirable and feasible to level up others, we should delighted, but we do not want to go down."[6]

Lord Sankey, as chairman of the Feder Structure Committee, sought to resolve double conflict by laying down at the very st certain basic principles. For the appeasem of the States, he made a distinction betw Federal and Central subjects, Federal subje being those matters of common concern wh interest the whole of India including the Sta and Central subjects being those matters 'wh concern British India only, and which for moment, perhaps, do not concern all In though personally I hope that as the mon pass by the two will be fused together.'[7] might incidentally be pointed out that in discussions that followed the representatives the States made it perfectly clear that altho it was difficult to anticipate what the future in store for India, yet so far as the mind the Indian States was today 'it seemed well say quite pointedly that there are subje included in the list of Central subjects wh

4. For fuller criticism of the Lord Chancellor's view, see N. D. Vardachariar: *Indian States in the Federation* (O. U. P., 1937), Chapter II.

5. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th Nov 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-com (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P.

6. *Ibid*, p. 5.

7. *Ibid*, p. 2.

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never become Federal subjects.'[8] But for present, by means of this distinction between Federal and Central subjects, the desire of States 'to limit the list of federal matters common concern as far as possible to a few ters[9] was conceded, and so one of the two ts regarding the allotment of powers sed over.

So far as the second conflict between the ates of the residuary powers to the Centre residuary powers to the Provinces was rned, Lord Sankey suggested that the ion might be found in a possible elimina- of residuary powers themselves by as ite enumeration of legislative subjects as ible.* He recognized, indeed, that 'human is always liable to make mistakes'[10] and 'the wants of society are so various that legislator cannot provide for every contin- y,'[10] but he felt then that exhaustive enumeration was the only means by which the gulf between the two opinions could be bridged.

Recourse to exhaustive enumeration, however, did not settle all the differences between the advocates of strong Centre and advocates of strong Provinces. The main problem still remained. The advocates of strong Provinces, not unlike the representatives of the Indian States, demanded that as many subjects be transferred to the Provincial list as possible. They were, again and again, reminded by experienced statesmen like Lord Sankey that

'British India is at present a unitary state divided for purposes of convenience into provinces, and not a number of Provinces federated to form a State'[11]

and Mr. Srinivasa Sastri that there exists at present in the polity of India a kind of unity and uniformity which must at all costs be retained;[12] yet the advocates of fully autonomous Provinces continued to insist upon the concession of as large a measure of legislative authority to the Provinces as possible. For the maintenance of uniformity in legislation, which they could not deny was highly desirable in itself, they suggested some highly dubious constitutional arrangements. Sir Muhammad Shafi suggested that

'the Federal Parliament should have the power to enact laws where uniformity is essential for the whole of India, but those laws will come into operation in the Indian States as well as in the Provinces on enactment in the States and Provincial legislatures being passed conforming to those laws.'[13]

Mr. M. A. Jinnah similarly elaborated a plan for co-ordination, which was even more long-winded, complicated, and doubtful of success.

The whole position was summed up by Mr. Lees-Smith, then temporarily presiding over the Committee, in a note. Said Mr. Lees-Smith,

'that it is desirable to maintain in British India, besides the two classes over which the Centre and the Provinces are respectively to maintain exclusive jurisdiction, a third category of subjects which is normally to fall in the Provincial sphere but is to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy, we have then to decide what that arrangement is to be and what subjects are to be regulated by it.'[14]

He went on to suggest that in these matters the Central legislature might be given concurrent powers of legislation with the Provincial legislatures, and a provision made that whenever a Provincial act was inconsistent with a Central act, the latter should prevail and the

8. *Ibid*, p. 9.
9. *Ibid*. p. 5.
* Although the Federal Structure Committee started the intention of eliminating residuary powers by ating the powers of the federal government and erating units by a precise and exhaustive enumera- in the course of the discussions, however, it became that however exhaustive the enumeration might be, undistributed residue of power was still bound to over, and in any case there was the ever-present ity of the need and scope of legislation changing with changes in the economic and social conditions ety. Some arrangement, therefore, for the alloca- of undistributed residue of power, small though it be, was felt necessary.

It was originally proposed in the White Paper that vinces might be given a general power of legislation matter of a merely local or private nature in the e, even if not specifically included in the Pro- list, provided that it did not conflict with any of umerated powers in the exclusively Central and the rent lists. Such also is the provision in the consti- of Canada, where the Provinces possess a general e power over non-enumerated subjects of a purely or private nature. But the experience of Canada shows that certain subjects which might in their be of merely local interest could subsequently extra-provincial and national importance. Such ity was provided against by suggesting in the Constitution that, with the previous sanction of the ernor-General given in his discretion, the federal ature might also be conceded authority to legislate such matters, and this is the form in which the pro- now stands. The Governor-General in his discre- has the authority to empower (as the need arises) appropriate legislature, Federal or Provincial, to e on any residual subject not enumerated in any the three lists—*vide*, sec. 104, Government of India 1935.

Regarding this provision, we can only say that it is ps a unique case of putting sole reliance on one al's commonsense and power of adaptation to ing circumstances.

10. *Ibid*, p. 3.

11. *Ibid*. p. 5.
12. *Ibid*. p. 8.
13. *Ibid*, p. 58.
14. *Ibid*, p. 96.

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former to the extent of that inconsistency should be invalid.

Thus there came into being three separate and exhaustive lists of Central subjects, Provincial subjects, and subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal government and the Provinces. This method of allocation of powers by specific enumeration in three separate lists is quite without a parallel in any other federation. Sir Samuel Hoare felt that 'it means complication, and it also means the possibility of increased litigation.'[15] He 'very much regretted' that that was so, but he thought that was the only solution of the conflict of opinion in India on the subject.

It must be admitted that the provision of the list of concurrent legislation might help to avoid some of the defects of the Canadian constitution. In Canada, there is just two-fold classification—exclusively federal and exclusively provincial lists of legislation; and this procedure has involved certain difficulties in practice. Every law passed by a legislature, under this method of division, must fulfil two conditions—not only must it fall within the list of powers distinctly given to it, but also it must not in any way affect any subject in the other list; and where, as in Canada, the list of powers is not scientifically drawn, this procedure can in practice cause much overlapping, for it fails to recognize, as the existence of concurrent authority makes it possible to recognize, that

'a subject may, in one aspect and for one purpose, fall within one section of the Act, and may in another aspect and for another purpose fall within the other.'[16]

Yet the provision of the concurrent list of legislation has another aspect which is clearly unfortunate. The formulation of the concurrent list, it must not be forgotten, has been wholly made at the cost of the Central list. Lord Sankey had taken as the basis of his Central subjects 'the existing list of powers under the Devolution Rules of the 1919 Act.'[17] The creation of the three lists has really meant the division of these Central subjects into List I and List III, and what is still worse, the allotment of all the really important Central subjects to List III. The reason for that is obvious. List I, as we have remarked before, is composed of two classes of subjects—Federal subjects, which are of common concern to the whole of India, and in which, therefore, it is assumed that the Federal legislature will exercise equal powers both over the Provinces and over the States; and Central subjects, which are, at least immediately, of common concern to British India alone, and in which the States do not desire to give jurisdiction to the Federal Government. It was expected by the framers of the constitution that the States would accede with regard to these Central subjects in the course of time, so that the Federal and the Central subjects would fuse into each other by all of them becoming Federal subjects. But such an expectation could rest merely on the foundation that the Central subjects in List I should be either completely routine in their character or of mere formal importance. Really important subjects could not be put into this list, for in that case, with their existing attitude the States could not be expected ever, either immediately or at a future date, to accept the federalization of this list.

Normally one might have expected that the coming of the States into a scheme of all-India federation would lead to the strengthening of the bonds of union between the various parts of the country. Actually, so far as the distribution of legislative powers is concerned, the position of the States continues to be almost exactly as it was before the federal scheme was ever thought of: only the relationship between the Central Government and the Provinces has been disturbed and worsened in order to enable the accession of the States to the federal scheme. Even at present, in matters of common concern for the whole of India the Government of India, as the Paramount Power, has supreme control: in other matters the States are supposed to be autonomous. Practically the same arrangement has been maintained under the new scheme.

At the first Round Table Conference, the representatives of the States agreed to make federal for 'policy and legislation' some of items in the list of Central subjects under the Devolution Rules.[18] These items do not at all go beyond what is the minimum essential for a national Government in the interests of the safety and uniformity of the whole of India. They comprise subjects like defence and foreign relations, establishment of postal, telegraph, telephone, and wireless services, coinage and

15. House of Commons Debates, dated 27th March, 1935.

16. Egerton: *Federations and Unions within the British Empire* (Oxford, 1911), p. 151 note.

17. Indian Round Table Conference, 12th November, 1930—19th January, 1931: Proceedings of Sub-committees (Part I). H. M. Stationery Office, London, 1931. P. 3.

18. *Ibid*, p. 274.

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...ency, emigration and immigration, com-...ications like railways, air, navigation, and ...ing, and patents and copyright. But even ...here are very important omissions in the ... Bankruptcy and insolvency, and recogni-... throughout India of the laws, records, and ...ial proceedings of the States and Provinces ... federal subjects in practically every federal ...ernment that exists in the world, and were ...ed placed in the list of federal subjects in ... White Paper [Cmd. 4268, pp. 114-15], but ... later transferred, presumably on the ...nd of the States, to the concurrent list. ...ther deplorable omission is the provision—...in a feature common to all federations—for ... establishment of internal free-trade through-... the federal area. Lastly, the constitution ...s not secure uniformity in the rights of ...ship throughout the federation; for while ...makes it possible for an Indian State subject ...and for election to a Provincial legislature, ...oes not secure similar right to the British ...an subject in an Indian State where a ...slature exists. When questioned about this ...the Joint Committee, Sir Samuel Hoare had ...admit that this had been done in order to ...ease the Princes,* for

> ...e made it a condition that we should have these ...ts of interference and intervention in Indian States, ...should not have been an all-India federation at all. ...Princes or no States would enter the federation."[19]

As regards the allocation of legislative ...ers, therefore, there remains in the Indian ...eral structure one great anomaly. The ...nt of the power of the Federal Government ...t the same with rgard to the States as it is ... regard to the Provinces; the constitutional ...angements in the two cases are entirely different. On the whole the Federal Government has been conceded less power over the States than over the Provinces. Even in the case of the Provinces, the extent of the federal power is very limited, and even absurdly so, in view of the present-day tendency throughout the world for the growth of a positive state and for all federations to develop into decentralized unitary states. In the case of the States, it is hopelessly narrow, and the process for its growth far too rigid. But the scheme of Indian federation also allows of the possibility of another minor anomaly as between the various States themselves. The federal constitution involves the possibility of some States agreeing to federate with regard to all the subjects in their standard Federal list and others agreeing only with certain exceptions. The differences may not be confined to the number of subjects of legislation only. The extent of powers which the States may wish to surrender to the federation may similarly vary from State to State. The divergence may possibly not be great if we confine our attention only to the legislative sphere; but if we take into consideration the totality of federal powers, legislative, administrative, and financial—and many of these striking differences are visible in the financial sphere—the anomaly assumes great proportions indeed.

Division of Administrative Powers

Related to, and in a way following upon, this anomalous allotment of legislative powers, there are certain complications in the division of administrative powers.

With regard to Federal subjects, the division of administrative powers is different as between the Federation and the Provinces from what it is as between the Federation and the States. So far as the Provinces are concerned, the Federal Government has the discretion either to employ its own officers or to use the Provincial Government as its agent for the administration of any Federal subject, the constitution in any case placing a 'moral obligation' on the Provincial Governments to exercise their executive power and authority so as to secure that due effect is given in the Province to every act of the Federal legislature which applies to that Province.[20] In case the Federal Government employs the Provincial agency for the administration of Federal subjects, it will have to bear any extra cost of administration incurred by the Provincial

*It might be relevant to consider how far the con-...n of legislative powers to the federation constitutes ...surrender' of sovereign powers, as was repeatedly ...by the States' representatives. The list of federal ...ect has been taken from the schedule of the central ...ects in the Devolution rules, in which British Indian ...ature has been legislating ever since the passing of ... Act of 1919. Indian States have hitherto had no ...e in their regulation, even though some of these ...ects like tariff and monetary policy affected them and ...r subjects most intimately. Even Mr. Pannikar, while ...g evidence on behalf of the Chamber of Princes, ...mitted that 'most of the subjects which you have now ...ntioned are under the administration of the Government ...India today.' (Joint Committee, Evidence. Vol. IIA—... All that the federal constitution does is to grant ...the States, by the devising of appropriate institutions, ...which in many cases is more than adequate, in ...conduct of the federal government, where they have ...possessed any voice before.

19. Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Re-...Evidence H. C. 112 (IIB)—6519—21, 7673.

20. See Sec. 122, Government of India Act, 1935.

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Government solely for that purpose, that is to say 'which that Government would otherwise not have incurred,' disputes as to the amount and incidence of charges so involved being resolved by the decision of an arbitrator appointed by the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, whose decision would be final and binding on both the Governments.[21]

It seems likely, indeed, that in the case of the Provinces the Federal Government will continue the present system of administration which is utilized by the present Government of India. It would employ its own officers for the administration of such matters as railways, posts and telegraph, customs, and income-tax, but might utilize the Provincial agency for the administration of other Federal subjects. But in all cases where administration is devolved on the Provincial Government, the Federal Government will have the right to see that the laws are administered efficiently and in accordance with its own policy. To that end, the Federal Government has been empowered to give directions to the Provincial Governments prescribing the manner in which they should exercise their executive authority and laying down the standards of efficiency that they should seek to maintain. It is noticeable that such directions may be rightfully given by the Federal Government to the Provincial Governments not merely in the domain of exclusively Federal subjects, but may also be given with regard to the administration of those purely Provincial subjects, between whom and certain Federal subjects there is close interdependence.[22] Such interdependence exists, for instance, between the administration of the Federal subject of railways and the Provincial subject of railway police, or between the administration of the Federal subject of 'port quarantine' and the Provincial subject of 'public health and sanitation.' In all such cases the Federal Government has the right to give directions to the Provincial Government to see that the latter's executive power in the purely Provincial sphere is so exercised as not to prejudice the efficient administration of any Federal subject.

In the case of the States, however, the position is wholly different. The States insisted that the administration of even Federal subjects by federal officers within their territories would mean, in the eyes of the State subjects, a derogation from the sovereignty of the Rulers and therefore they claimed that it should be provided in the constitution itself that the executive authority of the Federation would be exercised in the States only through the administrative agency of the States themselves. Although this demand of the States was not accepted in *toto*, yet it was conceded in substance by providing that a State may, in its Instrument of Accession, stipulate that it should be entrusted with the right of administering any or all federal laws through its own agency and in such a case, the only executive authority in that State would be the Ruler, who, however, since he would be exercising merely agency functions in the case of Federal subjects would be accountable to the Governor-General for the due discharge of his duties.[23] The Governor-General may, by inspection or otherwise, from time to time satisfy himself that an adequate standard of administration is maintained by the Ruler and that the law is administered in accordance with the policy of the Federal Government: in case of dissatisfaction he may even issue such directions to the Ruler as he might think necessary. But the responsibility of the State, and herein lies the essential difference between the States and the Provinces, is due always personally to the Governor-General in his discretion and not to the Federal Government as such, which has been expressly forbidden from giving directions to the States (as it may do in a similar case to the Provinces) if a particular subject should be badly administered or if a particular law should not be properly enforced.

To finish the narrative of the division of administrative powers, we must refer to the list of subjects for concurrent legislation as between the Federal Government and the Provinces. It would be clear that this aspect of the question is not at all relevant to the States, for as between the Federal Government and the States there are no subjects for concurrent legislation: it pertains only to the case of the Provinces. The concurrent legislative list, as we have seen before, was conceived of as a compromise between two opposing schools of thought and it comprehended that category of subjects which were normally to fall into the Provincial field but which were to be subject to some arrangement for co-ordination of legislative policy. Since in essence all these subjects were thought to be Provincial, the

21. See Sec. 124 (4), Government of India Act, 1935.
22. See Sec. 126 (1), Government of India Act, 1935.
23. See Secs. 125 and 128, Government of India Act, 1935.

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ministration was entrusted wholly and unexceptionably to the Provincial Government, the Federal government being not only prevented from appointing its own agency for the administration of its laws in this concurrent field, but also forbidden to give directions to the Provincial governments as in the case of exclusively Federal subjects or even those exclusively Provincial subjects whose administration is intimately interconnected with the administration of any Federal subjects.

But whatever might be the rational and theoretic basis for this provision, we feel that in practice it must lead to some confusion. It is true that many items in the concurrent list are concerned merely with questions of law, so that in their case no problem of administration would in effect arise. But there are also in the concurrent list certain subjects dealing with economic and social legislation (items 26 to 31) which are bound to involve elaborate, and in many cases expensive, administration of such matters as factories, welfare of labour, employers' liability, workmen's compensation, health insurance, unemployment insurance, sickness and old age pensions, trade unions, industrial and labour disputes, etc. In all these matters, the Federal legislature has, concurrently with the Provincial legislature, the power to pass a law, which would normally have greater validity and force than a law of the Provincial legislature, but has no power to see that it is enforced, even if the Provincial government does not like or care to enforce it. Even the Joint Committee could not see the use of the uniformity of legislation if there was no means of enforcing reasonable uniformity of administration; and it, therefore, recommended that at least in the class of subjects dealing with social and economic legislation, the Federal Government should have the power to issue directions to the Provincial Governments for the enforcement of laws, 'but only to the extent provided by the Federal act in question,' and as to the incorporation in the Federal bill of any power of the Federal government to issue directions to the Provincial Governments the previous sanction of the Governor-General in his direction should be a prerequisite.[24] One need hardly say that the provision is much too limited and too cumbrous.

24. See Sec. 126 (2), Government of India Act, 1935.

Conclusion

It will be clear from this analysis that the distribution of legislative and administrative functions in the Indian federation has been fundamentally determined by the desire of the Indian States to retain as much power for themselves as possible. If one may borrow the phrase of the Maharaja of Bikaner, the emphatic tendency underlying the formulation of the constitution has been to 'level up' the British Indian provinces which had so far been merely administrative divisions in a unitary state rather than to 'level down' the Indian States. As one studies the discussions of the Federal Structure Committee or the Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms, one is struck by the fact that whenever there arose any serious disagreement about the allotment of any particular legislative or administrative power, it was almost invariably solved by conceding it to the federating units rather than to the Federal government.

This emphasis of the Indian federal scheme is directly opposed to the characteristic development of the whole contemporary world. The predominant characteristic of the modern community everywhere is growing centralisation in economic functions and economic organization, and this in its turn is leading to and must lead to centralisation of political and legislative power in the State. In the United States, for instance, during the last two or three generations, there has been enormous increase of federal control in industrial, commercial, and financial activities; and the tendency in the United States from federalism to centralisation is not an isolated phenomenon. It is a world-wide movement. It proceeds from certain causative factors (which it is not the purpose of this paper to analyse) which are not local in their operation but which are felt throughout the world. In view of these factors, the whole tendency of modern political development is towards the centralisation of authority. Even as a branch of political theory, the federal state is clearly appearing to be no more than merely the transitory form from confederation to the decentralised unitary state. We fail to see, in these circumstances, any justification for the creation in India of a federal structure of government, whose whole emphasis is upon Provincial and State authority.

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Another 'Bloodless' Victory

On the first October Hitler once more demonstrated how a bloodless victory can be gained. It was not exactly a triumph for non-violence. But Europe does not demand that spiritual canon of her Saviour to be satisfied even in normal times. And in the abnormal days that preceded Europe was too near an avalanche that was coming down on her to care for that. She wanted to be saved, and she has been saved. And who could be the Saviour of nations and peoples but the Nazi Führer that has dethroned the Jewish Christ and renovated the Teutonic Heroic Ideal? So, Hitler once more spared the Continent of the blood-bath and gave a lesson of the technique of bloodless victory.

The technique is faultless. Armament, bluff and bluster, with the sure knowledge that the ruling class of Europe cannot in spite of their loyalty to treaties and democratic traditions lay the Führer down. Mr. Chamberlain and M. Daladier, it was known to all, could not do otherwise than they did. Theirs, to grant them the claim to sincerity which facts would certainly deny, was at best a pitiful plight. More like the dogs of Pavlov, if we believe them, conditioned by the social order in which they are born and bred, and in which they learnt to hold the rights of peoples and nations and the pledged word of the peoples sacred, they had to be re-conditioned now to this inevitable phase that this very system has generated—the Fascist phase of European history. If the class interests are confused by the vague notions of democracy or right or wrong, the arms of Hitler would put them on the straight road to Fascism. To Hitler has fallen this 'divine destiny' of saving these ruling classes if they err or falter.

"The Play-Acting"

Yet it is an undeniable truth that Mr. Chamberlain knew the rôle he played. He is too astute not to foresee that it was a betrayal of the peoples and popular rights. But the betrayal was pre-ordained if the social order was to be preserved. "Surrender" to Fascism was at least patent to all observers from the day when Mr. Anthony Eden was dropped. It was an open avowal that in no case was Britain ready to accept the other alternative—the friendship of Soviet Russia in defence of democracies. The logical development of that has led to the surrender to Nazism. What therefore is remarkable in the whole of these brief weeks as the Czech drama unfolded is the faultless play-acting of the British Prime Minister, the minor study the French Premier and the German Führer, and on this point Englishmen, so remote from one another as John Strachey and Prof. J. M. Keynes are agreed. The 'Technique of Deception,' as the former calls it, forms the subject-matter of a masterly analysis of both the publicists. Of course it began with the appointment of the 'independent mediator' from Britain, Lord Runciman, who was to pave the path for the Nazi Lord to Sudetenland. It progressed fairly—rather unfairly to the Czechs, as it was never intended to succeed. Then the drama gathered momentum, Mr. Chamberlain's solicitude for peace made him fly uninvited to Hitler at Berchtesgaden—where only a few months ago Schuschnigg had gone on invitation to meet his fate. *The Times* proposal for secession of the Sudetenland some weeks earlier, which was then declared *not* to be the official opinion of the British cabinet, became now the Premier's policy, as foretold by us. Writes Mr. Strachey:

> Mr. Chamberlain agrees to the essentials of Hitler's demands, namely, the secession of the whole of the Sudetenland to Germany, returns to London, succeeds in inducing the Cabinet not only to support this secession, but to join with the French Cabinet in imposing it upon the Czechs.
>
> The world-scene changes in a moment. Nation after nation flies from the Anglo-French to the German camp. A week later, Mr. Chamberlain returns to Hitler at Godesberg.

And we plunge into the great act of the drama—the period of tension and crisis which called forth the best gifts of the actors in the piece. Mr. Chamberlain's very face speaks of the pain and agony that is tearing his heart. The Führer's demands are such that the British people cannot be induced to impose them on the Czechs before the six days of grace are out. Staff consultations occur, France is prepared, Russia signifies her readiness. The preparations start in Great Britain. "The pace of events began to accelerate. It seemed

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everyone that not only were we on the very of war, but that the irreversible momen- was carrying us over that edge." Mr. Duff- the First Lord of Admiralty, even sanction for the mobilization of the and Mr. Garvin, who knew the game well played his part as the blatant trumpet *The Observer*, believing little as he wrote on ember 25:

Let every man and woman who reads these lines their hearts to read them undaunted. To face the in its whole starkness, to vow that life and goods henceforth nothing by comparison with the issues to realize that we may be summoned to rise up the fight of all time—this is our one sure salvation God.

Then the official mind thought the hour putting the curb had arrived. The people now told that British preparations for defence were inadequate; that General lin had told the Cabinet that the French weak in air, their ammunitions for the insufficient; that, above all, the Soviet ary strength was reduced by dissensions. our then necessarily cooled, though the of the allegations are contested by now. And when the Premier rose in the mons reviewing the events to an over- ght House, still not knowing how to finish speech, Sir John Simon handed over the gram inviting him to Munich along M. Daladier and Signor Mussolini. A hysteria of cheering closed the evening, the act, and settled the future that was disclosed at Munich. There was signed the fortune of the Czech people, without the formality of consulting them or their the Soviet. The occupation of Sudeten- was to begin immediately and to be com- by October 10; an International mission was to hold a plebiscite in the which had predominantly German popula- 51% was considered to be the number to this condition, though the plebiscite idea given up later when the Czechs saw every- was lost); the Czech defensive fortifications industrial establishments were to pass to the German hands untampered; other rity claims (soon asserted by Poland in seizure of Teschen; appeased, since then, the creation of autonomous Slovakia; the ent claims, resisted so far, of Hungary thenia etc.) were to be satisfied duly; the Czechs were to receive a guarantee from four powers gathered at Munich for this the defence of their new frontiers.

Mr. Chamberlain came home a conquering hero; and thus ended a week's play-acting 'beginning with gas-masks and ending with bouquets,' to quote Mr. Keynes who thus closed his analysis of the situation in *The New Statesman and The Nation*. Observes Mr. Keynes:

Neither the Prime Minister nor Herr Hitler ever intended for one moment that the play-acting should evolve into reality. For it would be a mistake to attribute extreme carelessness to the one or insanity to the other of these two astute politicians. The actual course of events has been dictated by the fact that the objectives of Herr Hitler and Mr. Chamberlain were not different, but the same; whilst Russian policy has played into Mr. Chamberlain's hands by making it easy for him to ignore her.

The course of events can be made intelligible by the following considerations. Herr Hitler has explained that his ultimate objective is the Ukraine. The Balkans, Western Europe, the Colonies 'might' have been the desired sphere of his expansion. But he has openly decided otherwise; and in these matters he is a man of word. Yet the position of Czechoslovakia, with a well armed force of a million men, strongly entrenched, and in alliance with Russia, presented a danger to his flank which could not be overlooked and must be dealt with first. The inner diplomatic game has developed, therefore, as follows. We have been bought off by Germany's agreeing to forego a fleet and soft-pedalling on the colonies; France by her renunciation of Western aims (perhaps including Spain, so far Germany is concerned); Italy by her side-stepping the Balkans; Poland by a sacrifice of the Silesian Germans (for the time being) and the hope of a share of the Russian spoils. Only Czechoslovakia had to be sacrificed. The next move, presumably, is a German alliance with Poland with a view to the seizure of the Ukraine, simultaneously with a Siberian venture by Japan (this move being, however, seriously endangered by Japan's blunder in Central China).

Our sea-power and our overseas Empire remain for the present unchallanged; our own peace may be secured for a considerable period; we are given time to complete our air defences.

Consequences

The immediate results of the betrayal of the Czecho-Slovak Republic are too patent to all to require recounting. The Czecho-Slovak State of Masaryk is gone, it has sunk into two small autonomous states of the Czechs and Slovaks. (It has to be recognised that it had no right to Sudetenland, a German area); the Danubian States and the whole of Central and Eastern Europe in fact are rallying round the Nazi Germany; the Czechs are travelling the same Fascist way with their new Foreign Minister, Chalkovsky, a man approved by Hitler, as their guide and Czech capitalist interests organising to uphold an order which promises them safety from the Soviet influence. Of course the Soviet has been deprived of all friends by it, except the Socialists in all lands.

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The German ideal of a German dominated Mitteleuropa is now on the sure road to realization—a greater Germany stretching from the North Sea to the Mediteranean. Although the unification of the German race is not yet complete, after this there is hardly anything to prevent that when the Führer wills it. The smaller states of Europe like Switzerland or the bigger ones like Poland and Italy know this. France of course no longer considers herself equal to Germany or capable of withstanding the German onslaught by herself. The Alsace-Lorraine separation movement has raised its head under such encouragement. The Four Power Agreement at Munich almost realises the Four Power Pact for which Chamberlain has been trying for a long time. A result of it has been the comparative ease visible in the Spanish position, signified by the disbandment of the International Brigade on the one hand and the withdrawal of ten thousand Italian volunteers on the other. If Mussolini has for the moment been overshadowed by his German partner, he is sure to return to limelight at the earliest moment. Both a little 'off colour,' Britain and Italy may find now that the Anglo-Italian Agreement should be implemented—of course Mussolini will not move away from the Balearic islands, and must have his ambition realized in the Mediterranean too. For Germany the *Drang nach Osten* is now assured, and the way to the Rumanian oil-fields and Ukrainian granary of the Soviet opened by the capitulation of Czecho-Sovakia. *Mein Kampf* is really to begin; and Soviet Russia's hour of trial is at hand—the hour of trial for socialists too there as everywhere. For the very existence of the Soviet is now endangered. These in short are the immediate consequences of the Czecho-Slovak affair in the continent of Europe.

The Colony Question

Outside Europe, but really a European problem in essence, the question of the return of the German colonies becomes now an immediate issue. A school of British politicians were in favour of it even before this, as colonies are said to be no great economic gain and all powers should have easy access to raw materials, and above all, a people like the Germans could not be 'appeased' unless the stigma of their being unfit to rule colonies is thus removed. It remains to be seen however how the pro-Nazi Imperialist press of Britain accepts this proposal to disgorge the colonies. A footnote to this colonial claim is furnished by the opposition intimated by the Indian settlers Tanganyika. Of course in the great questi this will weigh for little with the British ernment.

Palestine

It is not possible to estimate what percussion the Nazi triumph and the compl tive eclipse of the British Imperialist d macy is likely to have on other peoples. T the Arab world possibly sees in it a furt proof of the weakening of the strength of Bri Empire. Mussolini, it is known, has put h self forward as the claimant for Arab lea ship. Palestine Arabs were regularly openly supplied with Italian arms for resis the Britisher. For some time it is noted the Third Reich was undertaking the work the Hohenzollerns in throwing its net wide the Near East. General Reichenau's report, p lished in the *News Chronicle*, refers to the A hatred of England and asserts, 'it is o Germany which can give help to the Ar without threatening their national independe Palestine is now any way admitted to be open revolt. The proposal for partition shelved; the Woodhead report too is unanimous on the wisdom of it. It is not e however, for the British authorities to agree the Arab pressure from Iraq, Trans-Jordan Egypt, etc. and loosen their grip over this s of territory lying on the air route from West to the East when the sea route by Mediterranean was already endangered by rise of Mussolini. Husseini's Arab nati government is therefore having the last instalment of military repression. The re European affairs must however embolden t sturdy rebels against Britain.

Fall Of Canton and Hankow

Directly put to the British surrender Munich is however the Japanese offensive South China. As soon as it was clear Britain was not ready to risk a war at present stage of her preparations, Japan t off all caution and regard for the power in Far East. Near Hong Kong soldiers were ed and then followed the sweeping marc Canton to cut off the chief road of war s so far open to the Chinese. Canton has f The meaning of it is plain to all. Ch main road for outside help is closed. Sh now only three minor routes for the purp the Yunnan-French Indo-China route Yunnan-Burma route, and the road yet

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nection between Western China and the . China is thus almost thrown on her ive and elemental power of resistance. odern warfare that is of no value. Even Moscow a modern Napoleonic expedition d not be so helpless as a century ago. So pe of China is to retire far into the ry—for, Hankow too is about to fall in a ours—and. if left less disturbed, to deve- y herself her own power of struggle h patient and silent preparation while erilla irregulars keep Japan busy in the ied areas.

What Next—Soviet Russia?

The real significance of the Czech affairs er transcends every political problem it raises. It has a deeper and bigger ation. It means a betrayal of demo- no doubt. It registers also the itable truth that in a world of upheavals otalitarian states are bound to beat racies. But it goes further. It declares democratic facade is no guarantee against Fascist inroads in society. Britain still rules by the parliament, but Mr. Chamberlain plays in the country the same role as any Fascist dictator in his own. Even the Parliament is not called for such big decisions. The Cabinet too was not consulted. They were called on to approve some accomplished fact. The Parliament acted like the Reichstag. Yet the show is kept. Chamberlain knows that the Parliamentary device ensures his ruling class interests better than others. He realizes that Hitler fights his battle for him in Europe and, he too must fight on behalf of the Führer. So the Four Power Pact must be attained assuring Hitler of Fascist domination on the Continent and Soviet isolation in the world. So, in the next few months we may witness British Imperialism entering into a secret understanding with Fascism that the Führer, without pressing for the Colonies, should march to Moscow and Ukraine, while the powers, as well as Japan in Siberia would help him in eliminating the communist menace from world civilization. That we may really count on as the next move.

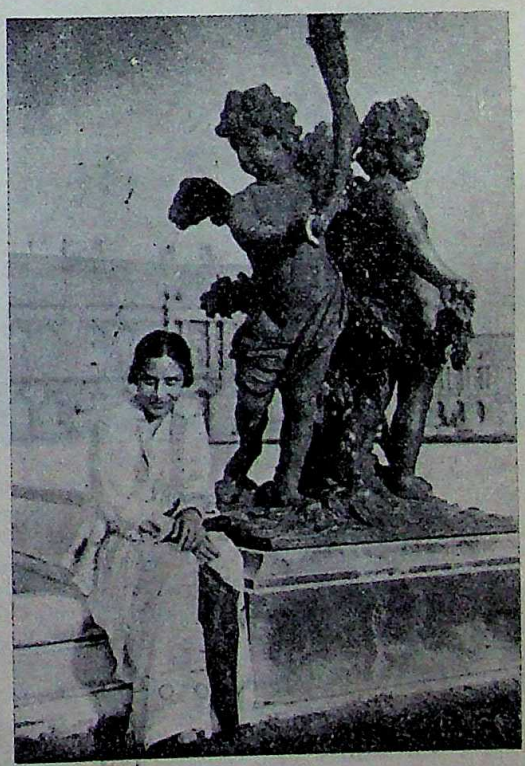
G. H.

26-10-38

INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Shefalica Roy, wife of Mr. B. K. of the Indian Forest Service, is an

Mrs. Shefalica Roy



Miss R. Banerjee

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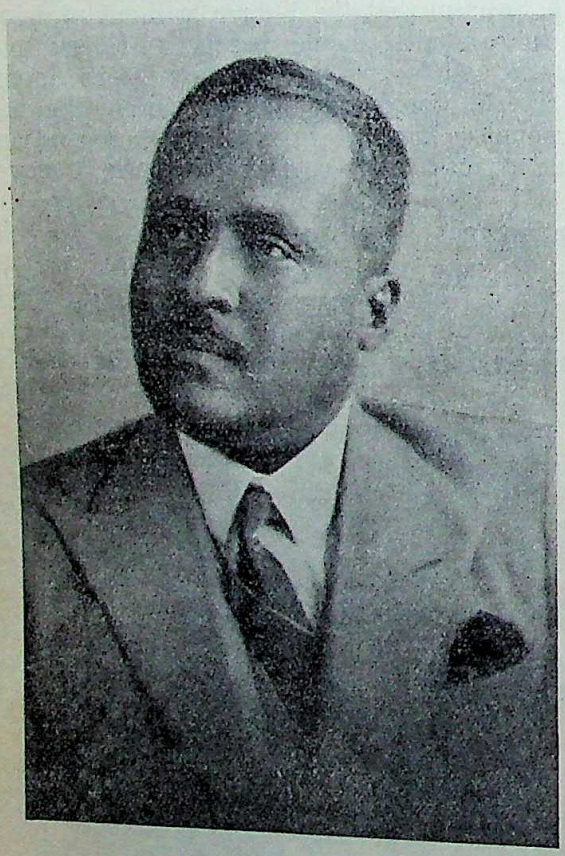
Honorary Magistrate of the Vellore Juvenile Court and an Honorary Visitor of the Presidency Jail for Women. She is also connected with the Girl Guides Movement as Commissioner for the district of North Arcot and Chittor, Madras, and Red Cross and Child Welfare Society and other social organizations. She hails from Bogra, Bengal.

MISS R. BANERJEE, after passing the B. examination from the Calcutta Univers went to England and joined the University Leeds, where she obtained the degree of M on her thesis on "Education of Women Bengal." Miss Banerjee is the daughter of late Surendranath Banerjee, Advocate, Tong Burma.

AN ASSAMESE HISTORIAN'S SUCCESS



Prof. B. K. Bhetyan

Rai Bahadur S. K. Bhuyan, Professor of History the Cotton College in Gauhati, who went to England years ago on study leave, has taken his Ph.D. from London University and returned to India. The title his thesis was "Anglo-Assamese Relations" (1771-1 in which he shows British intercourse with As followed by commercial and political agreements, lea to its conquest.

Prof. Bhuyan went to England with an est lished reputation as an author and was straight appointed Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies London in Assamese. He had to his credit as many 36 books in English and Assamese. Some of Assamese books are recognized as classics and are books for several examinations of the Universities Calcutta Dacca and Benares. His work *Tungkhu Buranji* (History of Assam) was published by Oxford University Press.

Prof. Bhuyan is also a great antiquarian. He the life and soul of the Department of Historical Antiquarian Studies in Assam and was its Director a number of years. Under its auspices he edited a number of original documents in Assamese with all the requisites of a modern scholarly publications. He discovered fresh materials about Mughal India from Assam sources. They were published in several issues of *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad).

In recognition of his zeal in the pursuit of histor and antiquarian studies the Government of India ferred on him the title of Rai Bahadur in 1936, when was comparatively young. He has been able to interest in Assamese history and civilization am historical scholars in India and the West. In 1937, Bhuyan was invited to deliver a course of lectures Rome by the *Instituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente* on history and civilization of Assam.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Congress and Mahatma Gandhi

In the course of his article on South India and the Congress in *The Twentieth Century*, S. Satyamurti observes:

The Indian National Congress undoubtedly receives its strength from the fact that it is the only all-India popular political organization fighting fearlessly for the freedom of the Motherland. But its strength lies also in its component parts. It has grown in strength, stature and responsibility during the last 18 years and especially since the acceptance of office by the Congressmen in eight provinces, its responsibilities have become greater. I do not want to cast any reflection on other provinces, but I believe profoundly that the Congress derives its strength mainly from those provinces where Congress discipline is strictest and the Congress writ runs, without any let or hindrance. I know a fetish can be made of discipline and know that tyranny can often masquerade as discipline, but having the Congress, its organization, its leaders and workers and its followers fairly intimately during the last 30 years and more, I can claim that, except Mahatma Gandhi there is no "Dictator," in the remotest sense of the word in the Indian National Congress.

According to the writer the Mahatma is the only disinterested dictator in the world today.

I grant that Mahatma Gandhi is a dictator. But I claim for him that his dictatorship rests upon the acceptance of his views freely and voluntarily by those who lead the Congress and not on any military prowess or any force or any religious fanaticism. Moreover, he is the only disinterested dictator in the world today. He has no axe to grind, not even the axe of personal vanity in the sense of sticking to one's own opinions. I may say that he is the most resilient Congress leader, with whom it has been my privilege to work these years; and above all there is no use disguising the fact that God has given him an instinct and a judgment that enable him to come to right conclusion on most occasions, when most of us flounder and some of us make mistakes.

The Philosophy and Technique of Satyagraha

According to Mahatma Gandhi non-violent non-co-operation is a really effective substitute for war. In *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly* Nirmal Kumar Bose expounds the theory of Satyagraha as taught by the Mahatma:

Satyagraha is not a substitute for war; it is war with the thorn of many of its ugly features and guided by a purpose far nobler than what we generally associate with destruction. It is itself an intensely heroic and courageous form of war.

The first article of faith with the Satyagrahi is the need of recognizing and of loving all mankind as one. The Satyagrahi also holds that love is never consistent with exploitation in any shape or form. Exclusive possession can never go together with love.

In accordance with this fundamental belief, the Satyagrahi holds that whenever there is a conflict of interests in human society, there must be something wrong somewhere. And if we can look into the situation with patience enough, a way can surely be found to restore the sense of human unity, and, at the same time, to serve the best interests of humanity taken as a whole.

The Satyagrahi also believes that such a solution can be best arrived at if he himself and his adversary can somehow put their heads together.

Fear demoralizes and raises fresh barriers to better understanding in the hearts of men in authority today. Pride and self-defence stiffen their back, and make them less amenable to reason, justice and fair-play. The Satyagrahi has therefore to devise some means of dealing with them effectively; and it is through self-suffering that he proposes to do so.

The writer goes on to explain what the Satyagrahi exactly understands by self-suffering:

It has already been said that the first law of the Satyagrahi is the law of love. The second law, which follows from love, is that the way to the adversary's head is not through the head, but through the heart. He believes that it is only through suffering, voluntarily and cheerfully endured, that the way can be opened to better understanding and a due recognition, on the part of the adversary, of the injustice of his own position. The Satyagrahi knows that all systems of exploitation thrive in the world because both the exploiter and the exploited co-operate in their maintenance. The exploited do so through fear, but they co-operate with the exploiters all the same. It is just here that the Satyagrahi sees his best opportunity of voluntary suffering. He tries to wreck the system of exploitation by refusing to co-operate with it, and thus draws upon his devoted head all the repression his adversary is capable of administering. If he stands unmoved through the shower of repression, his sufferings heroically endured are likely to touch the heart of the oppressor and thus pave the way for mutual discussion and a joint effort to build up a social system without the injustices of the present. It may also happen that the Satyagrahi fails to touch the heart of the exploiter with all his suffering. But even then his endeavours need not go in vain. For continued non-co-operation will bring about the downfall of any system, whether the Satyagrahi eventually succeeds in gaining the good-will and co-operation of the exploiter or not. No system can endure with non-co-operation all the while cutting away the ground from under it.

The suffering which the Satyagrahi voluntarily endures must not be endured mechanically. All through

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the struggle it must be illumined by a sense of human love.

Satyagraha blesses him who uses it as well as him against whom it is used. It is a process of self-purification for the Satyagrahi, while it also stimulates the latent human qualities within his opponent's breast. The non-co-operating warrior thus steals a march over his brother who uses violence by being able to employ the educative process from the beginning of his fight for power.

Mahatma Gandhi also believes that one who uses the sword also perishes by the sword. Success through violence is no proof of Truth and ultimately leads to Untruth. So Gandhi holds it as a fundamental proposition that it is only through non-violence that we should combat violence, and it is only love which can overcome hate. It is only a full sense of unity which can combat and ultimately overwhelm the selfish and sectional spirit of mankind.

Federalism

The study of government in one country may be extremely helpful or suggestive to those who have to establish or administer government in another, no matter how different. James Truslow Adams writes on the subject of Federalism in *The Aryan Path* from the standpoint of American experience:

The history of Federalism in the United States is of especial utility for various reasons, among them being its vast scale and the fact that it is the oldest large-scale experiment in Federal government.

Moreover, America has tried two experiments, one brief and unsuccessful but the faults of which afford us a lesson, as well does the success of the later one. The "Confederation," which lasted from 1781 to 1789, proved inadequate chiefly because it largely took the form of a league of sovereign states, and the central federal authority did not have sufficient power to compel obedience even in such matters as the raising of taxes.

A mere league of states had been shown to be useless because of the inherent weakness of such a system already mentioned. Yet the states had to remain as sovereign entities. To solve the problem a then entirely new idea was hit upon, that of *dual citizenship*. Every American citizen is a citizen not only of his own state, New York, California or what-not, but also directly a citizen of the United States so that the power and control of the Federal Government reach down immediately, and not simply through a state government, to every citizen. For that reason we find in the Preamble to the Federal Constitution that it is "we, the people of the United States" who combine to "form a more perfect Union," and not that the states are combining. The change was momentous.

The central government, however, was made one of only limited powers. It can do only such things as are specifically granted to it in the Constitution, such as tax and borrow money for federal purposes, regulate foreign and interstate commerce, control foreign relations, the army and navy, currency and coinage, the postal service, and so on. Other than such specific powers granted, all powers remained with the states or with the people themselves. The Federal Government was also divided into the Executive, Legislative and Judicial branches, with many checks on each other. The Constitution provided a Bill of Rights guaranteeing forever certain personal liberties such as freedom of religion, speech, press and others.

For one thing we have found in practice that the difference in size of the various states, so feared at first, has not caused any material disadvantage.

Another point we have learned is that it is not enough to give a Federal Government wide legislative powers unless the executive powers are commensurate.

On the whole, the division of powers between the central and state governments, as well as dual citizenship, has worked out well, although here again, legal questions can arise and have done so. For the first seventy years there was much dispute over the division of sovereignty, culminating in the bloody Civil War in 1861. That decided the question of whether or not a state could secede. Since then, none has tried to and it is doubtful if one ever will again. Economics, if not political theory and sentiment for the Union, have made it impossible. An interior state could not secede without being economically throttled, and a coast state would not be allowed to deprive the Union of its ports.

Nature In Bankim Chandra's Novels

Man is the centre of interest in fiction. Nature in and for herself has no place in the world. The influence of her presence, the beautious background she creates, her intimate association, sympathetic or otherwise, with human emotions—these are a heritage too precious to be lost. Though centred round man fiction has to allow Nature her proper place in the world that it creates. Romanticism in art recognises the poet's "consecration and dream" which transforms the external world of reality. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee is the child of Romanticism. Writes Amiya Kumar Sen in *The Calcutta Review*:

Poets and artists of the Romantic period often present nature as expressing in forms of beauty the Eternal spirit underlying the universe. They could not rest satisfied with descriptions of her physical beauty alone. They must look deeper into her fundamental characteristics and discern therein 'the one spirit plastic stress' which consecrates all the objects of the world. Naturally, therefore, they are always conscious of the spirit revealing itself through the veil of appearance. In Shelley and Wordsworth, for instance, there are wonderful pictures representing this aspect of nature. In *Prometheus Unbound* as Asia proceeds along the path of self-realization the whole of nature is gradually spiritualized. The shadows of the morning clouds, the blossoms of spring, the purple mountain slopes have a writ over them as it were, appeals revealed to the spirit alone.

Bengal had come into intimate contact with Romanticism in Western Literature and Bankim Chandra was bound by a thousand bonds to the currents of thought and life prevalent in his age. No wonder that the technique of romantic art should leave its impress on his mind and that he should describe in his novels the gradual spiritualisation of nature in contact with human emotions.

When after taking poison Kalyani gradually succumbs to her death, in her semi-conscious state she hears celestial music coming through the forest-trees.

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in the song of exultation and responds to what ears to be heavenly harmony. Charmed with the ous blending of her voice with that of the forest, husband, his heart overflowing with faith and ence, raises his voice and in the anguish of his Joins in the choric song. The entire landscape with melody. The birds in the trees, the the trees, in fact nature herself, seem to take the burden of the song. When gradually Kalyani her consciousness Mahendra makes the forest re- he startles the birds and beasts with his song of and prayer. Nature seems to be spiritualized; she become the proper shrine for such hymns of adora-

Nature thus plays a very prominent part in the novels Bankim Chandra. Sometimes she is a mere setting human actions; sometimes she adds a touch of tic glamour to incidents and personalities sented in the novels; sometimes again she actively cipates in the creation of their atmosphere. Bankim recognises in her a power, a spirit. He can quently utilise her to symbolise human emotions passions or sudden changes in the action. He can use her to universalise the appeal of his artistic ons and make her catch on her beautiful countenance hes of human emotions. Nature and man in ate contact, the one reflecting and influencing the —this is the picture that Bankim Chandra gives us his descriptions of nature in her varied moods ersed throughout his novels. And everywhere with touches of art he harmoniously blends together e and the world of his novels so that none of his ptions can ever be regarded as superfluous or out ace.

Modernism: An Oriental Interpretation

Life has come to mean today the life usively of the senses, the life that is nctive. reflexsive, automatical in its *elan,* ch is beyond the control of the conscious and intelligence, the life that is interwoven body and matter. In interpreting moder- in the *Triveni* Nalini Kanta Gupta erves:

Whether morally or aesthetically, the domination of mind and the heart over life was the characteristic g of the movement of the human spirit in the past. Modernism means the release of life from this gation; it means the expression of life's own truths own way, life's self-determination: that is the endeavour and achievement of today.

Today, however, in pursuit of the mystery of life we e-entered into darker and more obscure regions—of and genes, of colloid actions and neutron reaction: elementary instincts, the primary reflexes, the tangle short and brief vibrations, and half-articulate pulsa- of the most physical and material consciousness are stuff of the life we seek to live and to capture and ve. The creative and active force in life as well as ert is now invested in the nervous dynamism and sional perception. The old morals and aesthetics and the sentiments and notions around them are considered today merely conventional and bourgeois; they have given place to a freer life-movement, the expression and embodiment of an unrestrained and authentic life, life in its natural, original, unspoilt (and crude and coarse) verity. We are probing into the mystery of the crust.

It appears then that we have come down perilously near the level of the sheer animal; by a curious loop in the cycle of evolution, the most civilized and enlightened type of mankind seems to be retroverting to the status of his original ancestor.

Not quite so, certainly. The consciousness (rather, the self-consciousness) that man has gained in place of the unconsciousness or semi-consciousness, characteristic of the general mass in the past, and the growing sense of individuality and personal worth, which is an expression of that consciousness, are his assets, the hall-mark of his present-day nature and outlook and activity.

A Constituency for Dumb Animals

The Theosophist comments:

Why should not every Parliament have a member to represent the interests of the animals? A new idea certainly, but an idea which has passed the stage of humour or speculation, since it has found a place in the Report of the Seal Committee on Constitutional Reforms in Mysore State, namely, that in addition to a Representative Assembly, with mandates from the people, there should be a Legislative Council with "a different end and therefore a different composition . . . such a body must be composed of persons who have a large outlook . . . It will be, not an epitome of the people, but an Assembly embodying its collective wisdom and virtue." In addition to the interests to be represented, such as trade, landed and capitalist, professional, labour, etc., the Report recommends that to these "must be added representatives of the interests of women (so long as the suffrage and full political status are withheld), children, depressed classes, and even the dumb animals."

Sir Mirza M. Ismail, Dewan of Mysore, in opening a veterinary dispensary near Bangalore, expressed the hope that "if the new constitutional committee revives the recommendation and it becomes a part of the Constitution, we may be able to secure as the member for this constituency someone who has the welfare of animals at heart as much as Mr. Rangaiengar"—it was Rao Bahadur Rangaiengar who built the veterinary dispensary, and the dispensary is a practical expression of his work in the Society for the Promotion of Kindness to Animals.

How many times have we seen it proposed that the Nations should establish a Ministry of Peace. Ministries of War are energizing everywhere, and as long as they are busy—man warring against man—we cannot expect war on animals to cease. Mysore is showing the way to peace, not only peace with the lower orders, but peace to all beings. A portfolio for the Animal Kingdom would be in very truth a Department of Peace, with all its implications and potentialities. May the light which is in Mysore irradiate the darkness of this war-ridden world!

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Keshub Chunder Sen

In the course of a paper contributed to *The Asiatic Review,* Viscount Samuel makes the following observations on the life and teaching of Keshub Chunder Sen, the centenary of whose birth is being celebrated this year in India and abroad :

Keshub Chunder Sen was one of the great religious initiators of the modern world. He was a man of lofty, spiritual temperament, but not one of the those who therefore renounce the world. He was too wise and too good a humanitarian to take the path of withdrawal and the abandonment of social duty. On the contrary, he spent his life in strenuous and incessant effort to spread beneficent ideas.

I have long been deeply interested in the Brahmo Somaj, and so far as I understand the teaching of Keshub Sen, who was for so many years its leader, the central ideas are these. Religion is not to be regarded as something merely historical, given once and for all at some distant period in the past, but is rather a living force in the present; as much a vital concern for our generation as it has been for any previous generation. Religion is not a matter of rigid dogma, fossilizing ideas that prevailed in an age before science. Rather should it embrace all the knowledge painfully acquired by mankind through the centuries, and should be adapted to the conditions of life of the present time.

Further, it is wrong for each creed to emphasize its own particularized and distinctive doctrines so that a spirit of separatism, or even of antagonism, is created between the various faiths. Religion is something more than the religions. Yet, in seeking an ultimate unity, we ought not to insist upon uniformity. We should not be forgetful of the variety of national traditions and the needs of different temperaments.

Keshub Chunder Sen was an Indian and proud to be the servant of India. He realized to the full her own special needs. He insisted upon the urgent necessity for changes in the ancient laws and customs of India. Caste and Untouchability was an outstanding instance. The status of women was another.

Further, he incessantly attacked the evils of idolatry and superstition; and that message is still needed in a land where those evils still influence the lives of vast masses of the population, confusing their ideas and warping their judgments. He contributed also to the great movement which, in our own times, has gone far to fortify the national self-respect and the patriotic spirit of the Indian people. He dwelt upon the importance of nationalism, but was not among those who make the mistake of considering it necessarily opposed to internationalism. The two, wisely conceived, may coincide, but it has been rightly said that "Internationalism must rest upon a satisfied nationalism."

All these matters are of vital import to modern civilization. In the long run it is Ideas that rule. Practical politics are important. I have devoted almost all my life to political affairs, but I have come to see that, without depreciating the importance of action in the sphere of politics and administration, even more important are the ideas that underlie and direct and control politics. In the matters with which Keshub Chunder Sen dealt, he touched the very mainsprings of the contemporary world.

I feel, therefore, that the Brahmo Somaj Movement has rendered great service to India, and if its influence were to spread among a larger proportion of the population, that service would be greatly enhanced. And since India includes one-sixth of all mankind, the indirect effect upon the world as a whole must be significant.

Iqbal, India's Muslim Poet

Asia publishes an illuminating study of the poetry and philosophy of Sir Mohammad Iqbal by Amiya Chakravarti, from which the extracts are made. English translations of Iqbal's poetry do not seem to be abundant and Dr. Chakravarti has used his own translations in this paper.

Iqbal's poetry reveals the struggle of modernism in the East. iis ideas march in challenging light, he is fighting two fronts at once. Keenly conscious of cultural reciprocity, his poetry must establish the rights of unique excellences before allowing confederation.

Through a series of paradoxes, and large-scale utterances on behalf of the temporary under-dog, he seeks to achieve balance. Following this technique, he would advocate the doctrine of power for weak nations, minorities, deflated groups and parties and thus super-dogs with retaliatory caninism. The human ideal behind this needs searching, but can be found in his writings :

"Do not be indebted to European civilization
Make your pitcher of wine out of Indian earth."

he told his son, in *Jawid ke Nam,* a poem sent to him from London in 1930 during the Round Table Conference. The message hangs on the interpretation of the word "indebted." Western politics Iqbal would mock, as the Westeners would, by saying, in *Syasad-i-Afrang* :

"O God, European politics is your rival,
But its followers are the rich and the powerful."

—a novel method of offering consolation. In *Eik Sa* ("A Question") he hit out :

"One should ask the European philosopher
Because even India and Greece are following his
Is it the zenith of your civilization that
unemployed
And women cannot find husbands ?"

His attack cut both ways when he turned round to the East and in *Khawjaj* applied the whiplash to the ruler and the ruled :

"No difficulty is there in kingship
When slaves are accustomed to slavery."

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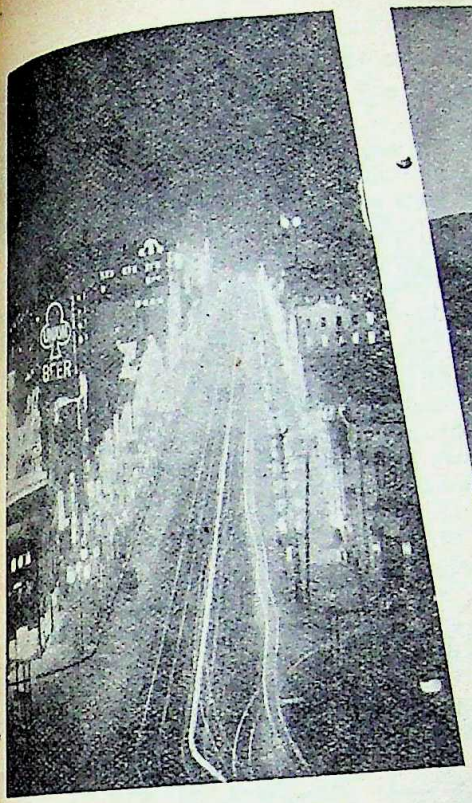
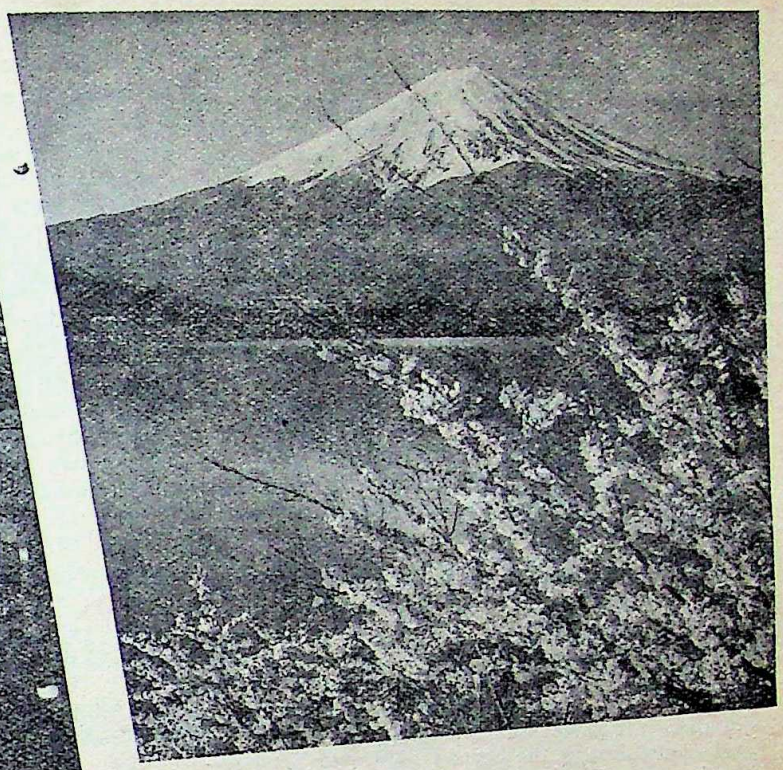
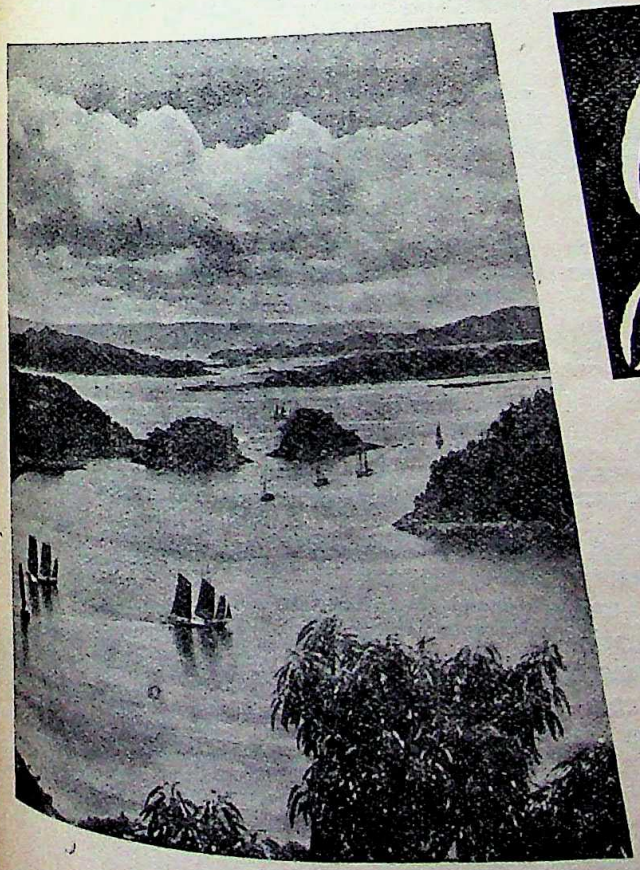




SEE

Japan

GEM OF THE EAST



Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land—and sea-scapes.

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His latest phase, in *Zarb-i-Kalim* (1937) revealed this sort of epigrammatic pre-occupation with polities, and as quotations would prove, political mischief-makers supplied him with target-practice. He combatted abuse, not caring to define right use, excepting by implication. For example, in *Jamhariat* he wrote :

"This secret was discovered by Europeans
Although wise people do not declare it—
Democracy is a system of Government
In which people are counted and not weighed."

Then again, in *La Din Syasad* :

"The government is free from the Church,
European politics is an unchained giant.
But when it has an eye for the property of others
Then the ambassadors of the Church form the vanguard of its army."

and yet, if the priestcraft politician, nearer home, should begin exulting, here is this for him in a poem called *Mullah aur Baheesht* :

"I was present there, I could not keep quiet
When God ordered that the Mullah should be sent to Paradise.
"I said, 'Excuse me, O God,
He will not be pleased with houries, wine and gardens—
"Paradise is not for fight, quarrel and debate,
And contention is the second nature of Mullah—
"His business is to misguide,
And neither mosque, church, nor temple is there in Paradise'."

If the spiritual alternatives offered in Paradise leave much unsaid, the mockery spares none. Emphasizing good by attacking wrongs on both sides may be dangerous procedure, but Iqbal must walk on the tight rope. In a poem on *Lenin*, he makes Lenin say this for him :

"The white man of Europe is god of the East,
The gods of the West are the shining metals"

and the speech continues, less in character than as mouthpiece utterance.

Having exposed up-to-date sanity, Iqbal would on occasion, as in *Firman-i-Khuda*, advocate mid-Eastern madness :

"Civilization today is a factory for deceivers,
Teach the ethics of madness to the poet of the East."

In the same revolutionary poem he said :

"Warm the blood of slaves with the fire of faith
Induce the weak sparrow to fight with the eagle.
I am displeased and fed up with marble pavement
Erect for me another mosque out of clay."

Whether he touched on religion or art or ethics, his outlook was circumstantial and political; his treatment was mainly symptomatic. On this point there has been much confusion. Iqbal has been represented as disbeliever, communalist and utilitarian; whereas, so far as his poetry is concerned, he maintained witty elusiveness on salient issues, says the writer.

Excepting at rare moments,—and is this not true of Shaw? Both of them have reveled in attacking the wrong side of things, and exposing aberration, injustice, intolerance and special claims, by methods calculated to meet extremism on its own ground. It would be, however, risky to decide at what point they have left the exaggerated temporal aspect and begun conserving their judgment on fundamentals. The Islamic poet differs from the dramatist in accepting religious tradition. Iqbal did not follow rationalism in its full iconoclastic fury, and would have reserved areas, he certainly possessed logic of sympathy. Even those who find his cult of power unsatisfactory, recognize that his pragmatism does not betray the victim in the hour of need. Compare Shavian inadequacy with Iqbal's answer to the Abyssinian challenge. A lurking admiration for dictators, which he shared with Shaw, did not prevent him from saying on August 18, 1935 :

"The vultures of Europe are not yet aware
How poisonous is the corpse of Abyssinia.
The peak of civilization is the decline of nobility
Robbery is the means of living of Nations.
Every wolf is in quest of an innocent lamb.
O bewail that the mirror of Church's honour
Has been broken by the Roman on the public road
Man of Church, this fact is heart-rending."

At this point it might be mentioned that Iqbal praised Mussolini's work for Italy in a dedicatory poem, but he mingled his praise with an attack on Imperialism :

"Imperialism, which though possessing a fattened body
Has unillumined heart—"

Iqbal's most recent verse was saturated with politics; the two were inseparable and had to be taken together. His poetry upheld national values. In *Hindu Islam* he said:

"A nation is living only by the unity of thought
If a sacrament destroys unity it is denial of God."

And such values, it will be seen, are identified with absolute laws. The Nation, to Iqbal, was a whole, consisting of units not to be defined by economic, linguistic or phychological values but by spiritual traditions. These traditions derived from immutable laws of revelation religion and were both spiritual and juridical. His philosophy was silent on competitive revelations because competition would not occur on that plane, though his poetry certainly indicated preference. It is not necessary to discuss his choice of a tradition as the highest form of the Absolute—that would lead argument to an act of faith.

Cryptic utterances directed towards a community, have baffled his readers, but India has not forgotten the national song, *Tarania Hindi*, in which Iqbal's patriotism embraces her peoples :

"O river Ganga, rememberest thou those days
When our caravan first alighted on thy shore
Religion does not teach us strife; we are Indians
Our motherland is India."

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RABINDRANATH TAGORE'S REPLY TO YONE NOGUCHI

SANTINIKETAN, Oct. 29.

DEAR NOGUCHI,

I thank you for taking the trouble to write to me again. I have also read with interest your letter addressed to the Press. It makes the meaning of your letter to me more clear.

I am flattered that you still consider it worthwhile to take such pains to convert me to your point of view, and I am really sorry that I am unable to come to my senses, as you have been pleased to wish it. It seems to me that it is futile for either of us to try to convince the other, since your faith in the infallible right of Japan to bully other Asiatic nations into line with your Government's policy is not shared by me, and my mistrust of a patriotism which claims the right to bring to the altar of its country the sacrifice of other people's rights and happiness, is sneered at by you as the "quiescence of a spiritual vagabond."

If you can convince the Chinese that your armies are bombing their cities and rendering their women and children homeless beggars—those of them that are not transformed into "mutilated mudfish," to borrow one of your own phrases,—if you can convince these victims that they are only being subjected to a benevolent treatment which will in the end "save their nation, it will no longer be necessary for you to convince us of your country's noble intentions." Your righteous indignation against the 'polluted people' who are burning their own cities and art-treasures (and presumably bombing their own citizens) to malign your soldiers, reminds me of Napoleon's noble wrath when he marched into a deserted Moscow and watched its palaces in flames. I should have expected from you, who are a poet, at least that much of imagination to feel, to what inhuman despair a people must be reduced to willingly burn their own handiwork of years', indeed centuries', labour. And even as a good nationalist, do you seriously believe that the mountains of bleeding corpses and the wilderness of bombed and burnt cities that is everyday widening between your two countries, is making it easier for you two peoples to stretch your hands in a clasp of everlasting goodwill?

You complain that while the Chinese, being "dishonest," are spreading their malicious propaganda, your people, being "honest", are reticent. Do you not know, my friend, that there is no propaganda like good and noble deeds, and that if such deeds be yours, you need not fear any "trickery" of your victims? Nor need you fear the bogey of communism if there is no exploitation of the poor among your own people and the workers feel that they are justly treated.

I must thank you for explaning to me the meaning of our Indian philosophy and pointing out that the proper interpretation of Kali and Shiva must compel our approval of Japan's "dance of death" in China. I wish you had drawn a moral from a religion more familiar to you and appealed to the Buddha for your justification. But I forget that your priests and artists have already made sure of that, for I saw in a recent issue of *The Osaka Mainichi* and *The Tokyo Nichi* (16th September, 1938) a picture of a new colossal image of the Buddha [illegible] to bless the massacre of your neighbours.

You must forgive me if my words sound [illegible] Believe me, it is sorrow and shame, not anger, [illegible] prompt me to write to you. I suffer intensely not [illegible] because the reports of Chinese suffering batter [illegible] my heart, but because I can no longer point out [illegible] pride the example of a great Japan. It is true that [illegible] are no better standards prevalent anywhere else and [illegible] the so-called civilized peoples of the West are pr[illegible] equally barbarous and even less "worthy of trust." [illegible] you refer me to them, I have nothing to say. W[illegible] should have liked is to be able to refer them to [illegible] I shall say nothing of my own people, for it is va[illegible] boast until one has succeeded in sustaining [illegible] principles to the end.

I am quite conscious of the honour you do me [illegible] asking me to act as a peace-maker. Were it in any [illegible] possible for me to bring you two peoples together [illegible] see you freed from this death-struggle and pledged [illegible] the great common "work of reconstructing the [illegible] world in Asia," I would regard the sacrifice of my [illegible] in the cause a proud privilege. But I have no p[illegible] save that of moral persuasion, which you have so [illegible] quently ridiculed. You who want me to be impe[illegible] how can you expect me to appeal to Chiang Kai-[illegible] to give up resisting unless the aggressors have first [illegible] drawn their aggression? Do you know that last [illegible] when I received a pressing invitation from an old fr[illegible] of mine in Japan to visit your country, I actually th[illegible] for a moment, foolish idealist as I am, that your p[illegible] may really need my services to minister to the bl[illegible] heart of Asia and to help extract from its riddled [illegible] the bullets of hatred? I wrote to my friend:

"Though the present state of my health is [illegible] favourable for any strain of a long foreign journ[illegible] should seriously consider your proposal if [illegible] opportunity is given me to carry out my own [illegible] while there, which is to do my best to establish a civ[illegible] relationship of national amity between two great p[illegible] of Asia who are entangled in a desolating mutual de[illegible] tion. But as I am doubtful whether the [illegible] authorities of Japan, which seem bent upon devas[illegible] China in order to gain their object, will allow me [illegible] freedom to take my own course, I shall never for[illegible] myself if I am tempted for any reason whatever to p[illegible] friendly visit to Japan just at this unfortunate m[illegible] and thus cause a grave misunderstanding. You k[illegible] have a genuine love for the Japanese people and [illegible] sure to hurt me too painfully to go and watch cro[illegible] them being transported by their rulers to a neighbo[illegible] land to perpetrate acts of inhumanity which will [illegible] their name with a lasting stain in the history of M[illegible]

After the letter was despatched came the news [illegible] the fall of Canton and Hankow. The cripple, sho[illegible] his power to strike, may collapse, but to be able to [illegible] him to forget the memory of his mutilation as easily [illegible] you want me to, I must expect him to be an angel. [illegible]

Wishing your people whom I love, not success [illegible] remorse.

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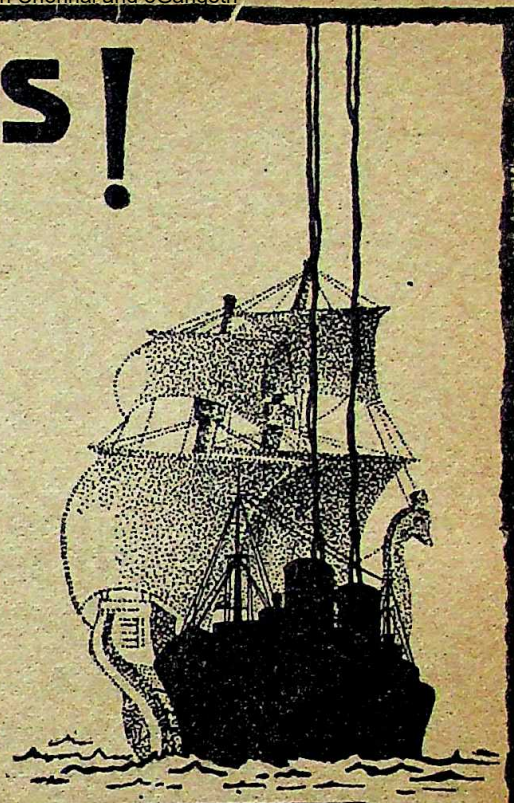

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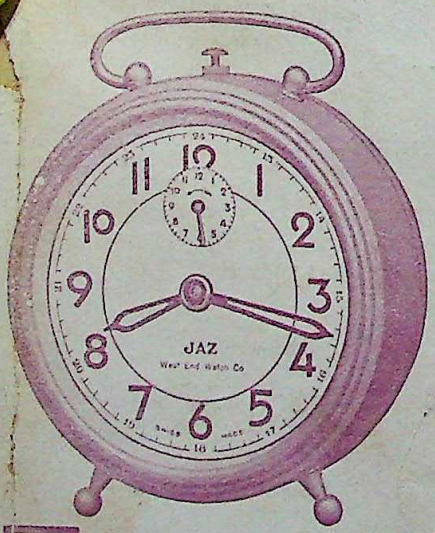

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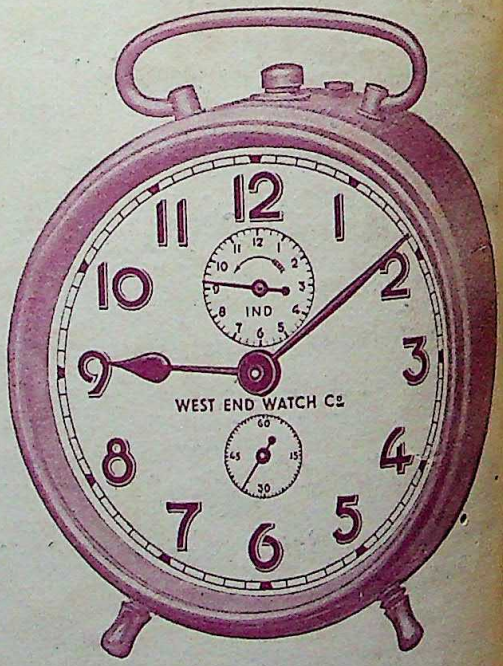

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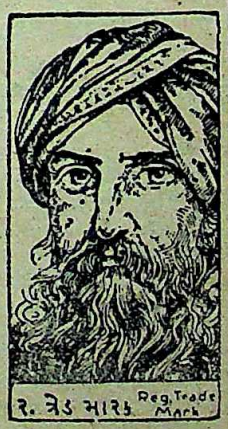

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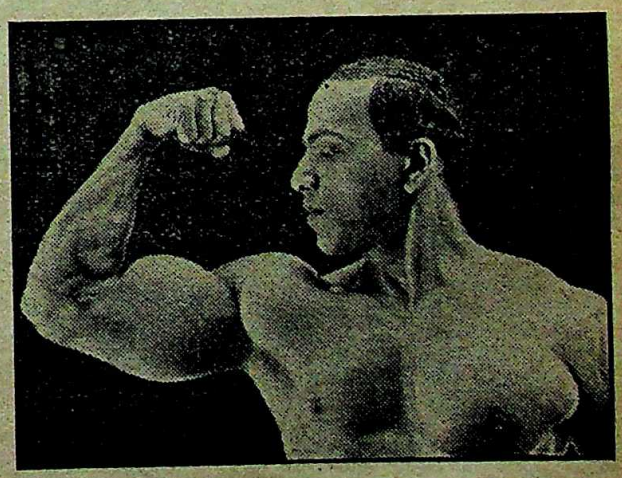

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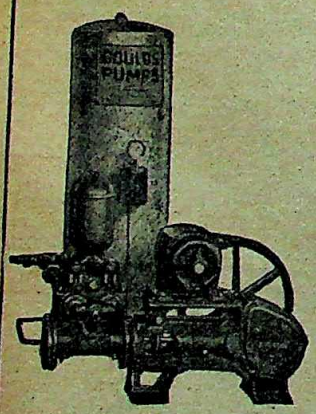

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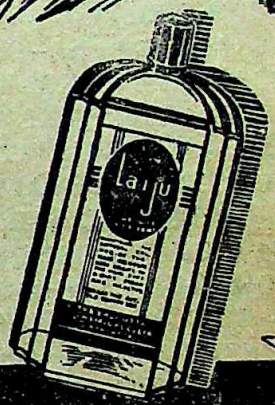

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Vol. LXIV., No. 6

Whole No. 384

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1938

		PAGE
NOTES		
OPPORTUNISM WITH NO PRINCIPLES	*Major D. Graham Pole*	637
POEMS	*Muriel Jefries Hurd*	661
A NEW AND BETTER BIBLE, FOR ALL	*Jabez T. Sunderland*	663
BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND CZECHO-SLOVAKIA: A LESSON FOR INDIA (*illust.*)	*Dr. Taraknath Das*	664
EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA	*S. G. Warty, M.A.*	670
SOME VITAL LESSONS FROM MEXICO	*Dr. Taraknath Das*	673
THE VINE FESTIVAL IN ITALY	*Santimoy Moulik*	675
AT THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE (*illust.*)	*M. Mansinha*	676
LADAK, THE HIGHEST INHABITED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD (*illust.*)	*Subodh Ch. Ganguli, Bidyaratna, B.L.*	677
SANCTUARIES FOR ANIMAL AND BIRDS IN CEYLON	*H. C. R. Anthonisz*	681
A CHINESE STATESMAN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG ASIA	*Dr. Tong Shao-Yi*	684
WHAT IS KARNATAK?	*Shan. Ra. Shende*	685
THE MENACE OF WINGED DEATH	*K. R. R. Sastry, M.A, M.L.*	687
THE ANDHRA PROVINCE AGITATION	*C. Narayana Murthy, B.A., B.L.*	690
INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA	*Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee*	693
LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES UNDER THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION	*Fazlur Rahman, M.A., B.L.*	695
THE POPULATION PROBLEM	*Prof. A. Correia Fernandes, M.A.*	698
THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA (*illust.*)	*Devendra Satyarthi*	701
ROMANCE OF COTTON INDUSTRY IN JAPAN	*M. V. Dani, B. Com.*	709
		712

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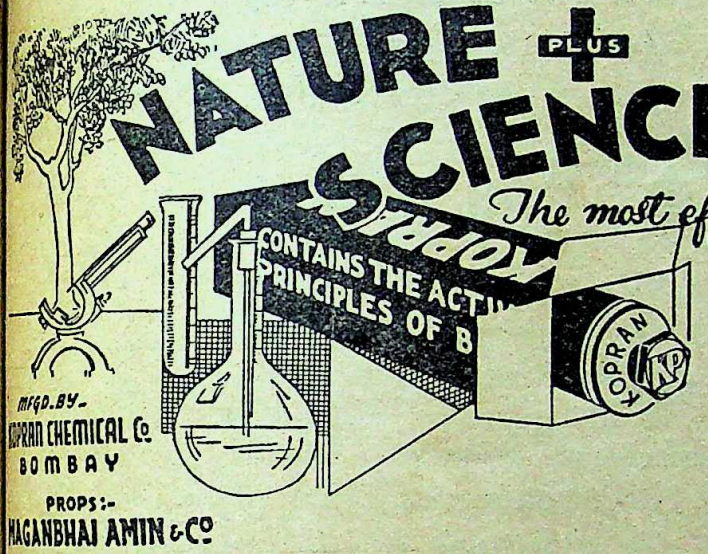

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CONTENTS---(Contd.)

		Page
BOOK REVIEWS	*D., N. B. Ray, S. N. Ray, K.N.C., S. K. C., P. K. Guha, Nihar Ranjan Mukherjee, Swami Jagadiswarananda, U. C. Bhattacharjee, Priyaranjan Sen, Prem Narain Nigum, S. K. De, Batuk Nath Bhattacharya, P. N. Roy*	717—724
BRITISH POLITICS TO-DAY	*Prof. Naresh Chandra Roy, M.A., Ph.D.*	725
HASTE	*Bertram Godwin Steinhoff*	730
INDIAN WOMANHOOD (*illust.*)		733
SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS (*illust.*)		734
COMMENT AND CRITICISM		736
INDIAN PERIODICALS:		
The Plight of Modern Cities		737
The Future of Religion		737
The All-India Language		738
The Co-operative Movement in India		738
Economic Planning for India		739
George Russell and Indian Thought		739
Improvement of Cattle		740
An International University		740
FOREIGN PERIODICALS:		
China Stronger than Ever?		741
A Mad New World		741
Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R.		741
Trotsky Judges Russia		742
Good out of Communism		743
D'Annunzio, The Real Inventor of Fascism		743
Spain under Franco		743
Modern German Art		744
JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS INSTITUTE	*Rabindranath Tagore*	745
WORLD AFFAIRS	*G. H.*	746
INDIANS ABROAD		752

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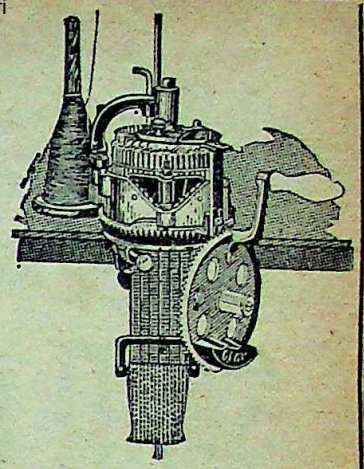

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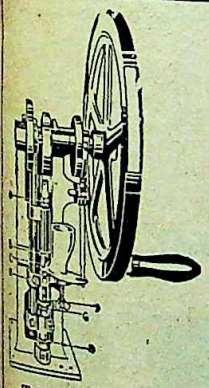

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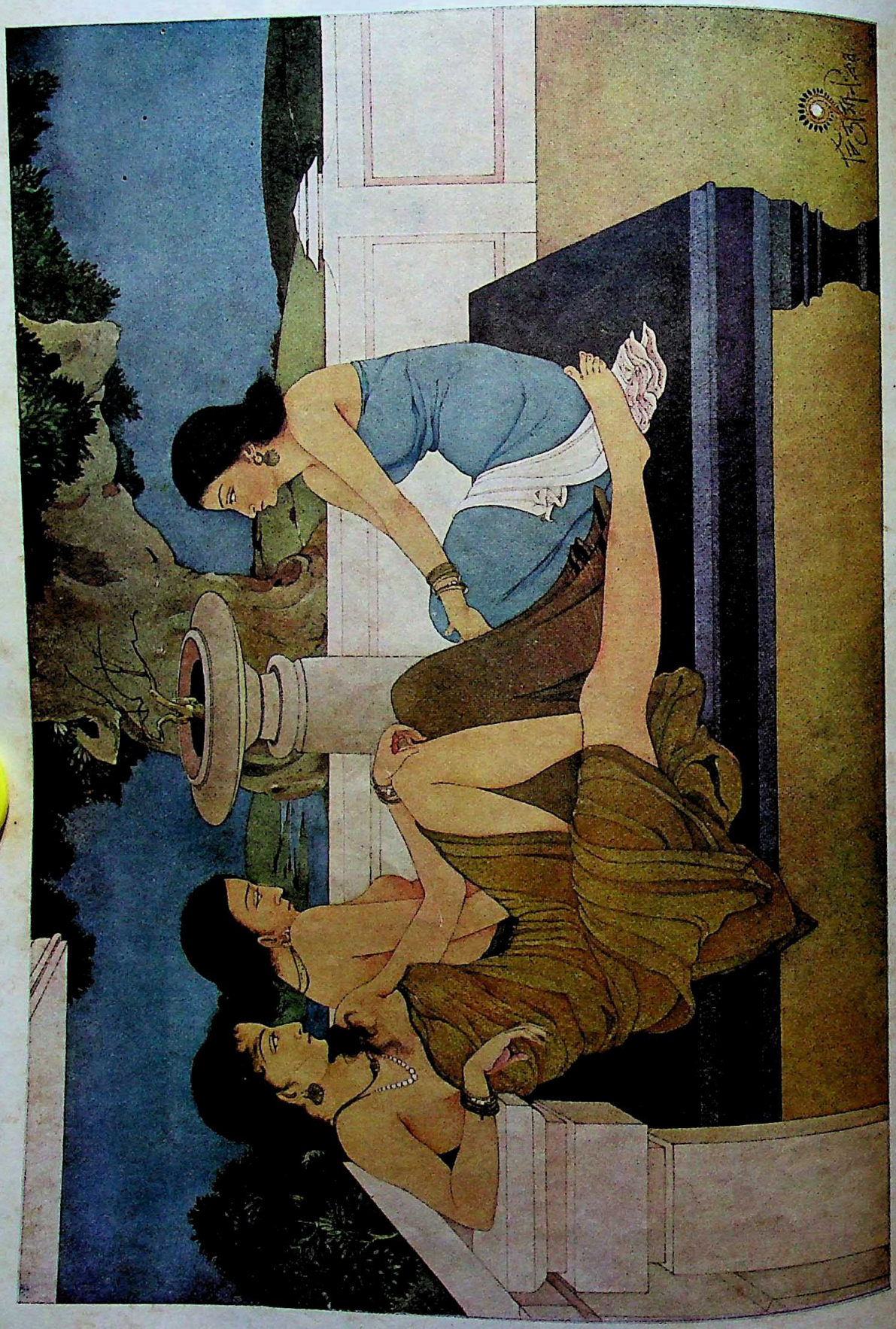

THREE MAIDENS
By Chintamoni Kar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

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THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER 1938

Vol. LXIV, No. 6 Whole No. 384

NOTES

Lord Zetland's Ostrich-like Self-Delusion

Speaking at the Town Hall in Torquay on the 18th November last, Lord Zetland said:

"When the history of the past few years comes to be written, it will be seen that our energies have been directed to one great purpose—the removal of the causes of conflict between us and other peoples in all parts of the world. Our task has been not an easy one, for the years left behind a vast legacy of bitterness and unrest. Yet if much still remains to be accomplished, we may, without being unduly boastful, at least lay claim to some striking successes.

"You have only to compare our relations with the peoples of India, Egypt, Italy and Ireland today with what they were, not so very long ago, to be satisfied as to that."

The British Government has been trying no doubt to remove the causes of conflict between the British people and other peoples in different parts of the world, but not in *all* parts; nor are its policy and methods the same everywhere. Moreover, in some cases the causes of conflict have been only temporarily removed. By yielding to Germany Britain has averted an immediate outbreak of war; but thereby she has unintentionally increased Germany's strength in the next war. Similarly, by recognising Italy's conquest of Abyssinia she has for the time being won the good graces of Italy, but has at the same time made her feel stronger and safer and stimulated her predatory proclivities.

Continuing, the Secretary of State for India observed:

"Those of you who have studied our recent announcements of policy will be aware that we are even now engaged in a similar attempt to find by discussion and negotiation a solution of the most difficult problem presented by the conflict of interests between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine."

To say that Britishers are trying to find a solution of the Palestine problem "by discussion and negotiation" is to state only a very small part of the truth, if that at all. Thousands of soldiers with all the paraphernalia of war, actual fighting and martial law cannot be considered parts of discussion and negotiation. And this sort of "discussion and negotiation" has not so far removed the causes of conflict between either Jews and Britain or Arabs and Britain, but has made enemies of both.

Lord Zetland went on to say:

"In these days the panorama of world events revolves around us with such bewildering rapidity that we are apt to lose sight of the particular features of the picture. Let me remind you that our treaty with Egypt, our agreements with Ireland and Italy and the Act under which Parliamentary Government had been instituted in India, are great achievements in the policy of conciliation and appeasement—achievements which have not been lightly won but at the expense rather of protracted endeavour and patient negotiation."

The treaty with Egypt, the agreements with Ireland and Italy, and the Government of India Act ought not to have been mentioned in the same breath.

The Irish people have fought for freedom (in a very literal sense) for centuries. Britain felt constrained to yield, but she did not concede all that the Irish wanted. However, Mr. De Valera has used the Irish self-government act with such consummate strategy that

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what Britain did not concede has been obtained in a different way. Nevertheless Ireland, or rather Eire, is not yet conciliated or appeased. She will not be satisfied until North Ireland is united with other parts of the island to form the United State of Eire. When Eire thus obtains her heart's desire, Britain will then no doubt declare that she generously adopted a policy of conciliation and appeasement in Ireland.

As regards Egypt, Italy's ambitions in Africa, as evidenced, for example, by her Ethiopian campaign, made it necessary for Britain to conciliate Egypt to some extent. But it can be shown that Egypt is not quite satisfied with the measure of freedom she has got.

It is not a correct description of the Government of India Act to say that parliamentary government has been instituted by it in India. Its shadow has been introduced in the provinces under the auspices of the Act, but not yet in the central sphere. Moreover, in Ireland and Egypt the people got from Britain at least a part of what they wanted. But in the case of India, as admitted in the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee's Report, Britain did not concede even what those whom the Committee styled "moderates" (like the Aga Khan) had asked for.

Germany is strong: Britain must yield to her threats. Italy is strong: *ditto* in her case too. Ireland has been very troublesome and may help the enemy in case of a war in Europe: therefore, she must be conciliated. In case of war with Italy, Egypt may cause trouble in the Suez zone and also in Africa towards the sources of the Nile—and she is more united than India: Egypt, too, must be pleased.

But Britain determined to sit tight in India. She could depend upon the Muslims and the "Minority Pact" to keep India divided. And the ruling princes could be used as tools to keep in check and neutralize the forces of nationalism in British-ruled India. But the Constitution given to India has not at all pleased the Indian National Congress, or the Indian National Liberal Federation, or the Hindu Mahasabha, or even the Muslim League and other Muslim bodies.

In an expansive mood, Lord Zetland proceeded:

"I hope that, in view of the office which I hold, you will bear with me for a few minutes, while I say a word about one of them—the establishment of parliamentary government in India. Men who a few years ago were at daggers drawn are working together in cordial co-operation today. In the provinces, such as the Punjab and Bengal, Ministries responsible to the new legislatures have been functioning successfully from the day on which the new constitution came into operation.

In the other provinces, Congress ministers, some of whom were not so long ago in prison for deliberate defiance of law, are now in office directing the policy and administering law. And British and Indian members of the civil services and police force, who were instrumental in imprisoning them, are now working happily under them. Has that not been worth doing?

"And let me take this opportunity, the first that I have had since the recent crisis, of giving public expression to the gratitude of His Majesty's Government to the Princes and people of India for the swift expression of their loyalty to the Crown. With traditional fealty the Princes of India placed their services and the resources of their States at the disposal of His Majesty; while Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, now one of the great self-governing provinces in India, which he proudly and justifiably described as the sword arm of India, declared that he and his people would stand by us through thick and thin."

It is only congenital or wilful blindness which can describe the functioning of the new legislatures in the Panjab and Bengal—particularly Bengal, as successful. Why, in Bengal ask even the Muslims what good the Fazlul Huq Cabinet has done even to the Muslim *community*. Providing a very few men with fat jobs and buying over a few opponents cannot be held to be synonymous with doing good to the community. It is an indisputable fact that there is great discontent in Bengal. As for the successful working of the legislatures in the Panjab, let the "Black Bills" alone bear witness. The rest of India perhaps does not fully understand what these Bills mean. Raja Narendranath's article on the subject in our next number will convince those who do not know.

As for the Congress ministries working the constitution, does not Lord Zetland know that their object is to strengthen the nation for overthrowing the British-made constitution? They have provisionally accepted it, but only because they want to use it as a weapon for enabling them to successfully convene a constituent assembly in order that a constitution may be framed for a free India by Indians themselves.

Lord Zetland has spoken only about the provinces. What about the central government? What of the government scheme of Federation? Has not the Government of India to make mighty efforts to persuade (or prevail upon by pressure) the requisite number of the princes to accede to the Federation? Is not the Muslim League opposed to the Government scheme of Federation? And above all, has not the news of the Congress President's vigorous campaign against it reached Britain? The Congress

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President has repeatedly said that there will be civil disobedience if the British-made Federation is forced on India.

The placing of their services and the resources of their states by the princes at the disposal of His Majesty, cannot be even imagined to be due to the Government of India act, as his lordship wanted indirectly to convey to his audience. It has become a habit with them ever since they became vassals of the British Crown and came to depend upon it for protection against their own subjects.

Nevertheless, the Secretary of State for India may be allowed to boast of and boost the loyalty of the princes. But why bracket "the people of India" with them? The people have not placed their services and their resources at the disposal of His Majesty. On the contrary, both in the Central Legislature at the time of the debate on the army recruitment bill and in the country at large public opinion has found unequivocal expression that the people of India are not to side with England in her wars.

As for the people of the Indian States, there is the greatest possible resentment in their minds that they have been entirely ignored in the British-made constitution of India and the scheme of federation forming part of it. They are, in a good many states, engaged in a literally life and death *non-violent* struggle for even the small amount of freedom which the people of British-ruled India have, and in consequence in several states many persons have been shot down and many more wounded and considerable numbers arrested or otherwise harassed. Surely this is not conciliation and appeasement or an indication that the people have been rendered particularly loyal thereby.

Lord Zetland certainly knows that the Government of India Act has done grave injustice to the Hindus of Bengal and far from giving them any "weightage," which as a minority community in the province they would have got if they had been Muslims, they have been given even a smaller number of seats in the legislature than even their mere numbers would have entitled them to and thus reduced them to political impotence. And he knows, too, that in the Central or Federal Legislature the Hindus of India, who are an absolute majority, have been reduced to the position of a minority. Does this make for conciliation and appeasement? Can this manufacture loyalty?

His lordship speaks of the Panjab being one of "the great self-governing provinces in India." 'Self-governing' indeed!

As for Sir Sikandar Hyat Khan's declaration that he and his people would stand by the British people through thick and thin, every one who knows anything about the mercenary character of the Indian army knows that the British Government does not depend on the good graces of a provincial chief minister or any other Indian to be able to use that army for imperial purposes, and that, whatever Sir Sikandar's representative character in the Panjab, none but an ignoramus would take him to be a representative man of the whole of India.

Lord Zetland next passed on to speak of the pact with Italy, alleged to have been entered into because of the impotence of the League of Nations:

"I pass from India to Italy and to the efforts which we have made to restore the traditional relations of friendship between the Italian people and ourselves. In contracting the agreement which came into full force two days ago, we have been accused of departing from the ideal of the League of Nations. That is really not so. We are as strongly attached as ever we were to the ideal of the League, and for my part I go so far as to say that the only hope for mankind lies in the acceptance by all civilised peoples of the fundamental principle upon which the League is based, namely, that in the case of nations as in the case of individuals, the supreme authority for the settlement of disputes, must be not physical force, but law. But we have to take the League, not as we think that it ought be, but as in fact we find it.

"And if one thing is crystal clear, it is that the League, as at present constituted, is wholly incapable of discharging the more important of the functions originally assigned to it. The willingness of individuals to submit to the judgments of courts of law in any country is due to their conviction that in the last resort there is behind the courts adequate power to enforce their judgment. Similarly the willingness of nations to submit their differences to and to accept the verdict of an international tribunal can only be expected if they are convinced that there is behind it sufficient power to enforce its judgments.

"Unhappily it is precisely this conviction that is lacking. How, indeed, could it be otherwise with the majority of the great Powers standing coldly aloof or actively hostile to it.

"That then is the position so far as the League is concerned and it was in these circumstances that we seized the opportunity, when it occurred, of furthering the cause of peace by other means."

Whatever Lord Zetland may say, there has been a departure from the ideal of the League of Nations in the case of Abyssinia. According to the covenant of the League of Nations all League Members, of which Britain was one, were bound to come to the rescue of Abyssinia in order to maintain its territorial integrity when that was threatened. Britain and France were and are the two most influential and powerful members of the League. All along they were concerned with their own interests alone.

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They may profess lip allegiance to the ideal and principles of the League; but they never took up a firm attitude when a strong nation encroached on the rights of a disorganised or a weak people. That is why Abyssinia had to fight single-handed. That is why China has been fighting single-handed. In the case of Abyssinia, the so-called principle of non-intervention actually worked against it whilst Italy all along enjoyed facilities to procure war materials.

The League has no existence apart from its members. If it is impotent, it is because its most powerful members have not taken the steps necessary to make it strong. If the ideal of the League is to be made a reality, strong nations must be prevented from aggrandizing themselves at the expense of weaker countries. But the most powerful members of the League are what they at present are because in the past they have victimized weak peoples. Whole-souled opposition to present-day aggressors on the part of those who had been themselves aggressors in the past, cannot be expected. Their guilty conscience would make cowards of them all.

They can act sincerely and wholeheartedly for the League ideal, only by giving up their ill-gotten dependencies and colonies and making them fully self-ruling.

Lord Zetland says that as, owing to its impotence, the League could not further the cause of peace (by preventing Italian aggression on Abyssinia), Britain "furthered the cause of peace by other means." And what was this other means? Why, telling the Abyssinians that they must be reconciled to their extinction as an independent people, and the Italians that they had behaved right imperially and were entitled to grasp Britain's outstretched hand of friendship! In private life, householders can always purchase peace in this way by surrendering to robbers.

Lord Zetland on the Case of Czechoslovakia

The remaining portion of Lord Zetland's speech was devoted to Czechoslovakia. So much has been already written on the calamity which has been allowed to overtake that unfortunate country that if we were to examine his lordship's arguments in detail we should be repeating what has been said again and again. We shall, therefore, consider only a few of his points.

"And now I come to the grave crisis which six or seven weeks ago shook to its foundations the confidence of men in the peaceful and orderly progress of the world.

"Here again under the guidance of the Prime Minister we sought to and succeeded in solving the problem of resort to reason as becomes civilised men and not to force. And here again we have been most unwarrantably attacked. We are told that we have lowered the prestige of England."

Does Lord Zetland really believe that giving Germany what Herr Hitler wanted has promoted the cause of "the peaceful and orderly progress of the world"? The cause of peace suffers as much, if one gains his object by threat of war, as, if one gained it by actual warfare.

His lordship thinks that there has been no pusillanimous surrender to dictators and that, therefore, there has not been any lowering of British prestige. We cannot speak of other countries from personal knowledge. But we know, people in India now think poorly of British chivalry and valour, and hence there has been loss of British prestige in this country. And from Dr. Goebbel's bantering and contemptuous tone whenever he speaks of Britain we guess Germans do not think very highly of British power and prowess.

His lordship proceeded to observe:

"We had no commitment of any kind towards Czechoslovakia; we were under no treaty obligation to them."

It is immaterial whether Britain had any particular commitment towards Czechoslovakia in particular, or was under any treaty obligation to the Czechs. For, according to the covenant of the League of Nations, League members, of whom Britain and France were the most powerful, were bound to safeguard the territorial integrity of Czechoslovakia, another member of the League. Many well-informed publicists hold that Britain *had* commitments towards Czechoslovakia. But as we have said it is immaterial whether she had any towards Czechoslovakia in particular.

Lord Zetland continued:

"There was a time when we hoped that a solution might be found in a measure of autonomy for the Sudeten Germans within the Czech State. But events were moving too fast. Every offer that Dr. Benes made came too late. It was a case of the Sibylline Books over again. With every bid that he made he found that the price had risen against him."

Why did the price rise with every bid that Dr. Benes made? Obviously because the pro-Hitler Sudeten Germans knew that Herr Hitler had his battalions to back them. It was not a case of peaceful negotiations between two parties, both appealing to the arbitrament of

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and reason, but a case in which one of the from the very beginning had the armed of Germany behind it and acted under ny's incitement.

His lordship stated :

"The state of Czechoslovakia was admittedly an creation of the Peace Treaty of Versailles. The with the German population numbering, when came to a head, three and a half millions, was in it at the suggestion of the French for admit strategic reasons."

There is no doubt the state of Czecho- kia was created by the peace treaty of illes. But does Lord Zetland's last quoted tion printed above square with the follow- passage extracted from new Volume 31 of *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th Edition), Europe, page 33 ?

"The ancient kingdom of Bohemia, which since had been merged in the Habsburg possessions, re- under the title of Czechoslovakia. To quote preamble to one of the treaties signed at St. :—

"The Union which formerly existed between the kingdom of Bohemia, the Margravate of Moravia Duchy of Silesia on the one hand, and the other ries of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy on has definitely ceased to exist, and the *peoples hemia, of Moravia and of part of Silesia, as well peoples of Slovakia, have decided* **OF THEIR OWN WILL** *to unite, and have in fact united, in a* **MANENT UNION** *for the purpose of forming a sovereign independent State under the title of the Slovak Republic."* (Italics and thick type ours.—M. R.)

In this connection may be read again our on page 540 of our last number in which been shown that the Sudeten area was part of Germany.

Lord Zetland has said :

"Put quite briefly, the two alternatives were termination for the Sudeten Germans or war."

As there was no plebiscite, it cannot be that the union of the Sudeten area Germany was the result of self-determina- As the Sudeten Germans united with others, *their own free will*, to form the republic of oslovakia after the great war, it is not ginable that a plebiscite under inter- guarantee and auspices might have that the majority of the people in the area (who are not all Germans) were to remain an autonomous part of the racy of Czechoslovakia instead of coming the despotic power of Herr Hitler.

As Lord Zetland professes to be an of self-determination, perhaps he may himself of some future opportunity to how the Abyssinians have 'self- ined' to come under Italy's rule. And will his lordship allow Indians, who are his particular charge, to exercise the right of self-determination ?

Towards the end of his speech Lord Zetland spoke as if the British Prime Minister had succeeded in preventing Germany from having a strategic frontier. But in reality it was not so. Herr Hitler has actually obtained a strategic frontier.

Kemal Ataturk

By the death of Kemal Ataturk the world has lost one of the greatest soldier-statesmen of this century, who was the liberator and regenerator of his country. But for his leadership in war Turkey would perhaps have fallen a prey to the land-hunger and rapacity of some European power or other and disappeared from the map of Europe as an independent country. He saved his country from that calamity, and made the "Sick Man of Europe" a hale and hearty and vigorous personality.

He could have become the Sultan of Turkey, but he made the country a republic and became its first president. He was no doubt a dictator, but a dictator of a different kind from what Mussolini, Stalin and Hitler are.

Under him Turkey ceased to be a theocratic state with Islam as the State religion. He made it a thoroughly secular state like many other modern civilized states. Under the Sultans the Quranic law was the law of the land. He abolished it and substituted for it up-to-date modern civil and criminal codes on the French and Swiss models. The theological or religious teachers of the people, those who are generally known as Mullas, Maulvis or Maulanas, ceased to have any power or influence in the state and over the people.

He abolished the Khilafat. Just as he could have become Sultan if he had any imperial ambition, so he could have become the Caliph if he had any personal ambition of a so-called religious character. But his object was of a different character. He wanted to make his nation strong, prosperous and progressive, and his country civilized in the modern sense. So he resolved to keep his country clear of any theocratic colouring and himself of any so-called spiritual glamour. Hence the abolition of the Khilafat.

His educational reforms had the same kind of object. Like the existing *maktabs* and *madrasas* of India, those institutions in Turkey were the strongholds of bigotry and obscurantism. He, therefore, abolished them and established in their stead educational institu-

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tions of a modern, enlightened and progressive type.

His penalization of the use of the *fez* and his prescription of the wearing of the hat instead may be interpreted as an attempt to denationalize his people. But, as we shall see, he was a staunch nationalist. He wanted his people to feel that they were as modern and strong and progressive as the other people of Europe, and he wanted the world outside also to consider them as such, not as "interesting specimens of humanity", living in Europe indeed but unlike other Europeans.

We have said he was a staunch nationalist. His nationalism comes out very clearly in his linguistic reforms. The Turks are not a Semitic people. Turkish is not a Semitic tongue, but under the influence of Muhammadanism it had become Arabicized to a great extent by the introduction of a large Arabic vocabulary and by the adoption of the Arabic alphabet and script. Kemal Ataturk wanted to restore to Turkish its national character. With this object in view he purged the Turkish vocabulary of all Arabic words and brought back into use their genuine Turkish equivalents which had fallen into entire or partial disuse, or got new Turkish words coined as substitutes for the discarded Arabic words. The Arabic alphabet and script being unscientific and the cursive style most in use being difficult to read correctly, he introduced the Roman script instead. Literacy thus became easier and possible of achievement more quickly. The adoption of the Roman script has also made it easier for Turks to learn English, French, Italian, etc.

Kemal Ataturk's nationalism found expression in another direction. Arabic, the language of the Quran, is used in Islamic worship. For the original Arabic sentences used therein Kemal substituted their Turkish translations. For the use of worshippers mosques were provided with furniture for sitting like Christian churches.

The social reforms introduced by Kemal Ataturk were of a radical character. He abolished the purdah, the veil and the harem, and emancipated the women of Turkey. Girls were given equal educational facilities with boys and various professions and occupations were thrown open to women. Polygamy has been abolished and women have been given the right of divorce.

Kemal has industrialized Turkey, to a great extent, and improved its agriculture, too. Foreigners had become predominant in many professions and occupations. This was bad for Turkey and the Turks in two ways. It led to the exploitation of the country by non-Turks and stood in the way of the prospering of the Turks and Turkey. If a country wishes to become or remain really independent, it is necessary that its nationals should be the most influential men in all professions and occupations. But if non-nationals predominate in them, in times of national danger, not only is the state deprived of the whole-hearted moral and material support of large and influential sections of the professions and occupational classes, but these foreigners tend actually to throw their weight, directly or indirectly, on the side of the party endangering the safety of the country. For these and similar reasons Kemal Ataturk closed numerous professions and occupations to foreigners.

Perhaps for cognate reasons, he strictly limited the activities of those foreign educational institutions, conducted by Christians whose direct or indirect object was proselytism, for proselytization is often attended with denationalization.

In order that Turkey may remain free Kemal Ataturk strengthened its defences, and paid due attention to its land and air forces and its navy. The need of a fleet of mercantile vessels, too, did not escape his attention.

It is to be hoped that under his successors the forces of reaction will not gain sway and progress will be maintained and accelerated in all directions.

Indian Muslims and Kemal Ataturk

Along with the other sections of the people of India, Indian Muslims have held meetings to mourn the death and honour the memory of Kemal Ataturk. Though most of them perhaps honour him because he was a Muslim by Creed and because he was a *ghazi* who beat his Christian opponents in battle, let us hope some at least among them are in sympathy with his genuine nationalism and his linguistic, social and educational reforms. We say this because among the leading Indian Muslims who have praised him after his death there are many whose opinions and activities run counter to Kemal's reforms.

Arabic Script and Words in Some Indian Languages

In several Indian languages, including Bengali, some Arabic words have been naturalized and current—sometimes in

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ed form. Even among Hindu writers of those uages the consensus of opinion is that these other Asiatic and European words should be discarded. Therefore, they do not want to so far as Kemal Ataturk did with reference Arabic words in Turkish. What our non-slim writers and linguists want is that, if words have to be coined for scientific and purposes for use in Indian languages like thi, Gujarati, Telugu, Bengali, Hindi, etc., should be derived from Sanskrit roots. Muslim writers of Urdu insist upon these words being derived from Arabic or Per-. Some Mussalman writers of Bengali school -books go even further. Some of them have ally used in their books Arabic words in of Bengali words commonly used by both dus and Mussalmans.

As regards script, Mussalmans in India upon the retention of the Arabic script Urdu (or Hindustani) in spite of the obvious ts of that script, whereas Kemal Ataturk no hesitation to discard the Arabic script. Though that eminent Turkish nationalist duced Turkish in Islamic worship, the use ny Indian language in such worship would inkable in India.

dah College for Bengal lim Girls

Kemal Ataturk abolished the purdah and veil in Turkey. But the largest and most ential section of Muslims in this country so purdah-ridden that Bengal is going to addled with a purdah college for Muslim s, as if the existing colleges which admit s of all religious communities could not mmodate the very small number of Muslim s who at present go in for or may be ted to go in for such education for many s to come.

In the years 1935, 1936, and 1937 there e altogether 37 Muslim girls in the I.A. and classes of our colleges. There are at ent in Calcutta four colleges which hold rate morning classes for girl students, and all admit Muslim girls. There are two or e girls' colleges in the mofussil also. It is rd to think that these six or seven colleges t take in some 37 or 50 Muslim girls, or Muslim purdah must needs be so strict as vent Muslim girls being seen or spoken y non-Muslim persons of even the female

Upholders of the purdah in this country d explain in what particulars they follow the principles of Kemal Ataturk. Needless to say that these persons cannot possibly support Kemal's throwing of the professions open to Turkish women.

Maktabs & Madrasas in Turkey and India

Kemal abolished all *maktabs* and *madrasas* in Turkey and established educational institutions of the modern type in their stead. In Bengal, and perhaps in other provinces, too, successive reports of the education department have condemned *maktabs* and *madrasas* from the educationalist's point of view. Yet our Muslim countrymen are so fond of them that, far from their disappearance, they are perhaps multiplying. And yet their advocates must needs praise Kemal Ataturk.

The Fez

The Turkish Dictator penalized the wearing of the *fez*. Here in India, at least in some parts of it, Muslim males are fanatically fond of it and seem almost to consider it essential for them to wear it. A Muslim with a *fez* on eulogizing Kemal is an interesting sight.

The Khilafat

Among Indian Muslims there are enthusiastic Khilafatists who are equally enthusiastic in their "admiration" of Kemal Ataturk who abolished the Khilafat.

The raging and tearing campaign carried on in India in favour of the Khilafat some years ago need not be described.

Indian Muslims and Polygamy and Women's Right of Divorce

The Turkish Dictator abolished polygamy and gave women the right to divorce. Here in India, whenever any bill directed against polygamy is sought to be introduced in any legislative body, the sponsor has to exclude Muslims from its operation—so wedded they are to that institution.

As regards women's right to divorce, newspaper readers know that a certain bill introduced in the Central Legislature a few months back by a Muslim member seeks to tie down Muslim wives to their husbands even if the wives have renounced Muhammadanism and embraced a different faith in order to shake off their Muslim husbands.

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The Quranic Law and Indian Muslims

It has been stated in a previous note that Kemal Ataturk introduced modern codes in the place of the Quranic law. The tendency among Indian Muslims is in the opposite direction.

"Pictures of Japanese Atrocities"

Mr. Rashbehari Bose has sent from Tokyo a letter to some Indian newspapers in which he criticizes and condemns Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Congress leaders and Indian publicists in general for their attitude towards fascist and totalitarian states and their condemnation of Japan for attacking China. It is not necessary for us to comment on what Mr. Bose says about Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and other Indian leaders. They are quite capable of defending themselves if they think it at all necessary. It is believed that Mr. Bose's only claim to speak authoritatively on Indian politics is that he is alleged to have thrown a bomb at Lord Hardinge at Delhi and then succeeded in reaching Japan. That being so, it would have been more becoming if he had not given himself superior airs and lectured to Indian leaders, *e.g.*, Rabindranath Tagore and others, as to how they ought to think and behave.

As humble journalists we have to take notice of what Mr. Bose says of ourselves. He writes :

> Since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese conflict, a section of the Indians, particularly those belonging to the Congress, has persistently carried on anti-Japanese activities of various kinds. The other day a first class Indian magazine published two photos of Japanese soldiers beheading Chinese prisoners. A man with a grain of intelligence will easily understand that the photos are fake, and purposely made and circulated for anti-Japanese propaganda. As a matter of fact such photos can be had in Shanghai at the rate of ten for one dollar. If the Japanese soldiers really wanted to behead the Chinese prisoners, is it conceivable that they would first ask the Chinese to have the scene photographed and then carry out their gruesome task ? A child can realise the faked nature of the whole thing. Yet the venerable editor of the Indian magazine published such photos without attempting to find out whether they could be true or fake.

In the course of his letter to Dr. Rabindranath Tagore the Japanese poet Mr. Yone Noguchi also criticized us for publishing those photographs. Our reply will be found in our last November number, pages 530 and 531.

We received *The China Weekly Review* for October 22, 1938, after the publication of our November number. It contains an article on page 244 bearing on the subject, with the caption, "Cases Where Truth Was Stranger Than Fiction." The whole article is printed below.

So much has been published about Japanese atrocities in China that the public has ceased to be impressed. In fact many of the stories were so horrible that the public put them down as propaganda, the sort of stuff fed to the public during the late war.

This was the experience of *Readers Digest*, with regard to a condensation of an article entitled, "The Sack of Nanking," which appeared originally in the new Chicago magazine *Ken*. Following the publication of the article in *Readers Digest*, the editors received numerous letters from subscribers who refused to believe the gruesome story and put it down as rank propaganda. This caused the editors of *Readers Digest* to make further research into the authenticity of the report. The result was a series of letters (many already published in *The Review*), from persons who were in Nanking at the time of the Japanese occupation, hence were in a position to testify to the accuracy of the original report and more.

In this case "truth was stranger than fiction," meaning that the stories of the eye-witnesses were worse in their descriptions of horrors than were the second-hand hearsay reports originally telegraphed to the world.

The same thing is true with regard to pictures of Japanese atrocities. Practically every important newspaper office has pictures of Japanese atrocities which editors refused to print, simply because they were too horrible to believe, or for fear the reader would be so disgusted as to cease reading the newspaper which published the pictures. However, some papers did print the pictures, particularly the picture magazines which made a feature of the horrors. But recently an entirely new series of pictures have appeared which no paper has published. We refer to the pictures showing bodies of Chinese women who have been raped and desecrated by Japanese soldiers.

But how about the proof—that these atrocities were the work of Japanese soldiers ?

The proof is provided by the pictures themselves, for practically all of them show Japanese soldiers standing about the bodies of their victims. In one, several Japanese soldiers are sitting about the body of a Chinese woman and one of the men was shown wiping blood from the bayonet of his rifle, after having put an end to the woman's suffering by a thrust through the heart.

In the case of the Nanking atrocities, where the Japanese killed some 24,000 disarmed soldiers and citizens in a mad orgy of rape and massacres following the occupation of the former Chinese capital, the Japanese apparently were so proud of their work that they took pictures of each other while in the act of chopping off Chinese heads or using living Chinese for bayonet practice.

But while it is possible to imagine a Japanese soldier photographing his friend while chopping off the head of an unfortunate Chinese, or using the body of a living Chinese for bayonet practice, it is difficult to imagine Japanese soldiers photographing each other while engaged in raping activities. But here again truth is stranger than fiction. Such pictures actually exist although none has yet been printed.

How were they obtained ? The answer is simple. The Japanese soldiers took their films to Chinese shops to be developed, or the Japanese shops where the films were taken had Chinese employees who took copies and had them reproduced in other shops !

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...g in Women and Children

Recently a paragraph went round the ...s that for the traffic in women and children ...moral purposes which goes on in northern ...north-western India and Sind the victims ...found in considerable numbers in the United ...nces. So far as Bengal is concerned, it is ...n that some of the girls and women ...ted or kidnapped here are disposed of so ...away as Sind.

But in these days of inter-provincial mis-...rstanding and tension we prefer to speak ...of Bengal's shame. Here the number of ...s of abduction, kidnapping and criminal ...lt is alarming and shameful. In the rural ...s, girls and women are ignorant and gullible. ...re are very many brutes in human form to ...mize them for the gratification of their ...al propensities. But some of the victims ...sed for the purposes of immoral traffic also. ...this is possible because, as on the one hand ...are brutes, so on the other there is lack ...sufficient understanding of the seriousness ...magnitude of the evil and active courage ...ce it and eradicate it.

It would be wrong to assume that it was ...ignorant village girls and women alone who ...victimized. There is reason to believe ...there are rich and 'respectably'-connect-...scoundrels for whose bestial gratification ...ated town girls and women are led into evil ...Sometimes the names of some of these ...ls pass from mouth to mouth in Calcutta ...reach even places far distant from it. But ...how they remain at large, and there is ...powerful organization to run them to earth ...save society from putridity and peril. Such ...organization is urgently needed. Cannot ...Women's Protection League be strengthened ...the purpose?

The following paragraphs from the League ...Nations *Fortnightly News* show how wide-...d is the traffic in women and children:

"It is a clear sign of the growing similarity of the ...of view concerning traffic in women and children ...of the countries in the world, that the interna-...Conventions concluded under the auspices of the ...in this domain are being increasingly ratified ...that some of them are almost universally applied. ...most of the self-governing countries in the world ...become parties to such Conventions as the 1921 ...tion for the Suppression of the Traffic in ...and Children and the 1923 Convention for ...pression of the Traffic in Obscene Publica-... These figures, however, do not give a full ...of the actual geographical area in which these ...ns are in force, as they do not include a large ...of colonies, overseas possessions, protectorates ...mandated territories which are also bound by the provisions of these Conventions. The most recent of the international instruments in this field, the Convention of 1933 for the Suppression of Traffic in Women of Full Age, is now in force in approximately half the self-governing countris of the world.

"The Assembly also turned its attention to the recommendations of the Conference of Central Authorities held in Bandoeng, Java, in 1937, which proposed the creation of a League Bureau in the Far East to help Governments in combating the traffic in that part of the world. It has not been po sible to give effect to the suggestion of the Conference, in view of the situation in the parts of the world which would have to be covered by the activities of the Bureau. The Assembly, however, in expressing the wish that the recommendations of the Conference should be carried out as soon as possible, suggested that the Advisory Committee on Social Questions should be invited to reconsider in further detail in 1939 the proposal for the creation of such a Bureau, in order that, as stated in a resolution, the scheme recommended by the Conference may be carried out in the most effective manner."

U. S. A. National Defence Programme

The following cablegram, among others, shows that the armaments race among nations will continue for years to come:

WASHINGTON, Nov. 19.

The Navy department has awarded contracts for the construction of three battle-ships which are expected to cost over 150 million dollars. The contract for a fourth battle-ship has been held up pending a further study of the bids.

The contracts awarded are for ships of 35,000 tons. When they are completed the United States will have five of this size, two being already under construction.

The officials state that the armament and ammunition outlays are not included in the cost of construction which would raise the total expenditure on the three new battle-ships to 225 million dollars. They will not be ready for five years.

Mr. Snyder, chairman of the Military Appropriations Sub-committee of Congress, declared, after conferring with officials of the War department, that President Roosevelt's expanded programme of national defence will give the United States the strongest air force in the world by 1942.—*Reuter.*

Mysore Congress on Viduraswatham Report

BANGALORE, Nov. 25.

The Working Committee of the Mysore Congress, in course of a statement issued to the press states that it is emphatically of opinion that the report of the Viduraswatham disturbances and the Government order thereon "constitute a travesty of truth and justice and that the Committee has only functioned as a costly machinery of the Government for generally confirming the Government communique on the incidents and for condemning the legitimate and peaceful activities of the Mysore State Congress and for hampering the struggle for freedom in Mysore."

The Working Committee emphatically repudiates the charge of the Ramesam Committee that a "campaign of unparalleled virulence without any regard to truth was conducted by the Congress."

It is also pointed out that the committee have ruled out discussion of political reforms as alien to the scope

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of their enquiry but had nevertheless suggested the introduction of the Criminal Law Amendment Act in Mysore.—"*United Press.*"

Likely Move to Crush Indian States People's Agitation ?

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

There are persistent rumours in the city that a set of ordinances calculated to crush the movement for responsible government in States are likely to be promulgated by the Central Government shortly.

This is believed to be a sequel to the recent change in the attitude of the Central Government towards the agitation in States from non-intervention to active sympathy with the Princes.—"*United Press.*"

If the rumours be true, the Central Government cannot be praised for wise statesmanship. Repression may delay the people's triumph, but it cannot crush them. It can only make the Central Government and the Princes concerned more unpopular than they are already.

Conflicting Rumours About Rajkot

BOMBAY, Nov. 25.

It is also stated that the provisions of the Princes' Protection Act, so far as it applies to Rajkot might be stiffened. In this connection, it is stated that the Government of India do not look with favour on the growing volume of agitation in Rajkot.

Negotiations for a compromise, however, continue and Mr. Anantrai Pattani, Dewan of Bhavnagar had a discussion with the Rajkot Dewan and Sir Patrick Cadell recently on the present situation in Rajkot when he is understood to have advised the latter to send for Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.—"*United Press.*"

Biharis Owning Land in Bengal

A Bihar daily writes :

"Nowhere in Bengal is the Bihari or the Oriya permitted to acquire rights in land and neither is commonly employed as an agricultural labourer."—Part 1, p. 143.

So in nationalist Bengal, served by super-nationalist papers like the "Patrika" and the "Hindustan Standard," Biharis and Oriyas are not allowed to acqurie rights in land, are not allowed to engage themselves even as agricultural field-labourers, although in Bihar, Bengalis may purchase lands, acquire Zamindaris, start business concerns, using the resources of the province, and for employment to posts of non-coolie and non-menial classes indent their kith and kin from outside, ignoring even their old co-nationals, speaking the same tongue and proud of the same culture as their own.

The passage quoted by the Bihar paper is from Part 1 of the Bengal Census Report for the year 1921.

The sentences which immediately follow the one quoted by the Bihar paper from the 1921 Bengal Census Report, are :

"A possible exception to this rule exist (s) in the Dinajpur and Rangpur districts where there may have been as many as 30,000 Biharis found employed as field-labourers but not more. The rule does not apply to Santals, etc., who are willing to take up vacant and comparatively unfertile lands on the outcrops of the old Alluvium in West and North Bengal and have been allowed to do so."

Mr. W. H. Thompson, I.C.S., superintendent, census operations, Bengal (1921), perhaps used the words 'permitted', 'rule', 'exception', 'allowed', etc., in a Pickwickian, or rather 'Thompsonian' sense which we whose mother-tongue is not English cannot understand. He has not told us who did not permit some and allowed others, nor who made the rule or the exception. There is no rule in the legal sense preventing Biharis or Oriyas from acquiring land or working as field-labourers in Bengal.

After saying that 30,000 Biharis were employed as field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur, he adds the words, "but not more." Did he want or expect *all* or most of the field-labourers in Rangpur and Dinajpur to be Biharis to the exclusion of Bengali field-labourers ?

When he says that in Bengal neither the Bihari nor the Oriya is *commonly* employed as an agricultural labourer, and adds that in Dinajpur and Rangpur 30,000 are so employed, it is quite easy to understand that where there are sufficient numbers of Bengali field-labourers to do the work, Biharis are not employed, but where the former are not sufficient in number Biharis *are* employed, as for example in Dinajpur and Rangpur. There is nothing unusual in this.

Mr. Thompson has not told us why what he found in Rangpur and Dinajpur, and what the Census Superintendent in 1931 found in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia, should be considered an 'exception' to the 'rule'.

Examples may be given of Biharis acquiring land in Bengal. One will suffice. The Maharajadhiraj of Durbhanga owns extensive Zamindari property in the district of Bankura. It was acquired within living memory. A big Zamindari can be and has been acquired, small plots also can be and have been acquired. It is not necessary to compile a list of such Bihari proprietors of land in Bengal. The following passage from the Bengal Census Report, Part 1, of 1931, page 99, will show how thousands of persons from Bihar *have* acquired land in Bengal and settled there who are now returned as native born" :

"Bogra in this way received colonists from Bihar during the middle of the last century. The districts of Jessore and parts of Nadia is similarly attracting settlers from Chota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. In these three districts the figures of immigrants are by no

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same as those of other than Bengalis since a considerable proportion of the population in these districts, whose ancestors were introduced during the last century, is now returned as native born although they are retaining its aboriginal race. Thus taking some of the groups originative in east Bihar, (which shows that there are other groups originative in Bihar,—M. R.) viz., Bhumij, Munda, Oraon and Santal, figures in Bogra, Jessore and Nadia are 12,272, 4 863 and 1,205, whereas the total immigration from Bihar and Orissa is, respectively, only 9,920, 3,627 and 6,623. Such areas as Burdwan, Rajshahi and the Chittagong Hill Tracts conditions * exist which definitely encourage the immigrant to some of the industrial areas to bring his family with him."

It is to be hoped that it will not be contended that the Bhumij and other settlers in Bengal whose ancestors came from Bihar are not Biharis by lineage. Should that be actually contended however, it is to be hoped that in any case the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga and the Rajput and Bhumihar Brahman Biharis owning Zamindaris in Bengal will be admitted to be genuine Biharis.

In Bengal there is no law which can prevent any non-Bengali from acquiring land. That is quite right from the human and nationalist points of view.

Transfer of Land Under Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act

We have said and shown in the foregoing that there is no law in Bengal preventing non-Bengalis from acquiring land in this province. Not being lawyers we have done so without consulting a leading advocate. We have only detailed knowledge of the tenancy laws prevailing in different parts of the province of Bihar. We do not know whether they are similar to the Bengal laws. A friend has drawn our attention, however, to the sub-sections of section 46 of the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act (Amendment Act, 1938), which is Bihar Act 1938, printed below.

"(3) An occupancy raiyat, who is an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or a portion of his holding by sale or exchange to another aboriginal or to another person who is a member of a scheduled caste, as the case may be, who is resident within the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situate with the sanction of the Deputy Commissioner by gift, will to a near relative without limitation of degree.

"(4) An occupancy raiyat, who is not an aboriginal or a member of a scheduled caste, may transfer his right in his holding or any portion thereof to a person who is resident within the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situate by sale, exchange, gift, will, mortgage or lease.

One of the objects of these sub-sections appears to be to prevent land passing out of the hands of the aboriginal and scheduled caste people owning and cultivating it into the hands of those who are not cultivators. That is a good object. But it may sometimes be that an aboriginal and scheduled caste would-be purchaser, living just outside the local limits of the police station area within which the holding is situate or at some distance, may offer the highest price for it; and he may also be a cultivator himself. Why should the vendor be deprived of the pecuniary advantage of selling it to such a man? The Bihar Government has published lists of the aboriginals and the scheduled castes residing in Chota Nagpur. Do the lists include the Bengali aboriginals and Bengali scheduled caste people resident in or outside Chota Nagpur who are cultivators? If they do, they are not open to criticism. If they do not, the discrimination requires to be explained and justified.

Bengal Bill to Gag Press & Public Speakers

In our last October number we criticized the "Bengal Official Records Bill" which was published in an extraordinary issue of the official *Calcutta Gazette* on September first last. The Official Records Bill of which the text has been published last month appears to be substantially identical with the one published in September. Some of the sections of this bill are printed below.

Definitions :—2. In this Act the expressions "newspapers," "news-sheet" and "press" have the meanings assigned to them in section 2 of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931.

Prohibition of unauthorised publication of official records :—3. Whoever publishes in a newspaper or news-sheet or otherwise, by words or signs, written or spoken, communicates to one or more persons any unpublished official record relating to any affairs of State or any matter derived therefrom or any comment thereon except with the previous permission of the Provincial Government or any authority empowered in that behalf by the Provincial Governments obtained in such manner as the Provincial Government may by notification prescribe, shall be punishable with imprisonment which, may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

Explanation 1.—An official record communicated confidentially to any person before publication is an unpublished official record within the meaning of this section.

Explanation 2.—Where an offence under this section relates to publication in a newspaper or news-sheet, the editor thereof, the author of the offending matter and the keeper of the press on which the newspaper or news-sheet was printed are severally liable under this section.

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* Obviously "the conditions" include the availability of the immigrant of land to settle in and cultivate. M. R.

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After a person has been convicted and sentence of imprisonment or fine or both has been pronounced on him for an offence under this law, he must not think that he would not be subjected to any additional punishment for practically the same offence. For, section 4 runs as follows :

Information regarding an offence under section 3 to be given. 4. (1) On demand by an authority empowered in this behalf by the Provincial Government, it shall be the duty of any person convicted of an offence under section 3 to give in writing all information in his power relating to such offence.

(2) Whoever fails to give all such information as aforesaid or gives any such information falsely shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to one year or with fine or with both.

One consequence of this section will be that if the person convicted declines to disclose the source of his information, additional punishment will be inflicted on him; and if he betrays his informant or informants and says how and from whom he obtained the official secrets made public by him, which would be against the canons of journalistic honour and convention, the official or officials concerned will be punished.

Sub-section (3) of section 5 lays down that trials under the proposed law may be held in camera, which is objectionable :

5. (3) In addition and without prejudice to any powers which a Court may possess to order the exclusion of the public from any proceedings, if in the course of the trial of any person under this Act or of an appeal against a conviction thereunder application is made by the prosecution, on the ground that the publication of any evidence to be given or of any statement to be made in the course of the proceedings would be prejudicial to the interests of the State, that the public shall be excluded during any part of the hearing, the Court may make an order to that effect, but the passing of sentence shall in any case take place in public.

One can understand that the unauthorized and premature publication of military plans, army manœuvres, and the like may injure the State and the public and may, therefore, be penalised. Another kind of official information to which we are just going to refer must also be kept secret in the interests of the State. In paying a compliment to the trustworthiness of Indian officials, high and low, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, a former Finance Member of the Government of India, said in the course of a speech in 1913 :

"Three years ago when it fell to my lot to impose new taxes, it was imperative that their nature should remain secret until they were officially announced. Everybody in the department had to be entrusted with this secret. Any one of these, from high officials to low paid compositors of the Government Press, would have become a millionaire by using that secret improperly. But even under such tremendous temptation not one betrayed his trust. So well was the secret kept that a ship laden with silver in Bombay delayed unnecessarily its unloading for three days and was consequently caught by the new tax."

It is not the divulging of official information only of the kinds indicated above that the Bill penalizes. If passed into law, it will enable the Government to punish the divulger of any kind of official information which the Ministry or other officials may wish for their own convenience and interest to keep secret. It will not be necessary for the prosecution to prove that its divulgence has injuriously affected the interests of the State or the public.

No doubt the bill gives the Provincial Government power to exclude certain records from the operation of the proposed law :

Power to exclude certain records from the operation of this Act :—8. The Provincial Government may, from time to time by notification in the "Official Gazette" exclude any official record or class of offical record from the operation of this Act.

But it can scarcely be expected that the Government will be in a hurry to exclude such official records as the public may be particularly interested in having a knowledge of beforehand.

Let us give a few examples of the kind of official information whose unauthorized publication was and in future will be in the public interest, but which the Bill, if it becomes law, will certainly penalise hereafter.

Lord Curzon's proposal for the partition of Bengal was subjected to severe criticism in a minute by Sir Henry Cotton, then Chief Commissioner of Assam. The former ordered that that minute should not be published. But it was published by Surendranath Banerjee in defiance of that order in his *Bengalee*. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* also published secret official information on several occasions, relating, for example, to Kashmir, Gilgit, Bhopal, etc., thereby promoted public good. The *Hindusthan Standard* has done quite the same thing by publishing two successive drafts of the Bengal Secondary Education Bill. Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, M.L.A., in his speech at the Calcutta University Institute on the 1st September last read out extracts from a secret report of a Press Officer of the Government of Bengal and the following extract from a Note of the Bengal Chief Minister, Mr. A. K. Fazlul Huq :

"In my opinion we should at once undertake legislation to compel newspapers to reserve two columns at any rate for the publication of Governmental news. If we cannot give them sufficient matters to fill the

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...mns, they will still keep the unutilised portions ...in in order to show that these columns have been ...rved entirely for Government publications. It is on ...e conditions we can allow the press to function in ...e country."

The extracts read out by Mr. Sarat Chandra ...e have not injured either the State or the ...blic. On the contrary, they have warned the ...blic of possible dangers ahead, and have ...rned the Chief Minister also that the public ...ll not submit to such legislation. But if the ...ll becomes law, no one will be able to publish ...ch things hereafter without running the risk of ...ing punished.

...esponsible Government in ...vnagar ?

The Bombay Chronicle has published the ...lowing telegram :

(From Our Correspondent)

Bhavnagar, Nov. 22.

Dewan Anantraybhai Pattani and Nanabhai Bhatt of ...rinamurti arrived here today after long talks over ...tical matters with Mahatmaji at Wardha.

It is understood that Anantraybhai as arbitrator of ...e Rajkot State and Nanabhai as representative of the ...thiawar Rajkiya Parishad saw Mahatmaji and ...dar Patel and discussed the Rajkot problem in detail.

A scheme of Responsible Government in the ...ministration of states is under preparation by His ...ghness Krishnakumarsinhji and the Dewan.

According to the scheme limited powers are to be ...ented to one special council of people with a limited ...d of Responsible Government to be introduced as an ...periment.

This Scheme of Responsible Government is likely ...be officially announced in the first week of December.

If any ruling Prince tries to do good to his ...ople, we have every desire to be appreciative. We do not want to be censorious. But it is ...ish to be desired that those among our ruling ...inces who wish to rule like statesmen will bear ...mind that their people have come to know ...ar rights the nationals of other lands and ...men of British-ruled India enjoy, that they have ...come restive, that they are as intelligent as ...eigners, and that this is the age of the aero-...ne. So whatever rights, important or ...erwise, these princes wish to confer on their ...ople should be given to them quickly and ...revocably, not at a snail's pace and experi-...entally.

...rogressive Tendency in Mayurbhanj

Mayurbhanj is the premier Indian state in ...rissa. It is pleasing to note that it is not ...aking history in the way that Dhenkanal, ...ther and some other Orissa states have been unhappily doing, but has decided to move forward. An extraordinary issue of the *Mayurbhanj State Gazette,* dated the 23rd November, 1938, announces that

It is the intention of the Maharaja to bring the people of Mayurbhanj into closer touch with the State administration; and it is expedient, as a step in that direction, to constitute regular representative organizations in order to enable them to formulate local opinion in all matters concerning the well-being of the people in general and serve as mediums of communication of such opinion to the State authorities.

In accordance with this intention of the Maharaja a Praja Sabha will be constituted in each of the four sub-divisions of the State and in the municipal town of Baripada, with not less than 50 per cent of elected members, and not more than 50 per cent to be nominated by the Dewan. In the sub-divisions the adult male population will form the electorate, that is, there will be adult male suffrage, and in Baripada, the capital, the registered voters of the municipality.

7. A Praja Sabha may, at any duly convened meeting, consider all questions affecting the well-being of the people, including matters relating to : (*a*) education, (*b*) public health and medical relief, (*c*) water supply, (*d*) agriculture, (*e*) communication, and (*f*) grievances of a general character, deserving consideration of the State authorities.

Though it is not a stride but a step that Mayurbhanj has taken, it is definitive and a step in the right direction, which should logically and naturally lead to other progressive developments.

Go-ahead Orchha

His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha has taken steps to stop child marriages by introducing a 'Child Marriage Restraint Act' in his state. Offences under this Act have been made cognizable and the lowest age limit for marriages is 14 for girls and 18 for boys.

His Highness has also introduced from the same date the Unequal Marriages Act, according to which persons having 20 or more than 20 years' difference between their ages cannot marry. Non-observance of this rule would be an offence.

Another measure of reform deals with the right of all women to divorce their husbands under special circumstances.

The work of survey and settlement of the state is nearing completion and it is hoped will end in giving considerable relief to his peasantry. In the meantime large arrears have been remitted and facilities for the extension of cultivation have been enlarged.

By an Agricultural Relief Act introduced some two years ago, agriculturists were given adequate relief against attachment of their property under civil decrees. But as a further measure of relief, His Highness has recently ordered that from Dec. 1, 1938, all execution of civil decrees against the agriculturists will be held in suspense for three years, after which the position of the agriculturists will be reviewed.

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An amendment to the provision of the Civil Procedure Code has been made with a view to enable the executing courts to fix easy instalments even in those cases where instalments were not fixed at the time of decree. Under the old law the courts could not do so without the consent of the decree holder.

Tikamgarh, the capital of Orchha state, had for three years past its own municipal board, but since July 1938, it has been made an entirely non-official body, consisting wholly of elected members with an elected chairman of their own.

Responsible Government in Oundh

The Raja Saheb of Oundh has been perhaps the first among the rulers of the smaller Indian States to grant to his people the right of responsible self-government. He has been long known to educated India as a cultured patron of learning and literature who donated one lakh of rupees for the critical edition of the Mahabharat which is being published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute of Poona. He is also an artist who is illustrating this edition himself. To physical culturists he is known for his Surya-namaskār system of physical exercises.

Who Is A Cultivator ?

If the owner of a small piece of land drives the plough himself and tills it and grows and harvests some crop without the help of any hired labourer, there is no difficulty in saying that he is a cultivator. But, though he may not hire anybody to help him, he receives the help of his family.

When the holdings are larger, if the owners belong to the cultivating class, they may personally take part in some of the agricultural operations, but generally most of the work is done by field-labourers, who are most often paid in kind and some times in cash. Some owners of big holdings belonging to the cultivating class do not, however, themselves drive the plough, use the spade, or ply the hoe or the sickle. But perhaps they, too, are considered cultivators.

In the socialist view it is the man who cultivates the soil who is its rightful owner. It is not our intention to support or oppose that view. What we want to say is that if that view were literally interpreted, it is only the peasant owning a small plot of land which he can himself till and of which he can reap and garner the harvest himself without the help of anybody else, who will be entitled to be the rightful owner of his holding. Proprietors of bigger holdings must then be deprived of what they cannot themselves till and utilize. Thus the whole country must be cut up into very small and uneconomic holdings. In countries like the United States of America, Soviet Russia, etc., agricultural operations are carried on on a large scale and according to the latest and most improved scientific methods. Tractors and other machinery are used. It is in these countries that the yield per acre is very high. The yield in India is very low.

If the yield in our country is to be increased —and it ought certainly to be increased, the literal interpretation of the word cultivator must be given up and larger holdings and large scale farming must become the rule. We are not proposing the expropriation or extinction of the small peasant-farmers. They must be taught to combine and co-operate and turn their holdings into big collective farms. And in these big farms tractors and other machinery may be used. Some of the landlords themselves may become farmers.

Landlord "Peasants"

We have said above that some of the landlords may themselves become farmers. In fact, if they want to save themselves, body and soul, and save their families, they must turn "peasants". For socialism is in the air. And whether one calls oneself a socialist or not, every intelligent and right-thinking man must admit, at least to himself, that parasitism is bad and leads to degeneration, and that self-reliance is good and makes for virility and a fully developed personality. It would, therefore, be a blessing for the owners of landed estates as well as to the country if they turned 'tractor-peasants' and cultivated some of their lands themselves.

To this year's January number of *The Modern Review* Professor Dr. Nanda Lal Chatterji of the Lucknow University contributed an article on "Educated Unemployment and Large Scale Farming." In that article he has described how an educated young man drives his own tractor and cultivates his own farm of some thousands of acres at village Hariharpur in the district of Manbhum. He is his own mechanic also. Some of our big landlords try to become pilots of their own aeroplanes. That is good. Some have other hobbies. Why not make large scale farming a hobby ? If our young landlords or landlords' sons had the hobby of being their own tractor-drivers and cultivated their own farms, it would be a *productive* hobby. And they could claim to be peasants, too!

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"Ahimsa" and The Indian National Congress

Even those with whom "ahimsā" or non-violence is not like an article of a religious creed and who believe that there are occasions when it is right and permissible for both individuals and bodies of men to use weapons of defence, agree with Congressites in holding that India's struggle for freedom from the British yoke should and must be non-violent. Congressmen believe that full independence can be won by non-violent means. Considering our relations with the British people, the gradual development of the British temperament in a certain direction, the trend of world-forces, and the world situation, the Congress view appears to be right.

That some at any rate, if not all, Congress provincial governments are making arrangements for giving young men military training, is not for winning independence but for maintaining it after it has been won. That shows that many leading Congressmen are not as thorough-going 'ahimsāists' as Mahatma Gandhi, who believes that if independence can be won without recourse to violence, it can also be kept without resort to it. Of course military training has a physical, disciplinary, and character-building value even for those who never intend to or will become soldiers. But it is believed that Congress Ministries intending to provide facilities for military training attach importance to its military value also.

Perhaps they think, too, that military training is essentially necessary to cure an emasculated people of the dread of the mere sight of blood and of weapons like even pen-knives.

Those who think that freedom and independence can be preserved without recourse to actual fighting, appear to think that if we do not submit to the aggressors and do not carry out their bidding, though they may at first indulge in wholesale slaughter or massacre, the horror of it will ultimately soften their hearts and they will finally refrain from enslaving us. We cannot dogmatically assert that this cannot happen. But if it happens at all, the process by which this may be the last stage will take a long time, during which much blood will be shed and cruel repression will most probably degrade our national character in the direction of cowardice and servility.

As regards the horror of massacres affecting the herats of the slayers, it cannot be asserted that it is certain or even most probable. It is not necessary to ransack past history for illustrations in support of our observation. During the present Sino-Japanese war, thousands—some say lakhs—of non-combatant men and women and children have been killed. That has not softened the hearts of the Japanese. They continue to bomb towns and villages and kill the civilian population.

If the population of a country consisted only of adult males and if they resolved in a body neither to fight nor to submit to the invader, but preferred rather to get killed, it might not be necessary to object to this possible self-immolation. But every country has its quota of minors of both sexes—babes and children—and its women. It is the bounden and sacred duty of the adult males to protect the women and children. No such male, if he has any manhood in him, should or can allow the women and children to be slain or carried into captivity without doing his utmost to protect them. We do not know what is the non-violent utmost that can be done to protect them or what the efficacy of that non-violent endeavour may be. It may be and often must be that even armed endeavour to protect women and children will be fruitless. But in such cases those who make such endeavour (and survive such endeavour) will have the consolation, poor though it be, that they had tried both persuasion and force in the discharge of their duty.

The massacre of women and children, like the massacre of men, may sometimes appear horrible to the slayers, and the horrible sight may so influence the minds of even brutal men as to deter them from further slaughter. But the ravishment of women or their consignment to a life of shame—a worse fate for the victims than death, is not generally considered horrible—such is the stage of civilization we have reached. Therefore, though it may be imagined that the horrors of massacre may deter even brutal men from further slaughter, it cannot be expected that the aforesaid fate of women will strike the generality of males as horrible. Why, even in times of peace, the Muslim community of Bengal does not raise its voice against the abduction of even Muslim women, and the Hindu community has never yet made any adequate effort to protect its women.

When the honour and safety of women are threatened, men who are men cannot stand by and look on. They can only choose to die fighting in defence of the women. And if the women cannot defend themselves, self-immolation in the old honourable Rajput way or some equivalent method would be preferable.

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Human life is sacred. But the lives of aggressors are not more sacred than those of the persons whom they attack.

If when India had won freedom and independence by non-violent means, she did not possess adequate defensive power on land and sea and in the air, most probably, if not certainly, some aggressive nation or other would attack her. The reason for her not possessing sufficient defensive forces would be faith in 'ahimsā' or the belief in the sacredness of human life. But as the invaders would be persons having no faith in 'ahimsā', they would not consider the lives of Indians sacred and would not refrain from killing Indians. Hence *our* faith in 'ahimsā' would result in the safety of the aggressors, and *their* lack of faith in 'ahimsā' would result in Indians being killed. In other words, Indians then living would have to practically recognise that the lives of their enemies were sacred and their own lives were not sacred. Men spiritually advanced may think that death does not matter, or that this world is not so important as the next. May be. But why has life been given to man at all, with the desire and power of self-preservation? Is it a virtue to get killed by brutal men? Why is it not a virtue then to get killed by tigers and other beasts of prey?

The reader must not think that we do not value "ahimsā". We do. But we are puzzled how it will work.

It may be argued that fighting in self-defence would rouse the passions of the aggressors, making them more bloodthirsty and lustful and leading to more horrible massacres and to greater outrages on women than if only a non-violent protest were made and resolve of non-submission declared and adhered to. It may be said in reply that if fighting in self-defence were successful, as is not unoften the case, such success would be worth all the loss of the lives of the heroic defenders and would prevent the future dishonouring and degradation of the women of the people attacked. Moreover, if the people attacked thought it all-important not to rouse the passions of the aggressors and to keep them pleased, that object could be best gained by quick and quiet submission without even any verbal protest!

"Pictures of Japanese Atrocities" Again

The poet-sage Rabindranath Tagore has received the following letter from an American journalist in Shanghai with reference to the letters recently exchanged between himself and the Japanese poet Yone Noguchi:

"I have just read the letters lately exchanged between you and the Japanese poet Noguchi.

"His letter, to which you have replied so effectively, is such a tissue of fabrication and hypocrisy as may reveal to you the extent to which regimentation of thought has gone in Japan. No one is free from its influence and none, of course, dares oppose it.

"I have been here for some time and I know pretty well what the Japanese are doing and how they are doing it. Lately I have seen some photographs taken at Nanking—and by Japanese soldiers themselves—photographs of slaughter and rape, too horrible even to talk about. The ruthlessness of the Japanese in this invasion of China cannot have been parallelled since the fall of Tyre."—(*United Press*).

Ethiopia Too Big For Conquest

The latest issue of *The Voice of Ethiopia* (October 29, 1938) tells its readers:

Ethiopia is too big to be easily conquered. Her natural fortresses of mountains and forests and rain and swamp will protect her with the determination of her gallant people from outside foes for a long time to come.

A recent traveller in Ethiopia, Ernst Wiese, reports in Harpers Magazine: "This country is much too big. An Italian economic expert confessed to me soon after my arrival in Addis Ababa. It was a statement I was to hear many times during my travels. "A tenth portion of the entire area which would exclude the formidable mountain ranges where rebel bands may hide in safety would have been more adequate for Italy's investment of materials and man-power."

Ethiopia is a country of 350,000 square miles or more, bigger than England and France together, it is a country with many mountain ranges offering good natural protection to its inhabitants.

The Italians confess that the problem is too formidable for them. They have not the money to carry out their schemes of conquest and settlement.

The war in Ethiopia has been going on now for three years and the Italians have made no headway. They maintain a huge army in Ethiopia, for the Ethiopians do not propose to surrender their country so easily. The Italians must first conquer Ethiopia before they can reap any benefit from it. And the Ethiopians are very far from being conquered.

Roads and Conquest

The Italians need roads in order to wage a successful war. They have not the money to build roads such as can withstand the heavy seasonal rains that fall in Ethiopia. Therefore, the war will continue for some time yet unless the nations—England and France—come to the aid of Italy with money. Let us, Black people, do our utmost in aiding our people in Ethiopia.

Self-determination to Suit Hitler

According to the *No Frontier News Service* writing on minorities,

Objective figures are hard to obtain, for statistics are frequently padded. But without doubt, at least 30,000,000 inhabitants of Europe are held under government controls contrary to their traditions or desires. In South Tyrol, under Italian rule, are more than 400,000

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-speaking Austrians. In Poland are some 70,000 Lithuanians, 2,000,000 Jews, 000 Russians, almost a million Germans. These are only a few out of many in Europe.

There are also three million German-speaking Swiss in Switzerland.

There is no knowing when Herr Hitler find it necessary and convenient to demand self-determination for at least the German-speaking population in the countries mentioned above.

Mahatma Gandhi on The Jews in Germany and Palestine

In the course of an article on "The Jews" *Harijan* Mahatma Gandhi writes:

"My sympathies are all with the Jews. I have met them intimately in South Africa. Some of them were lifelong companions. Through these friends I came to learn much of their age-long persecution. They have been the untouchables of Christianity. The parallel between their treatment by Christians and the treatment of untouchables by Hindus is very close. Religious sanction has been invoked in both cases for the justification of the inhuman treatment meted out to them. Apart from the friendships, therefore, there is the more common human reason for my sympathy for the Jews.

"But my sympathy does not blind me to the requirements of justice. The cry for the national home for the Jews does not make much appeal to me. The sanction for it is sought in the Bible and the tenacity with which the Jews have hankered after return to Palestine. Why should they not, like other peoples of the earth, make a country their home where they are born and where they earn their livelihood?"

The Jews of many countries, though not all, may answer: "Because we are not allowed to make that country our home where we are born and where we earn our livelihood."

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense as England belongs to the English or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct. The atrocities have no sanction but that of the last war. And it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews partly or wholly as their national home.

"The nobler course would be to insist on a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred. The Jews born in France are French in precisely the same sense that Christians born in France are French.

We do not think that Palestine can be said to belong to the Arabs alone in the same sense as England belongs to the English or France belongs to the French. For, Palestine was the ancient home of the Hebrew race, and even after the dispersion there has been a small Jewish population in Palestine for centuries—how many centuries we cannot tell offhand. As a religious group the Jews of Palestine are an older community than the Christian and the Muslim Arabs. We do not defend Britain's action in Palestine. We think the only right course would be for the Arabs and the Jews to come to an agreement between themselves. There are many countries inhabited by different racial or religious groups where the groups are not artificially prevented from growing bigger. We do not see any just reason why the Jews in Palestine should not be allowed to grow more numerous.

We wholeheartedly support Mahatmaji when he says that a just treatment of the Jews wherever they are born and bred should be insisted upon.

But we cannot appreciate his questions,

"If the Jews have no home but Palestine, will they relish the idea of being forced to leave the other parts of the world in which they are settled? Or do they want a double home where they can remain at will?"

Englishmen have their national home in England. Many Englishmen reside in other parts of the world, and many of them were born there. Many of them have homes in more than two countries. Nevertheless they say that England is their national home; and it is a fact that they can return to England whenever they like. But nobody ever imagined that for these reasons they could be justly asked: "Would you relish the idea of being expelled from the parts of the world where you resided? Or do you want a double or triple home?"

We do not remember to have read that Herr Hitler ever exploited the Jewish cry for a national home for justifying the expulsion of the Jews from Germany. But now that Gandhiji has unintentionally given a sort of a cue, the Germans may take advantage of it.

Gandhiji adds:

But the German persecution of the Jews seems to have no parallel in history. The tyrants of old never went so mad as Hitler seems to have gone. For he is propounding a new religion of exclusive and militant nationalism in the name of which any inhumanity becomes an act of humanity to be rewarded here and hereafter. The crime of an obviously mad but intrepid youth is being visited upon his whole race with unbelievable ferocity.

It there ever could be justifiable war in the name of and for humanity, a war against Germany, to prevent the wanton persecution of a whole race, would be completely justified. But I do not believe in any war. A discussion of the pros and cons of such a war is, therefore, outside my horizon or province.

But if there can be no war against Germany, even for such a crime as is being committed against the Jews, surely there can be no alliance with Germany. How can there be alliance between a nation which claims to stand for justice and democracy and one which is the declared

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enemy of both? Or is England drifting towards armed dictatorship and all it means?

After giving eloquent expression to these views and righteous and noble sentiments, which will be echoed by all right-thinking persons, Mahatmaji asks:

"Can the Jews resist this organized and shameless persecution? Is there a way to preserve their self-respect and not to feel helpless, neglected and forlorn?"

And he replies, "I submit there is". He reminds the Jews of their faith in a living God. He tells them what he would do if he were a German Jew.

"If I were a Jew and were born in Germany and earned my livelihood there I would claim Germany as my home even as the tallest gentile German may, and challenge him to shoot me or cast me in the dungeon: I would refuse to be expelled or to submit to discriminating treatment. And for doing this I would not wait for the fellow Jews to join me in civil resistance but would have confidence that in the end the rest are bound to follow my example. If one Jew or all the Jews were to accept the prescription here offered, he or they cannot be worse off than now. And suffering voluntarily undergone will bring them an inner strength and joy which no number of resolutions of sympathy passed in the world outside Germany can. Indeed even if Britain, France and America were to declare hostilities against Germany, they can bring no inner joy, no inner strength."

After rightly prescribing voluntary suffering for the Jews in Germany, Gandhiji draws a parallel between the position of the Indians in South Africa before their Satyagraha campaign and that of the Jews in Germany and shows that the latter are in a more advantageous position to offer Satyagraha.

But the Jews of Germany can offer Satyagraha under definitely better auspices than the Indians of South Africa. The Jews are a compact, homogeneous community in Germany. They are far more gifted than the Indians of South Africa. And they have organized world opinion behind them. I am convinced that if some one with courage and vision can arise among them to lead them in non-violent action the winter of their despair can in the twinkling of an eye be turned into the summer of hope. And what has today become a degrading man-hunt can be turned into a calm and determined stand offered by unarmed men and women possessing the strength of suffering given to them by Jehovah. It will be then a truly religious resistance offered against the godless fury of dehumanized man. The German Jews will score a lasting victory over the German gentiles in the sense that they will have converted the latter to an appreciation of human dignity, they will have rendered service to fellow-Germans and proved their title to be the real Germans as against those who are today dragging, however unknowingly, the German name into the mire.

No better advice could be given, and there is no worthier man to give it than Mahatma Gandhi. This can also be said of the similar advice which he has given to the Jews in Palestine.

But we do not think it is quite correct to say, as Gandhiji does, that "the Palestine of the Biblical conception is not a geographical conception" and that it is only "in their hearts." It is certainly in part a geographical conception and in part an ideal. Nor do we agree that the Jewish settlers in Palestine are all despoilers of the Arabs like the Britishers. Many of them have become owners of land there *by purchase*, many have brought under cultivation land never before cultivated, and the enterprise of the Jews has been economically advantageous to the Arabs also.

Doctorate for Ex-Vice-chancellor

The Doctorate in Literature *honoris causa* conferred last month on Srijut Syamaprasad Mookerjee, who recently retired from the honorary office of Vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, was richly deserved. Though he became Vice-chancellor when he was much younger than any one who became Vice-chancellor in any Indian University before, he has been among the worthiest and the most useful and active. The tributes paid to him by both the Chancellor and the Vice-chancellor had no trace of exaggeration.

When the Governor of Bengal, speaking as Chancellor and addressing Dr. Mookerjee, said:

"Though our paths no longer run together in the affairs of the University, I sincerely trust that I may have the privilege of your help and co-operation in other spheres, because I feel that Bengal needs your services."

some persons among the audience must have thought that perhaps His Excellency was looking forward to having him among his Ministers.

Indian History Congress At Allahabad Endorses Roerich Pact

At the Second Indian History Congress at Allahabad, Dr. Tara Chand moved and Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Vyas seconded a motion for the endorsement of the Roerich Pact and the following resolution was unanimously passed:

"Resolved that the Second Indian History Congress held at Allahabad approves of the International Pact for the protection of artistic and scientific institutions, historic monuments, missions and collections, originated by Nicholas Roerich, and records its support of the Pact."

Rai Bahadur Brij Mohan Vyas, in seconding the motion, paid tribute to Prof. Roerich and

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...ced that the Pact has already been ...ed by 21 countries and a very large number ...ed societies and associations. He stated ...he had no doubt that by solemnly endorsing ...great pact in the cause of peace and ...re that most distinguished and learned ...bly of scholars from all over India would ...ly be following the footsteps of similar ...blies and organizations in other parts of ...world, but would be lending support to a ...emergent and significant measure.

In addition to the many previous adoptions, ...Roerich Pact has also been recently ...imously endorsed by two International ...resses in Paris: The International Federa- ...of Art, Literature and Science and The ...Congress of International Studies.

...ndhi to Tagore"

Correspondents have written to us from ...a, Maharashtra and Bengal that the ...ge, headed "Gandhi to Tagore", which ...quoted in our last number from René ...-Miller's *Lenin and Gandhi*, occurs in ...tma Gandhi's article on "The Great ...el" in *Young India*, 1921.

...drawal of a Paragraph on Dr. ...ndra Prasad

On the 6th November last we wrote a ...to Dr. Rajendra Prasad unreservedly ...drawing the second paragraph of our note ...Dr. Rajendra Prasad on Bengalis in Bihar" ...expressing regret for the same. It was not ...intention in that paragraph to cast any ...ion on his personal honour or to suggest ...he was capable of consciously and inten- ...lly doing injustice to the Bengalis in Bihar. ...wanted only to draw attention to his ...ulties. But as the wording of the para- ...h admits of being interpreted in a way in ...we did not mean it to be interpreted, we ...ervedly withdrew it.

We adhere to our arguments on the subject ...Bengalis in Bihar.

...men's Co-operative Industrial ...e Limited

The Women's Co-operative Industrial Home ...ed, started with the help of the Govern- ...t, under the auspices of the Nari Siksha ...ti, of which Lady Abala Bose is the ...dent, was opened by Her Excellency Lady ...ne at Dum Dum on the 15th November last. As it develops and grows it will be of increasing help to the women—particularly the widows, of Bengal in making themselves economically independent. It has been started for the present with 16 thoroughly trained workers, and is meant for the benefit of those who are trained in weaving, dyeing and printing, but are too poor to start on their own.

In this Home, the workers are all share-holders of the Association, and they pay for their house-rent and maintain themselves out of their earnings. It is expected that in a short time they will be able, in addition, to save money; and in course of time, these workers who came here destitute will save enough to set up business of their own. By encouragement of the spirit of self-help, their character will be changed and the poverty-stricken women of Bengal will find means of improving their position.

It is fortunate that there will be no lack of marketing facilities for the products of the Industrial Home. The Bengal Provincial Co-operative Industrial Society Ltd., and the Bengal Home Industries Association have placed large orders with the Home, which will fully engage the activities of the workers. In addition, the Home is receiving large orders from industrial firms such as The Bengal Water-proof Co., Ltd., which at present cannot be taken in hand for lack of workers. So the question of additional accommodation is already engaging the attention of the Board.

The Home has incurred a liability of Rs. 2,000, which the Directors hope the generous public will enable them to wipe off early.

The Society for the Improvement of the Backward Classes

From the latest annual report of the Society for the Improvement of Backward classes, Bengal and Assam, we take the following brief outline of the work done by it in 1937-38:

I. Number of Schools—265, including 68 Girls' Schools.

II. Number of students on the rolls—
Boys 8,902 (1,846 Muhammadans)
Girls 3,616 (431 Do)

III. 30 Scholarships (Boys 10 and Girls 20) of the aggregate value of Rs. 118/8/- a month were awarded during the year.

IV. Prizes were awarded to 8 Schools during the year.

V. There were under its control—
(1) Three Public Libraries.
(2) One Boy-scout and one Cub troops.
(3) Arrangements for delivering lantern lectures inculcating ideas of sanitary responsibilities.

VI. The amount spent in grants-in-aid was Rs. 51,892-1-9 but the amount spent in Establishment and other charges stood only at Rs. 6,132-3-3.

The comparatively small amount spent in establishment and other similar charges by a

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Society whose activities range over two provinces, shows how economically its affairs are managed. It has been in existence for the last 30 years, is doing very valuable work in rural areas among the backward classes, and is thoroughly reliable. It desires to raise the number of schools to 300. It can utilize to the best advantage big as well as small donations and subscriptions, which may be sent to its treasurer Srijut Satish Chandra Chakrabarti, M.A., 210-6, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

U. P. Bengali Children Not To Learn Mother Tongue ?

From some resolutions passed by the United Provinces Bengali Association, published in newspapers, we learn that the Board of High School and Intermediate Education, United Provinces, have deprived "the Bengali candidates of the facility of learning their mother tongue," and that the High School and Intermediate Board of Ajmer and Merwara has recently introduced Bengali in the High School and Intermediate Examinations. The U. P. Bengali Association has drawn the attention of the Hon'ble Minister of Education, U. P., to the decision of the U. P. High School and Intermediate Board of Education and requested him not to give his assent to it. The request of the U. P. Bengali Association is reasonable. If Bengali children in U. P. learn Bengali and through Bengali, they thereby do not in the least stand in the way of other children receiving education in and through their mother tongues. Society in India is so constituted at present, that Bengali families settled outside Bengal must keep up social relations, *e.g.*, in the matter of marriage, with those resident in Bengal. It is necessary for Bengali children, therefore, wherever they may reside, to know Bengali. If it be necessary for entering public services or the professions of law, medicine, etc., for Bengali youth to learn any other provincial language, they can certainly be asked to show that they know it. But the first stages of education of all children should be in and through their mother tongue.

What the Ajmer-Merwara Board has found practicable and necessary should certainly be practicable and necessary in U. P.

Importation of Arms by China

China had been hitherto receiving arms and other war materials from Europe and America by sea-routes, the steamers landing their cargo in Chinese ports. But since the fall of Canton, that is no longer possible. France has stopped allowing the transport of munitions along the Haiphong-Yunnanfu railway in French Indo-China, owing to the Japanese threat to occupy Hainan, an island vital to the French, only 200 miles from Haiphong. So China wants to import arms through Rangoon port, to be carried overland across Burma to Central China. The cargo-ship *Stanhall* has already reached Rangoon. A section of the Burmese object to this as inviting trouble. They want Burma to remain strictly neutral, following the policy of non-intervention. Most probably Japan, too, has directly addressed the British Government on the subject.

We read in an editorial article in the *Chinese Weekly Review* of September 24 last that "General Chiang Kai-shek has supplies of ammunition, arms and fuel for another year of war stored in well-guarded depots in Szechwan, Kweichow, Kwangsi and Yunnan." It is also said in the same article,

> Come whatever may in Europe—the Chinese say this country is in a position to continue resistance on a major scale until next spring. By that time, Russia may be ready to strike or Japan may become involved in a war with Britain and France.

But neither Britain nor France is in a mood or in a position to fight Japan. It cannot be guessed what Russia may do in the near future. But it is clear that China will have to depend more and more on Soviet Russia for supply of arms.

Soviet Russia's Military Strength

According to *Toronto Star Weekly* of Toronto, Canada, Soviet Russia is more than a match for any nation. That is why, when some persons in some European countries have doubts on the adequacy of her armed forces, a responsible Russian statesman challenged any country which liked to take up the gauntlet to try her strength.

The figures given by the Toronto paper are based on official Soviet figures, the *World Almanac*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica Yearbook* and *Whitaker's Almanac*. Condensed from that paper, the facts are :

> Despite the facetious description of the Red Army as that with the most living soldiers and the great number of the dead generals, military authorities of the world are unanimous in conceding to it the position of the greatest defensive weapon ever forged by one nation.
>
> Russia's army consists of nearly 2,500,000 constantly under arms, backed by a trained reserve of 18,000,000 and a further partially trained and mobilisable reserve of 13,000,000.

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This terrific potential man-power is trained to operate the world's largest air force, and 23,000 sailors are trained to man the world's largest fleet of submarines. Early this year the number of Russia's first-line aeroplanes was estimated at 6,000. When Hitler took Austria Stalin ordered the air-force to be increased to 10,000 first-line planes. That means that Russia has about 40,000 fighting aeroplanes either ready or under construction; for in military parlance 'first-line' planes means the number of machines ready to fight, backed up by from three to four reserve planes to replace the wastage of war in the first months of a conflict until new construction gets under way.

In 1934 Russia's navy consisted of 20 destroyers, 20 submarines, 130 fast torpedo boats, a few mine-layers and mine-sweepers, survey ships and training vessels, and three pre-war battle-ships, four light cruisers of the same age and two modern fast cruisers. Annually since then Soviet anthorities have said that their naval arm has been quadrupled, and foreign authorities have more than once called the Soviet submarine fleet the most powerful in the world.

The mechanisation of the Soviet army is as far ahead of that of Italy or Germany as it is in strength.

Mahatma Hans Raj

The death of Mahatma Hans Raj is a great loss to the Panjab and the Arya Samaj in particular and to the whole of India in general. He was one of the three great leaders of the Arya Samaj to whom in its earlier days it owed its progress. To the work of the Arya Samaj and its D. A.-V. College he devoted his energies during the greater part of his active career with rare devotion. The College owed its reputation, progress and prestige above all to him during the earlier part of its history. Great self-sacrifice marked his character and career. Besides being a great educationist, he was an enthusiastic social reformer. He has been rightly styled one of the makers of the Panjab.

Keshub Chunder Sen Birth Centenary

In our article on Keshub Chunder Sen in our last number we wrote that his birth centenary had been already celebrated in London. Since then there have been elaborate celebrations of the centenary in Calcutta by the three sections of the Brahmo Samaj, by the Indian Journalists' Association, and the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Bengal's premier literary society. During the celebration there was a pilgrimage undertaken to Keshub's ancestral house in Colutola where he was born, headed by Srijut Hirendranath Datta, president of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. Tributes were paid to Keshub by him, Sir Jadunath Sarkar and others. At one of the meetings Srimati Sarojini Naidu delivered an eloquent address on Keshub's work for women. Sir S. Radhakrishnan delivered a thoughtful speech at another meeting. Besides lectures, divine services, and an exhibition of manuscripts and various mementos of the great religious teacher and reformer, his Navabidhan Samaj has published during the celebrations many leaflets, booklets and books in Bengali and English, including the monumental Bengali biography of Keshub Chunder by Upadhyāya Gour Gobinda Ray in three volumes.

The centenary has been celebrated in Hyderabad (Sind), Lahore, Dehra Dun, Patna, Rajahmundry, Bombay, Madras, Dacca and other places. The celebrations were very elaborate in Madras. The Calcutta celebrations will be resumed and conclude in next Christmas week.

Cawnpore will celebrate the centenary on the 17th and 18th instant.

Dr. J. T. Sunderland's Articles on Emerson

The name of the late Dr. J. T. Sunderland of America is held in great respect in India as that of a lifelong and eminent friend of this country. He is particularly well known to the readers of *The Modern Review* for his many very valuable contributions to its pages. During the last year or so of his long life—he was past ninety, he was engaged in writing a book on the great American author Emerson. He did not live to finish it. But he finished parts of the work in the form of separate papers or articles. His surviving daughter Mrs. Gertrude Sunderland Safford, who is herself a noted scholar and litterateur, has kindly sent these to us at our request for publication in our *Review*. We will begin to publish them from the next January number, in which will appear the article on "Emerson and His Friends, the Children." It will be found delightful and elevating reading.

"A New and Better Bible, For All"

In Dr. J. T. Sunderland's article on "A New and Better Bible, for All," published in this number, it is written:

"The world is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far more fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the

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careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism."

Dr. Sunderland's popularly written scholarly work on "The Origin and Character of the Bible" (Indian edition) is an up-to-date work embodying the higher biblical criticism. Many of our college students and others read the Bible. They will find this book interesting, informative and educative.

All-India Inter-University Debate in Calcutta

The first session of the All-India Inter-University Debate, arranged by the Calcutta University Law College Union, was held at the Senate Hall, Calcutta, on the 26th and 27th November last. It aroused great public interest. Many of the speeches made were high-grade both as regards delivery and arguments. Thirty-eight students took part in the competition. Of them 18 came from such centres as Patna, Cuttack, Jubbulpore, Bombay, Poona, Allahabad, Lucknow and Lahore. The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Azizul Haque, Speaker, Bengal Assembly and Vice-Chancellor, Calcutta University, presided over the function. Mr. H. D. Bose, Mr. S. N. Banerji, Mr. W. C. Wordsworth, Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, Mr. N. C. Chatterjee and Mr. T. C. Goswami formed the panel of judges. The subject of the debate was the motion "That India should be no party to future wars." Miss Kalyani Gupta was declared to be the best speaker among the competitors. The full list of winners is as follows:

First—Miss Kalyani Gupta (Punjab University).

Second—Mazhar Ali (Punjab University).

Third—Jolly Mohan Kaul (St. Xavier's College, Calcutta).

Fourth—Purnendu Kumar Banerjee (Presidency College, Calcutta).

Fifth—J. C. Mathur (Allahabad University).

Sixth—Sadhan Chandra Gupta (Post-graduate Department, Calcutta University).

Miss Gupta received a gold medal, and Mr. Mazhar Ali a silver medal. The Sir Asutosh Trophy for the best team went to the Punjab University, represented by Miss Kalyani Gupta and Mr. Mazhar Ali.

Miss Kalyani Gupta, who spoke against the motion, is the daughter of the distinguished artist Principal Samarendranath Gupta of the Mayo School of Art, Lahore, and a granddaughter of the veteran journalist and litterateur, Mr. Nagendranath Gupta. As a debater she had already won her spurs in an All-India debate held in Delhi in June last in addition to the laurels she had won at Lahore. Besides being an accomplished debater she is a brilliant student, and is now studying for her M.A. degree.

Mr. Mazhar Ali, who supported the motion, is also a reputed North India debater and has won several prizes in All-India debates. He also is an M.A. student.

Maulana Shaukat Ali

In the natural course of things Maulana Shaukat Ali was expected to live many more years. Only recently he had said, like a cricketer that he was when young, that he expected to pile his century. But he has gone to his rest before completing even three score years and ten. In him the Muslim community has lost a stout-hearted champion. During the palmy days of Non-co-operation, he and his more gifted and brilliant younger brother Maulana Mohamed Ali were Mahatma Gandhi's most enthusiastic lieutenants. He was a most prominent protagonist of the Khilafat Conference. Though the Big Brother, as he came to be known, had ceased to be a Congressman, he wanted to work for Hindu Moslem unity according to his lights. He was a man of a heroic character. Internment and imprisonment could not deter him from doing that on which he set his heart.

European Politics

The political situation on the continent of Europe has been undergoing such rapid changes that a monthly reviewer must give up the ambition of inditing any observations which may not appear antiquated when published.

Purge and Persecution of Jews in Germany

West and East have alike condemned Germany's treatment of the Jews in the strongest language. What is required in addition is such support to the cause of the Jews as would stop their spoliation and persecution in Germany and their practical expulsion from that country. It should be possible for a union of all countries which are not anti-semitic to bring such pressure to bear on Germany as may result in her adopting a sane and humane

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...ude towards the Jews. If unfortunately ...be not practicable, the next thing which ... countries that are condemning Germany ...ld at once do is to announce how many ...man Jewish refugees they can receive and ...t like their own nationals. Mere condemna-... of Germany is not of much help to the ...s.

...Goebbels' *Tu Quoque*

Britain's and the United States' condemna-... of Germany's treatment of the Jews has ...d forth recriminations from Dr. Goebbels, ...h may be summarized in brief as *Tu ...oque*, "Thou Too."

All the world knows that lynching continues ...disgrace the American soil, that every year ...e Negroes fall victims to mob fury in ...erica, and that the Negro race is not yet ...ed there on a footing of perfect equality ...h the whites. All these are not and cannot ...defended. They are condemned. But it must ...said at the same time that American law ...d collective social practice as regards the whole ...gro race do not approach in brutality and ...ulty the German so-called law and collec-... social practice concerning the Jews.

We are aware of the imposition of collec-...e fines, of wholesale reprisals and of whole-... humiliation of some community or ...mmunities in some places, in our country, for ...e real or fancied offence of individuals. It is ...ecessary to revive their dark, painful and ...graceful memory. They have been burnt into ... soul of our people. And no Indian can ...k of justifying or glozing over them. But ...y are not comparable with what Germany ...s done and contemplates doing to the Jews.

And even if it were admitted that other ...ions had behaved as wickedly as or worse ...n Germany, two blacks do not make one ...ite. No brute, no devil can be entitled to ...nsider himself an angel, because there are ...may be other brutes and devils.

...ood For Republicans in Spain

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's appeal for ...ding food to the Government party in Spain ...uld meet with response in all provinces—...n in flood-stricken Bengal and Bihar. As ...these 'civilized' days food, too, is liable to be ...sidered contraband of war and ships carry-... food to be seized or sunk by belligerents, ...haps the Pandit has thought of some comparatively safe means of sending the food collected to the party in Spain fighting for the cause of democratic freedom.

Items From The Provinces

Prohibition, amelioration of the condition of the peasantry, improvement of labour conditions in factories, and education, are some of the principal subjects engaging the attention of many of the Congress ministries.

Prohibition is making progress in several provinces, *e.g.*, Madras, Bihar, United Provinces.

In the United Provinces and Bihar *Kishans* (peasantry) and landlords are at loggerheads.

Labour strikes in several provinces and states give indications of discontent among the workers. How far and in what centres discontent is due to economic causes, and how far and in what centres it has been roused by labour leaders from political motives, cannot be ascertained without examining the details of each case. It is very much to be regretted that there was shooting on the occasion of the one-day strike in Bombay declared by way of protest against the Trade Disputes Bill.

In the educational sphere the Vidyamandir Scheme in the Central Provinces is being given effect to. The mass literacy drive in Bihar and U. P., and the popular free libraries in the latter are noteworthy. There are student troubles in Bihar, Bombay and U. P. The U. P. Ministry have resolved to deal firmly with strikes in educational institutions.

In Bihar the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga has moved in the Patna University Senate,

> 'That the Senate do adopt Maithili as an additional subject for the Matriculation examination and as an optional subject for the I.A. and B.A. examinations, and as an independent subject for the M.A. examination.'

In his speech he quoted high authority to show that Maithili is an independent language with literature of its own, and urged that it has been recognized as such by the Calcutta and Benares Universities and that, according to his estimate, its speakers number $1\frac{3}{4}$ crores.

The Ministry in Sind ought now to work with full vigour. Prof. Ghansham, leader of the Congress party in the Sind Assembly, has made out an unanswerable case for effecting an immediate reduction in the fat salaries of the officers of the Indian Imperial Services.

The Ministry in the North-West Frontier Province must be declared a failure, unless they

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can prevent plundering and kidnapping raids on border localities like Bannu.

The Congress President's visit to the Panjab and his addresses there have been rousing much enthusiasm.

Delhi may have an individuality of its own. But when the Assembly is in session there local affairs are thrown into the background. At present the Income Tax Bill is being hotly debated there. In spite of the protest of Sir James Grigg, the Finance Member, Dr. P. N. Banerjea was able to show that there had been 'indecent hurry' in the deliberations of the Select Committee.

The latest issue of the ministerial *Bengal Weekly* claims "Government concern for Aboriginals," detailing "measures for improvement". Details have been given in it of two pottery factories started and worked by 42 ex-detenus, with Government help and encouragement.

The convicted political prisoners of Bengal should be released without further delay.

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq's baseless charges against the Congress ministries have been again denied and refuted by those concerned.

Dacca University intends to include military science among its subjects of study.

The Assam Ministry has been gaining fresh supporters. The decision of the ministers to accept only Rs. 500 a month shows their superiority to the Saadullah team.

It is unfortunate that oppression and repression in some Orissa States have diverted public attention from the good things begun, done and contemplated by the Orissa Cabinet.

The anti-Hindi agitation in Madras, now carried on by women, too, with babes in arms, continues to be met with repressive steps, which have earned the unenviable distinction of being approved by the Bengal ministerial organ.

Indian States, Princes to Combine?

In opening the informal conference of the ruling princes and their ministers in Bombay on the 28th November last, His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar said:

> "We are meeting today at a crucial juncture in the history of the country. Issues of life and death importance await decision and demand of us a carefully planned and concerted action. The need for the States standing together was never greater than it is today."

How auspicious it will be if the princes take concerted action to strengthen themselves by conferring on their people those civic and political rights for securing which the latter are engaged in a non-violent struggle with the moral, and partly with the material, backing of the people of British India—particularly of Congressmen.

Bose Institute Anniversary

Yesterday was celebrated with due solemnity the first anniversary after the death of Sir J. C. Bose of his Research Institute founded by him 21 years ago. The short lecture prepared for the occasion by Rabindranath Tagore which was read on the occasion is printed on another page.

General Strike in France

The threatened general strike in France was to have commenced on the 30th November last. If it actually began, it cannot but have serious repercussions in other countries also. Some Indian students have gone to Paris from London to study the technique of the general strike.

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OPPORTUNISM WITH NO PRINCIPLES

By Major D. GRAHAM POLE

s we come to the pass where reason and ce must stand aside and brute force be determining factor in the lives of nations peoples? In his broadcast address, on September, the Prime Minister said: I was convinced that any nation had made its mind to dominate the world by fear of force, I should feel that it should be ted." Lord Halifax, speaking at Edin-h on Monday of this week, said that what-r might be said to justify the German n with regard to Czecho-Slovakia, the an claim "was in fact advanced and ed under an overwhelming show of force h was impossible to reconcile with the of what we believe must be the basis of rnational relations." Hitler a week ago that "their success was possible only use we were armed and determined to stake force if necessary" and his henchman, bels, the next day told the world "we not want a war, but we were ready to fight we not got what we wanted."

Preparations are now going ahead for the session of Parliament and it is confidently ed in many quarters that the whole of this try may be, if not conscripted, at least led in a national register, not for peace but cide what their work is to be if and when comes. There is no doubt that in many s we were very badly prepared should war come last month. Trenches were dug in all c parks and indeed the work is still going Immediately of course the war profiteer rose our midst and sandbags that were vitally ssary for the protection of the people rose in gle day from 2d. to 10d. in price.

At a meeting this week of Air Raid Pre-tion Officials, along with Naval, Military, and Officers, Mr. Eady, Deputy Secretary of State the Home Office who is the Administrative of the Air Precautions Department, made appallingly frank admissions and not even the cloak of secrecy. The Home Office, he "had no illusions at all about the state of paredness of the country to receive a sud-air attack" and this Government official on to tell his audience that the regulations by the Air Raid Precautions Department probably the sloppiest regulations that were ever produced by any Government Department." He stated further that "the people who are known as the governing classes of this country had done very little to help Local Authorities' A. R. P." These damaging admissions, if they had come from members of the Opposition, would have been denounced as wild and unpatriotic. Coming as they do from the official responsible for Air Raid Precautions, we can only take them as another example of the Englishman's love for washing his dirty linen in public.

The Prime Minister is credited with being extremely anxious to bring into force the Anglo-Italian Agreement by 15th November. He is also anxious to get a friendly understanding with Germany. Italy has certainly withdrawn 10,000 of her so-called volunteers but at the same time she has supplied Franco with thousands of guns, which are of very much more use in Spain than were the men she has withdrawn. Russia is still ignored and Lord Winterton, a member of the Cabinet, even went out of his way to say that Russia was not in a position to fulfil her obligations to France and Czecho-Slovakia. This of course was denied by Russia at once, but I have seen no apology from Lord Winterton nor any endeavour on his part to substantiate his statements. On the other hand we have the assertion of Captain Liddell Hart, the Military Correspondent of the *Times*, that:

> "The Russian army is more powerful than that of 1914 . . . her huge Air Force a far more potent menace to a potential Nazi aggressor."

And Lord Londonderry, on pages 99 and 101 of his recent book *Ourselves and Germany*, quotes Herr Hitler as saying to him that Soviet Russia has become the greatest military power, that she is enormously strong militarily as well as economically, and has "the strongest Army, the strongest Tank Corps, and the strongest Air Force in the world." There are of course not a few people in this country and in the Government who would like to see Great Britain linked with the Fascist countries, but that is certainly not the view of the great mass of the people.

Mr. Lloyd George, making his first speech since the crisis, also asserted that the Russian

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Army is the greatest army in the world so far as numbers are concerned and so far as its Air Force is concerned. The French Army he declared to be today the best army in Europe. He pointed out only too clearly the steps by which we had given up our leadership in the world—Manchuria. Abyssinia, Spain, China, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia. We were told on every occasion that the Government was preserving peace. We now see (what the Government refused to admit at the time) that every concession to violence brought nearer the menace of war—until we stood on the brink of the abyss. A few years ago most of the nations of the world were ready to follow our lead. Now today, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, it is doubtful if we could even get two to follow our lead. The weaker nations of Europe are not now looking to France or Britain for help; they are flocking to Berchtesgaden to ask the German Dictator to protect and shield them:

"They are there pleading for mercy. To that extent our leadership is being followed."

We are now in a state of peace that is no peace. The Prime Minister has merely achieved a postponement of war to be fought under much less favourable circumstances than before the betrayal of Czecho-Slovakia. With every surrender to force peace is put further into the background. The whole work of the late Arthur Henderson for disarmament and peace was thrown to the winds when the National Government took office in 1931. China, Abyssinia, Spain, Austria and Czecho-Slovakia, were all loyal members of the League of Nations. At the last General Election Mr. Baldwin and his supporters pledged themselves solemnly to "*steady and collective resistance to aggression*" in any part of the world. History shows how little that pledge meant to them. They have sneered at collective security. They have undermined the League of Nations until it is now helpless. And they boast that they have brought us peace. Hitler also can claim to have brought peace to many thousands of his opponents in Germany—the peace of the grave.

Without raising a finger we have allowed Abyssinia to be put under the despotic sway of Mussolini and now the Prime Minister is reported to be ready to accept still further humiliation by bringing the Anglo-Italian Treaty into force and so recognising the King of Italy as Emperor of Abyssinia. So does the Tory Party humble this once proud nation in the dust.

"Peace in our time" is what the Prime Minister said he brought from Munich. Peace—and trenches in the public parks. Peace—with guns and armaments of all kinds being piled up at a rate never before imagined. "Shame and dishonour"—Yes. But peace—No.

The only way in which peace can be secured is by making a collective stand against violence and lawlessness. Instead of giving in to brute force time after time, a world-wide peace conference should be called to discuss and remove all legitimate grievances and to try to evolve a new system of political security and economic opportunity which will remove the reasons for and fear of war. The peoples of the world, of every nation, desire peace. Surely it is not beyond the wit of man to make a constructive effort to solve by discussion those economic and other problems that lead to war. Unless this is done there can never be peace in our time, or in any other time, and we shall go on from shame to shame and from dishonour to dishonour.

What, I wonder, does the Prime Minister think of the words of his brother, the late Sir Austin Chamberlain, when Foreign Secretary in 1931:

"It is quite inconceivable that any British statesman looking at the way in which the Nazis have brutalised their fellow-German opponents and their own Jewish population, could think for a moment of asking anybody to hand over to Nazi rule a single square mile inhabited by a single human being of non-German race."

It was left to Neville Chamberlain to do what his brother thought was "inconceivable" and hand over tens of thousands of innocent people to a fate worse than death.

And of course the Prime Minister cannot even now claim to have a united party behind him. Lord Cecil, on 20th September, wrote that:

"It is not suggested that Herr Hitler has convinced the Government that his demands are just. He has simply stated to Mr. Chamberlain that that is his will and the Cabinet have decided to submit. Submission to Herr Hitler means acceptance of the view that the only thing that counts in international affairs is brutal force, and that hope of substituting for it reason and justice must be definitely abandoned."

And Mr. Eden, two days later at Stratford-on-Avon, said:

"Do not let us delude ourselves. The truth is that each recurrent crisis brings us nearer to war. The British people know that a stand must be made. They pray that it be not made too late."

The Archbishop of York, on the same day said that:

"Many of us are profoundly alarmed at the apparent long-continued lapse of our policy towards an opportunity

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stands on no principles under the impact of for- aggression elsewhere."

"Opportunism which stands on no prin- " is a good description of the methods of National Government ever since it came office in 1931. How far will it be allowed ing us down ?

President Roosevelt in a broadcast address days ago expressed the universal view that peoples of the world are longing for an uring peace.

"It is our business," he said, "to utilize desire for peace and build on principles h are the only basis for permanent peace":

"It is becoming increasingly clear that peace by fear no higher or more enduring quality than peace by word.

"There can be no peace if the reign of law is to be ed by a recurrent sanctification of sheer force.

"There can be no peace if national policy adopts deliberate instrument the dispersion all over the world of millions of helpless, persecuted wanderers with no place to lay their heads.

"There can be no peace if men and women are not free to think their own thoughts, to express their own feelings, and to worship God.

"There can be no peace if economic resources, which should be devoted to economic reconstruction, are to be diverted to intensified competition in armaments—to a competition which will merely heighten suspicion and fears and threaten the economic prosperity of each and every nation."

Do these words mean anything to our rulers ? And, if they do, will they act so that the foundations are laid of a real peace and not merely, as during the past few years, of putting off the evil day until a stand must be made for principles and under circumstances ever less favourable for such a stand ? On the answer to these questions depends not merely the peace of the world but the very foundations of civilisation.

London,
28th October, 1938

POEMS

By MURIEL JEFFRIES HURD

JUNGLE CAT

night creeps up with jungle stealth
To arch her sable back
inst the roofs and chimney-pots
And rub a velvet track.

captures all the silver mice
That, gnawing through the sky
pounced upon and held for toys
Before they scamper by.

rolls the world between her paws
And lifts a wary tail
en rustling leaves move in the wind
Or stars begin to fail.

She prowls along the fence of dreams
And loiters with a yawn...
Until annoyed by barking dogs
She springs away at dawn.

ETUDE

There is a quietude in cedar trees—
They stand so valiantly and tall,
Like stalwart guards at perfect ease
Against a studded wall
Of stars.

Their giant branches build a phantom bridge
For cavalcades of dreams to march
Across the night and touch the ridge
Until they span and arch
The universe.

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A NEW AND BETTER BIBLE, FOR ALL

By JABEZ T. SUNDERLAND

The world is getting a new Bible,—a Bible far more interesting, far more intelligible, far fore fresh and human, in every way far more valuable than the old. From what source does it come? Wholly from the careful and thorough scholarship of our time,—mainly from what scholars call the higher biblical criticism.

The Bible of the old view, of the old limited knowledge, was preeminently, if not wholly, the book of the Jew and the Christian, to whom it was believed to have been given as a special miraculous revelation. The Bible of the new view, while not losing its interest or value to the Christian or the Jew, becomes a world-book, of world interest and world importance, to a degree that the old was not and could never be. Our present task is to show how this is so.

Perhaps our purpose can be best accomplished if we ask and attempt to answer the two following questions: First, just what is the so-called "higher criticism"? Second, just what light does it throw upon the Bible?

To the first question the brief answer may be made: The higher criticism is simply literary and historic criticism or study applied to the Bible; it is simply careful, unbiassed, scholarly investigation.

In some respects it is unfortunate to use the word criticism; because some minds understand it to mean something negative and destructive. When we speak of biblical criticism, such minds think at once that we are finding fault with the Bible, "tearing it to pieces", "destroying" it. This is a wholly mistaken idea. True criticism is not necessarily negative; it is as likely to be positive as negative. It does not nessarily destroy; indeed it may not be destructive at all; its effect may be wholly constructive.

It is easy to see this when we consider criticism as applied to other books. For example, when we speak of Shakespearean criticism, nobody understands us as meaning efforts to destroy or to injure Shakespeare. Rather we are understood to mean efforts to find out all that is possible about the priceless book of dramatic writing that comes to us from that great poet. All literary criticism is simply the study of literature in the light of all the knowledge we can get bearing on the literature in hand and helping us to unedrstand it better.

Apply this to the Bible. The higher biblical criticism is the application of all the principles of careful literary and historical study to the Bible, with a view to getting the fullest and truest possible understanding of the Bible's origin and development—the sources from which its various books came, their writers, their dates, the purpose of the authors in writing them, and whatever else can help us to understand their meaning, their value, and their place in the world.

This brings us to our second and still more important question: How does the new knowledge which comes to us from this study affect the Bible? In other words, what new views of the Bible does it give us? The following answers are offered.

First, literary and historical scholarship shows us that the Christian (or Christian and Jewish) Bible does not stand alone. It is not the only sacred book of mankind; it belongs to an important family. There are many religions in the world. Most of those which are highly developed have sacred literature. Sacred books do not come into the world arbitrarily—they come naturally; there are laws that govern their origin and growth. Just as he who would know one science must know other sciences, so he who would know one sacred book must know other sacred books. The best works that are being written on the Bible today are being written in the light of knowledge of other sacred books also; and it is wonderful how much larger and more luminous this method of study makes religion, revelation, and God.

Second, the Higher Criticism shows us that, properly speaking, the Bible is not a book; it is a literature. It is a collection of sixty-six different, and, for the most part, wholly independent and unrelated books bound together. And their being bound together no more makes them one book than binding together sixty-six books of your library or mine would make them one. They were written in three different languages, by half a dozen or more different countries, and some of the books nearly a thousand years

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than others. They were written by ers of as widely different characteristics qualifications for writing as we can well gine,—kings, peasants, courtiers, keepers of le and sheep, scribes and learned men, men bout learning, men of widely different views many subjects, men differing greatly in al character and piety.

These sixty-six books differ, too, in the est degree in their subjects, aims, purposes, le, literary quality, moral quality, religious ality. Some are histories, some are partly torical and partly legendary, some are stry; some are predictions of the future, e are sermons, some are collections of the verbial wisdom of the time; some are bio- phical; some are romances (as Ruth and ther); some are letters or epistles. It will seen then what I mean when I say that e Bible is not a book but a literature,—an eedingly valuable collection of ancient brew literature,—on the whole the best part the literature produced by the Hebrew or wish people during the one thousand years d more that they lived in Palestine before y were driven out and dispersed over the rld.

Third, accurate and careful scholarly estigation makes it clear that every book d every fragment of a book which enters o this literature came into being naturally rom human causes, which in nearly all ses we can trace as clearly as we can trace e causes which produced Homer's *Iliad* or nophon's *Memorabilia of Socrates*, or Cicero's *tions against Catiline*, or Thomas Paine's *ne*, or Keshub Chunder Sen's *New Dis- ation*. Christians have been accustomed to k of the books of the Bible as dropping, so speak, from God out of heaven; as coming o existence for reasons that God knew, but such reasons as have operated in the pro- tion of any other books. But all this is mistake. There never were books in the ld whose origin could be more clearly ced to natural human causes than the books the Old Testament and the New. Scholar- ip has brought to light these causes, and me of them we shall see as we go on.

Fourth, the Higher Criticism shows us at a surprisingly large number of the books the Bible are anonymous as to authorship; d not only anonymous, but composites— is, books not composed by any one author, compilations, books which show the hand more than one writer, and often of more than one age, and which have grown by successive edittings and successive additions. Today in our Western World a man writes a book and sends it out over his own name. As a result nobody feels at liberty to change it or to add to it without due announcement of the fact. But with the Hebrews and other ancient Oriental nations it was different. Most ancient writers seem not to have put their names to their writings. Ideas were common property, and writers felt at liberty to add to or change books to an extent that our notions of literary ethics would not justify at all. As a result, we know the names of only a few of the writers of the Bible, and a large number of the books show that they have come from more sources than one. Thus the Pentateuch (or the Five Books of Moses, so called) we find was not written by Moses, or by any single author, but was many centuries in coming into existence.

Many of the prophetical books show additions by later hands. The Book of Isaiah comes from two (if not from three or four) different writers, living more than 150 years apart; and the Book of Zechariah contains matter from three different prophets.

The Book of Psalms is the national hymn book of the Jewish people, which was more than 500 years in growing. It contains five distinct collections of hymns, which were formed at different times, in some cases probably a century or more apart. But at last all five were brought together to form the book as we now have it. Nor do many, if any, of the hymns come from David. Few were written within two or three centuries of David. Some were written as late as a century or a little more before Christ. Thus we see that the history of Israel for more than half a thousand years was rich with spiritual singers.

The Book of Proverbs bears the name of Solomon. It may have begun in a small way with him, but certainly it was several centuries in coming to be what we now have, namely a collection of the aphoristic wisdom of the Jewish people.

The Gospels grew, and show layer after layer of added material. The Book of Acts and the Apocalypse (or the Book of Revelation) both show imbedded documents, and more than one revision and addition.

Fifth, Biblical scholarship makes clear to us that the books of the Bible are not chronologically arranged; I mean, they do not stand in their places in the order of their composition. This is important to be borne in mind; otherwise we shall be confused when trying to trace the order of events in Jewish history,

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and the development of the Jewish religion and civilization.

Genesis, which stands at the beginning of the Old Testament is really one of the later Old Testament books. So with the books which immediately follow Genesis—that is, Exodus, Leviticus and Numbers. They are all late in date. The prophetical books stand well on toward the end of the Old Testament. Naturally, therefore, we think of them as late in origin. A few of them are, but some of them are the very oldest books of the Bible. In the New Testament the Gospels stand first. But they were not written until after the Epistles of Paul. And one of the Gospels, that connected with the name of John, bears evidence of being one of the latest of all the New Testament writings, not having come into existence probably until well on into the Second Century.

Now, of course, from books all in such disorder as regards their age, it was impossible to obtain any correct conception of the historical sequence and progress of the people or the religion with which they deal, until we could get the disorder straightened out, and could discover the relative dates of the books. At last, however—thanks to the patient and persistent labor of the scholars of the past hundred years!—we have found out, approximately at least, the dates of most of the writings of the Old Testament and the New. As a result, we are at last able to trace with much clearness and with substantial certainty the progress of the Israelitish people, both in civilization and in religion, from their low condition as portrayed in the books of Joshua and Judges, when they had just arrived in Palestine, a band of only recently liberated slaves from Egypt, on and up through the various stages of their development, until they reached their final maturity.

Sixth, Biblical scholarship shows us that not all parts of the Bible have equal value; indeed that different parts have different historical value, different literary value, different moral value, different religious value. And this means that the modern doctrine of the Bible's infallibility, inerrancy, perfection in every part, is not supported by scholarship.

The Bible nowhere makes the claim of infallibility. Even if it did, the facts as scholarship bring them to light regarding the origin, growth, preservation and contents of its various books, would not sustain the claim. Even if any one book of the Bible made the claim of inerrancy, or of being God's perfect word, as possibly the Apocalypse or book of Revelation at the end of the New Testament may be said to do, this would apply only to that particular book, not to the Bible as a whole or to either Testament as a whole: for each book of both testaments was written absolutely by itself, with no reference to any other, and there was no gathering of the books together into a collection or canon until long after each separate book was written. So that no claim, of any kind, that any book may make for itself, can justly be extended to cover any other book, much less all other books, in the Bible.

The fact is, the modern idea of the absolute infallibility and perfection of the Bible in all its parts, is something which was unknown to the ancient Jews, unknown to any Bible writer, and unknown to the early Christian Church. It did not come into existence until after the Protestant Reformation of the 16th Century. The Roman Catholic Church did not hold it, and does not hold it now in any such rigid form as Protestants have taught it. It was not held by Luther or Calvin. It rose during the century after the death of these two great reformers. The cause that gave rise to it was the need felt by the Protestants for an authority—an infallible authority—to offset the infallible authority which the Catholics claimed to possess in the Church. The Protestants having denied that the Church was infallible, were seemingly left with no infallible standard at all. In self-defense, therefore, they seemed compelled to set up the Bible as such. This they did; and from that time on the absolute and infallible authority of the Bible, appears as a central doctrine among orthodox Protestant churches. This was its first appearance as held by any considerable body of churches in Christendom.

Seventh, the larger and better Biblical scholarship of our time shows us—what it is immensely important for us to understand—that the Bible is the literary record of a great and remarkable Evolution, the evolution, through the period of a thousand years, of the civilization and especially the religion of the Hebrew people.

The Hebrew people did not begin their career high up, but low down. Their early conception of God was crude. Their moral ideas were imperfect. Many of them were idolaters. Intellectually they stood upon a plane not so high as that occupied by some of the peoples around them. Morally they were

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bably a little above their heathen neighs, but not much.

From this low condition they rose, slowly, fully, with many relapses, up and up, ough struggles, through vicissitudes, through hardships of war, the hardships of peace, hardships of oppression, through the bitter erience of reaping the harvests of their mistakes and sins, up and up, to the ition which we see at the time of the prophets, and later at the time of the th of Christianity. And what is the Bible? is the outcome of all these thousand years more of Hebrew history and Hebrew life. is the literature of this marvellous evolution. reflects, as it could not but reflect the ught of the people in all stages of their elopment. Some of it represents their ier and lower and cruder religious and ral ideas; some of it, their religious and ral conceptions farther advanced. In iah, and the greater Psalms, but especially Jesus, the development reaches its height; evolution is completed.

Do we not see how much more intelli- le the Bible becomes in the light of this ught? More important still, do we not from what a crushing load the Bible is ved by this thought? Under the old ception, that all parts are alike the equal perfect word of God, men were obliged to end as divine inspiration the stories of the mming axe, the talking ass, and the sun moon standing still at human bidding, the mand of Jehovah to Joshua to slaughter en, women and innocent children, the im- eatory psalms, and everything else found in Old Testament, no matter how unreason- e, unhistoric or immoral.

Was there no way of relieving the Bible this burden, too heavy to be borne? None, ept for men to open their minds as, at last, der the influence of growing knowledge, more more persons are doing, to the fact that all parts of the Bible are equally valuable, that some parts come from the child-stage the ethical and religious development of Hebrew people, and therefore in later are to be laid aside as outgrown, as man- ood always drops the appurtenances of its hood.

It cannot be overlooked that thus far in history the Bible has been a book exerting a good and an evil influence among men. ubtless its influence for good has been great- yet there is no evading the fact that it has used as an arsenal of defense for many of the worst evils that have ever cursed the world. It has been estimated that the single scripture text, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live" has caused the death of hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of innocent human beings. Such books as Joshua, the Judges, and Chronicles, full of the records of cruel and inhuman wars, have been responsible in no small degree for keeping alive that terrible war-spirit which has wrought such havoc in Christendom during nearly every century since Christianity began.

The Bible has been extensively used as a bulwark of slavery. Polygamy has always appealed to the Bible for support. Were not Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, David and Solomon, polygamists? Yet these men are represented as special favorites of God. Tyrannizers over women have gone to the Bible for texts wherewith to justify their tyranny. So have wine-drinkers for texts to defend their use of intoxicants. The Bible teaching that the insane are possessed of devils caused those poor unfortunates to be treated in the most inhuman ways for centuries. Inquisitions, persecutions and oppressions of all kinds have made their constant appeal to the Bible in support of their crimes against humanity. The Bible has been used as perhaps the most effective of all fetters to bind the human mind. There is hardly a science that has not had its progress blocked seriously by texts from the Bible. These are all facts which have their place in history, and to which we cannot close our eyes.

What is the explanation? Why has it been possible thus to turn the Bible into an instrument of evil in so many ways? The explanation lies largely in the false belief regarding the Bible that has been in so many minds in Christendom,—the belief that it is all and in every part the inspired and perfect word of God and therefore an authority binding upon all men for all time. If they could have understood that it is a human book, a record of the experience and growth of a people from very low ethical and religious standards on and up to conditions higher and better, and therefore that much of it has long been passed by and ought to be laid aside, its power for evil would largely have been taken away, while its power for good would have remained.

The principle of evolution or growth applied to the Bible, as intelligent scholarship is beginning to apply it, gives us a new Bible, stripped of these evil influences which attached to the old, and at the same time enables it to retain all the influences for good that it ever possessed. In its light we see that the low

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conceptions of God and the imperfect morality of certain parts of the Old Testament simply mark the child-stage, ethically and religiously, of the Hebrew people. They show us the beginnings of the development. They let us see the low moral and religious plane from which the Hebrew people rose to what they afterward became. The Bible literature is at once the record and the product of that remarkable advance by which the crude polytheism of the slaves of the Exodus at last developed into the pure and noble religion of the better Psalms, of the Second Isaiah and of the Sermon on the Mount.

Finally, and not less important than anything that has gone before, the larger and better Biblical scholarship which is coming to our day, shows us that the Bible is not primarily a book of theology; but that centrally and above everything else it is a book of religion and life.

Grievous mistakes have been made in the past in the use of the Bible and are constantly being made today. Men are forever going to the Bible for texts, for texts to prove something, to bloster up some doctrine, to support some theological theory or dogma, as if the book were a theological treatise, a doctrinal text-book. The truth is, it is at the farthest removal from a theological treatise or doctrinal text-book. If it had been a collection of texts out of which to build theological speculations and dogmas, the world would never have cared for it, indeed the world would never have heard of it. It has lived and attained its great place among men because it is a book, not of theology but of life, and of that religion which grows out of life. This life quality in it is what gives the Bible its permanent interest and its priceless value.

The Bible is full of experiences of real men, the thoughts and deeds of real men, the hopes and fears of real men, the burdens and discouragements and problems of real men. It shows us the young man in his actual life, the old man in his, the poor man in his, the king in his. On its pages are smiles of joy and tears of sadness; the mother with her children, the shepherd with his sheep, the fisherman with his boats and his nets, the farmer sowing and reaping his grain, the woman drawing water from the well.

It paints the quiet joys and sweet securities of peace, the hurry, the rush, the glory and the horror of war; the laugh of childhood, the idyl of courtship and marriage; the tragedy of death; the poet singing his song, the historian writing his chronicle, the priest ministering at the altar. It portrays with wonderful distinctness and power the evil-doer, hardened in his evil-doing, or repenting in shame and sorrow and turning to virtue; the prophet fighting against the wrongs and wickednesses of his time, as we have to fight against the evils and wrongs of ours; the lonely soul feeling out after God, and finding the divine hand in the darkness, just as men feel out and find today.

This is what the Bible is, when rightly understood. It is a book of life; a truly human and therefore a truly divine book; a book born out of what was most real and living in the experiences of a people for a thousand years. This is why the Bible lives, and will live; why it finds human hearts, and will continue to find them forever. This is the secret of its undying power.

What is needed is a study of the Bible that shall recognize all this and bring it all out into clearness, as the newer biblical scholarship does. When once we get such a study, when we stop going to the Bible for dogma, and begin to go to it for life; when the veil falls from our eyes, and we cease to look upon it as a strange far-away, mysterious book, unlike anything else in the world, with meanings that elude us; when we come to understand and feel the naturalness of it, the beating heart of it, the genuine humanness of it, then it will no longer repel us; then we shall be drawn to it as we are drawn to Shakespeare, as we are drawn to Homer, as we are drawn to Burns, only still more strongly, for, while it is as fresh and living as any of these, it is greater than all of them. It is greater because it is more many-sided, it occupies an incomparably more central place in the world's history, it deals with the highest concerns of man, the things of the moral and spiritual life, and it speaks to man with a directness, an insight into the human heart, and an inspiring power greater than that of any other book known to the western world, if not to the whole world.

From the considerations now set forth it will be seen what was meant in the beginning by saying that the higher criticism (our new and larger biblical scholarship) is giving us a new, a more intelligible and better Bible,—one that is far more truly a world-book than the old has ever been, or can ever become.

There are men who, knowing little about the biblical scholarship of our day, call it negative and destructive. The fact is, it is fundamentally positive and constructive. It is

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ructive in no sense except that it aims to roy old, false conceptions in order to make for truer ones. The scholars who are us our new light on the Bible are not oclasts;—for the most part they are earnest devout men. They are men who in other s are trusted and honored; why should not be in this? They are men who love revere the Bible, and who have faith enough to feel sure that truth can do it no injury. follows that to reject the higher biblical icism is simply to turn our backs on both y and intelligence.

That the new, larger and more reasonable of the Bible which modern biblical olarship is giving us will sooner or later general acceptance in the world, I believe, certain as any future thing. Of course it have a hard and long battle to fight, icularly in Christian lands. Christian matism is against it. The teaching and udices of many Christian centuries are nst it. It wins only among minds that to think. But among such its victory is ain. Truth and reason are on its side. eady it is accepted by practically all pendent and unbiassed scholars, Christian non-Christian. It is only a question of when thoughtful men generally will follow re scholarship and reason lead.

Does anyone fear that this larger and more onal view of the Bible will take away from book some of its moral or spiritual value? the contrary, it leaves undisturbed every h that the Bible ever contained, every moral cept, every spiritual principle, every inspi- word, every noble thought about God, or , or duty, or life,—everything that has er to feed the soul's hunger; every word comfort or hope or trust; every call to age; everything that is calculated to lift up nearer God, or bring God nearer to , or draw men nearer to each other as thers, or make life more divine.

Nor is this all. The new thought not only s all that is valuable in the Bible, but it e more. It teaches that God is larger than e God of the Christian or of the Jew. He is the God of the whole world. Inspiration is not limited to a single people of the ancient time. It is a reality of all time; it is a reality of today. God's spirit moves in the hearts and consciences of men in all lands and ages. Revelation is too large a thing to be confined to a single book. If the Bible contains precious revelation of God's truth, so too are there other precious revelations,—in the starry heavens, in the blossoming earth, in history, in art, in science, in the mother's love to her child, in the child's answering love as it looks up in the mother's eyes, in all the experiences of the deep heart of man. There is true revelation in the other great sacred books of the world outside the Bible, which have been bread of life to so many millions of the human race; and in the great seers, thinkers, poets, teachers of the things of the spirit whom God sends to every age,—the Buddhas, the Platos, the Dantes, the Savonarolas, the Luthers, the Miltons, the Wesleys, the Channings, the Brownings, the Emersons, the Rammohuns of the world. Through all these prophet-souls God speaks his word—his word which cannot be bound, his word which cannot be shut up in any one book or in all books, his word which is as large as all truth.

To sum up all that we have been saying: The outgrown Bible of tradition, credulity and ignorance, whose supposed infallibility fettered reason and hindered moral and religious progress, is being superseded by the new Bible which the scholarship and unbiassed inquiry of our day have given to the world. This new Bible is literature and not dogma; in it incredible stories are recognized as legend; impossible chronicles are recognized as myth; unworthy views of God and low moral standards are seen to be simply the imperfect conceptions of an early age. This Bible reveals the growing ethical perceptions, the rising spiritual ideals, the deepening God-consciousness, the marvellous, thousand-year-long religious evolution of an extraordinary people. Thus interpreted in the light of scholarship and intelligence, the Bible will never lose its interest, its greatness, or its moral and religious power among men.

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BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA: A LESSON FOR INDIA

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

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In my article on "British Foreign Policy" written on April 17. 1938, published in the August number of *The Modern Review*, I pointed out that the British Government under the leadership of the Rt. Hon. Neville Chamberlain was working for isolation of Soviet Russia and conclusion of a Four Power Pact of Great Britain, France, Italy and Germany. The British Government agreed to dismemberment of Czechoslovakia to please Germany. It has been suggested that the British Government agreed to this dishonorable policy, for the purpose of preserving World Peace. But the fact is that the British Government, owing to the world situation, did not take the risk of being involved in a world war, which might be to the greatest disadvantage to the British Empire. The very existence of the German-Japanese-Italian anti-communistic pact, (see my article on the subject in the January number of *The Modern Review*), which is nothing less than an offensive and defensive alliance in practice, has played a very important part in Herr Hitler's great diplomatic victory in acquiring the Sudeten German territory by partitioning Czechoslovakia.

It is needless to emphasize the importance of Germany's strong military position, strengthened by the annexation of Austria. This was further strengthened by German-Hungarian agreement arrived at during the recent visit of Admiral Horthy of Hungary to Germany. In fact Czechoslovakia was surrounded by Germany, Poland and Hungary; and it had no possibility of securing any support from Russia unless Rumania allowed the Russian army to pass through Rumanian territory. France could not aid Czechoslovakia effectively without attacking Germany in her western frontier, where *German Siegfried Line* would be able to resist the French invasion without great difficulty. But the existence of the Rome-Berlin axis created a condition greatly disadvantageous to France, which wished to be sure of British support in case she was faced with a German or Italian attack.

Let us examine France's position in world politics: (1) In the Far East France could not maintain her position in the face of Japanese hostility; and Japan as a virtual ally of Germany might jeopardise French interests in the Far East. Therefore France's position was not secure in the Far East. (2) In Africa, France's position was precarious, because there has been political unrest in Morocco during recent months; furthermore Franco-Italian disharmony in world politics menaces French position in Tunis, which can be attacked by Italian forces under Marshal Balbo in Lybia. Italy, since the disagreement with France, on her Spanish policy, has considerable force concentrated at the South Eastern French frontier, and Italian navy and Spanish rebels might cut off, or at least disturb, French means of communications, between Africa and France. Thus France, if involved in a war with Germany, just to aid Czechoslovakia, would face unfavourable conditions in the Far East, Africa and French southern and south-eastern frontiers. Thus the French could not dare to take a definite stand without definite promise of support from Great Britain, which of all powers might aid France in the Far East and the Mediterranean and other quarters full of danger. To be sure France had an alliance with Russia—a mutual assistance pact in case Germany attacked any of the contracting parties; but Russia with her internal chaos (numerous military and naval officers have been executed in Russia during the last few months) and Russia facing a possible attack from Japan in the Far East could not give any direct aid to France, if attacked by Italy in Africa and other quarters. Therefore French statesmen, especially M. Daladier and M. Bonnett, decided that France would not go to war with Germany unless Britain agreed to come to her aid on the Czechoslovakian issue. It is well known now that the British Cabinet refused to come to the aid of France on the Czechoslovakian issue on the definite ground that (1) Britain was never a party in guaranty

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Czech independence and (2) Britain could jeopardise her own vital interest just to aid Czechs, when Britain would be a gainer by ating Russia through the co-operation of rmany, Italy and France, (3) Britain's world ition has not been very comfortable, use of (a) the Sino-Japanese War, (b) ssian penetration into Sinkiang, (c) unrest India, (d) Arab revolt, (e) as well as glo-Italian difficulties in Africa, the Medirranean and in Spain.

It is needless to remind the reader that intenance of British control over India is the damental principle of British foreign policy. long as German-Japanese-Italian agreement ains in force and Britain fails to secure panese support in her world politics, she will t take the risk of entering into any conflict Europe. In this connection it is most inesting to note that a Washington correspont, in an article in *The New York Journal* September 20, 1938, makes it clear that beuse of Japanese threat to British interests in Far East, the Chamberlain government reed to take such a position as might bring out a war in Europe.

Lest there be any misunderstanding on this nt I quote this article by Mr. Nixon, which plains Japan's dominating position in world litics. (It is the uninformed who think that Chinese, aided by the Russians, would feat Japan):

British Fears Revealed

By ROBERT G. NIXON
International News Service

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20.

A paralyzing fear that her own great empire would the sacrifice of another general war in Europe Great Britain to acquiesce in the dismemberment Czechoslovakia.

This amazing disclosure of the stakes wagered in behind-the-scenes diplomatic battle over the Germanech crisis reached high official quarters here today and revealed to International News Service.

Feared Jap Attack

In the midst of the crisis last week, Prime Minister ville Chamberlain was informed by the British lligence service of a secret plan of Japan to strike Britain's empire in the Far East.

The bold stroke of Nippon, Washington was informed, s to be held in leash until Britain's armed strength became wholly involved in a war with France against rmany.

Then, this authoritative source revealed, the Japanese vy and strong expeditionary forces were scheduled to ke successively and swiftly at Hong Kong Singapore, e Malay States, India and Australia.

East Indies Named

The Nipponese, it was stated, also planned to ssess the Netherlands East Indies, where are located ch rich oil lands.

In the Malay States are the world's richest tin mines. Australia would provide Japan with an unending source of food and wool and an outlet for her teeming population, it was pointed out. From India—fabulous, untold wealth and an inexhaustible source of manpower.

Only by the might of its sea power, assured by the world's most powerful fleet, has England been able to keep a hold on this vast, sprawling Oriental empire.

Fleet Tie-up Visioned

Japan counted, it was asserted, on a major European war involving England in Europe and tying up the British fleet in European waters to blockade Germany, keep open its immediate sea lanes for food and munitions supplies and to watch Italy.

Without a fleet free to dispatch instantly to the Far East Britain's Oriental empire would be comparatively easy prize, according to high military and naval opinion.

Britain learned, it was stated, that the Japanese fleet, in its own waters as mighty as Britain's or the United States, has been kept entirely free of the present Sino-Japanese conflict.

Held Ready to Strike

Japan, the British intelligence reported, was preparel to halt its present war in China, keeping less than a half million men in China to hold the conquered lands, and, with a million campaign hardened troops under arms, its strong fleet and the Japanese nation keyed to war's effort, strike south toward the British possessions.

American naval authorities believe the huge fortifications Britain has just completed at Singapore at a cost of $250,000,000 would be powerless to halt Japan without a fleet based there.

The plan of Oriental conquest was unfolded to the British authorities, it was reported, at the height of the Czech crisis.

Needed U. S. Aid

Prime Minister Chamberlain weighed the possibilities, with many other factors in the European situation, it was declared, and then came to his dramatic decision to fly to Berchtesgaden for a personal interview with Chancellor Hitler in an effort to find the key to European appeasement.

Chamberlain, it was asserted, realized that only in the event the United States could be persuaded to send its fleet far into the Pacific and hold Japan at bay could Britain's Far Eastern empire be saved if Japan launched a whole-hearted effort.

But this, the Prime Minister was represented as concluding, appeared utterly hopeless in view of American determination to remain strictly neutral and hold completely aloof from the European crisis.

The lesson for India is to take it seriously that Britain, in her present position, cannot defend India without aid from other nations. For this reason, Britain to curry favour with Italy, has agreed to Italian annexation of Abyssinia. She has helped "the unspeakable Turk" of yesterday, with a loan of £16,000,000 (sixteen million pounds) so that Turkey would act as an ally of Britain in the Near East. She has agreed to make concessions to Egypt, Iraq, and other Arab States to get Arab or Moslem support against the poor Jews, who deserve world sympathy in their plight. Britain agreed to Japanese protectorate over Manchukuo and

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is now really seeking revival of Anglo-Japanese Alliance, so that Japan may be used to protect British interests in the Far East and India. This may not be believed by many but this is the actual fact.

Britain's dependence upon other Powers is primarily due to the fact that a disarmed India is not a military asset to the British Empire.

Hitler strangles the Czechs with the British Lion's Tail
—From *The New York Post*

Furthermore, Britain wishes to keep India disarmed, to keep her under subjection. A disarmed and militarily weak India cannot recover her independence nor can it maintain its independence even if it is given to the people.

It is rather disheartening and amusing to notice that Indian leaders who admire Soviet Russia, which maintains the largest standing army and air force in the world, speak of "non-violence" as the national policy of nationalist India.

Indian leaders are anxious to aid Abyssinians who fought Italians, they sympathise with Spanish loyalists who are fighting for democracy, they send Ambulance Corps to China as a gesture of sympathy; but they do not take any effective step to increase Indian national efficiency in matters of National defence!

Lakhs of rupees have been spent in the so-called Charka movement, Khilafat movement and other non-essential things, while ignoring the need of spreading military education in India. The time has come for Indian statesmen to do two things: (1) Raise a crore or more rupees of national defence fund to spread military education in India with a programme of training at least 3,000,000 or more men within the coming five years and (2) take definite steps for concluding an Indo-British military alliance which will be of great value to Britain and India.

If Britain opposes these two programmes, which should be furthered by Indian Princes as well as Indian nationalist leaders, then it would be evident to India and the world at large that Britain wishes to keep India defenceless and at her mercy and at the mercy of possible invaders.

What has happened to Manchuria, Abyssinia, Spain, Czechoslovakia and China should be a lesson to India. India cannot attain her freedom by mere nationalist agitation, debate in the legislative assembly or by securing a few jobs for Indian politicians. India must set her own house in order—and should take up the question of national defence with all earnestness. The responsibility lies with the young leaders of India.

New York City,
September 20, 1938.

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EDUCATION FOR JOURNALISM IN INDIA

By S. G. WARTY, M.A.

"To us in India, Journalism is more a Mission than a means of livelihood."
—Subhas Chandra Bose

eeds no saying that journalists play the important part in shaping public opinion country and yet it is a recognised fact it is the one profession in the world which an is permitted to follow without specialis- udies. It is not to be denied that much the technique of journalism has to be ired by practice, by actual work in a spaper office, but the journalist, if he is rove really useful to the community and essful in the declared purpose of his pro- ion, is as much in need of studying its ciples and its subject-matter, as the neer is in need of studying the principles gineering, the doctor the principles of medi- and the lawyer the principles of juris- dence.

Without a clear background of these d, theoretical and specialised studies, the nalist who has acquired mere practice, is to be narrow-visioned, possessed of pre- ces, full of strong and unreasonable likes dislikes. Instead, then, of being a boon the community which it is certainly his lege to be, he may prove a great danger, he may vitiate the atmosphere of thought his wicked misrepresentations and fanciful ements, lower the public tastes, and impair standard of morals prevailing in a com- nity.

It is for this reason, that journalists must all people belonging to the learned pro- ions, be men of wide studies and liberal ook, especially so in India, for this is a ntry where the printed word exercises the atest influence and carries the greatest thority. But how can these wide studies and eral outlook be assured, unless the journalist, ore he actually embarks on his career, quires the necessary culture that a sound neral education imparts and thereafter passes ough the special studies pertinent to his fession?

Is there then a need for education in urnalism in India? What part can the Uni- ities play in the matter? Would a degree journalism be helpful and if so what should the syllabus of studies? Such are some of the questions which I propose to discuss in this article.

Can Universities Help?

The question of instituting degrees in journalism in our Universities in India assumed some prominence for some time but has not been systematically pursued. In England and the United States where journalism has made enormous strides, there are many private schools which propose to teach journalism, sometimes by postal tuition also, the best-known and the best-organised of these being the London School of Journalism where a systematic practice of writing is taught in various branches, article-writing, paragraph-writing, descriptive writing, story-writing, etc. In none of these schools however, is the background of a certain standard of general culture prescribed as necessary in the scholars seeking admission to the course. And besides, wide and liberal studies do not form a part of the curriculum, all that is really enjoined being practice in writing.

Few Universities there have yet introduced courses and degrees in journalism. The London University is perhaps the only University where systematic higher instruction for the degree of journalism is imparted and the syllabus of studies properly arranged. Considering that in India, journalism as carried on at present is largely in the hands of very poorly equipped persons, the gain to it would be immense if the Universities undertake the work of instruction and raise its standard, thereby elevating the profession itself and placing it in a deserving position.

If we take an illustration from the growth of commercial education in Bombay, we find that until the Sydenham College of Commerce was started and the B. Com. degree instituted by the University, the level of commercial education imparted by the various private schools in Bombay was very low, going rarely beyond what may be called the "rule of thumb." The commercial graduates, endowed with culture, are bringing a more liberal out-

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look on their work and have demonstrated their capacity for pluck and initiative.

The Syllabus of Studies

If it is recognised that the Universities should introduce a course in journalism and a degree to mark the end of that course, what should be the special studies that the students should be made to go through? What should also be the standard of general education for the entrant aspiring for the degree in journalism?

In the Universities in India, a pass in the First Year Course in the Arts College is made compulsory for a candidate before he joins a college imparting professional education. For the degrees in teaching and in law, the necesary qualification for admission is still higher, and only after the candidate obtains the B.A., or the B. Sc. degree can he hope to join the professional colleges. It is my considered opinion that no candidate should be admitted to the special studies of journalism in a University, until he has first acquired the B.A. degree.

The journalist must be a truly educated man, with the most liberal inclinations and having a sympathetic outlook on all kinds of knowledge. To speak in the jargon of the latter half of the nineteenth century, the journalist must be a man who knows "something of everything and everything of something". His task is to deal with human beings, their ideals, their prejudices and their aspirations, by a right understanding of their psychology.

As regards the special studies for the degree in journalism, one has to take note of the fact that in India, journalism at the present day almost completely consists of political writing so great being the emphasis placed on politics. For this reason a scientific and systematic study of politics in all its practical and theoretical aspects, must form a necessary part of a course in journalism. The aspirant for a journalistic career must be intimately acquainted with the currents of economic and political thought in the modern world, the forces now at play in shaping mankind and its actions, and the problems of each country and nationality on the globe, with their historic background. The journalist must be able to take a world-view of things and to look at the problems at hand from that perspective. Says Mr. Wickham Steed:

"The ideal journalist would be one who, having mastered and assimilated the wisdom of the ancients, the philosophies of the more modern, the knowledge of scientists, the mechanics of engineers, the history of his own and of other times, and the chief factors in economic, social, and political life, should be able to hide all these things in his bosom and to supply as much of them as might be readily digested to his millions of readers in proportion as he divined their desire for them."

Practice in Writing

Next only to political and economic studies, the candidate must be required to study the history of the growth of journalism in the world and its present position in each country, the methods of its appeal to the public and its influence on the course of public affairs. Then again, the knowledge of the principles of newspaper organisation as developed in the course of years, will serve to impart a realistic bent to the studies and carry the student over the whole field of what may be called "Press-dom." It would be very desirable if students while thus under training, are made to visit important newspaper offices to see how the whole organisation works from beginning to end, to see how the issue comes out within the allotted time.

Practice in writing should, I think, also be attempted while under training. The first thing that a journalist has to learn is to condense elaborate news or writing into intelligible summaries to suit the limited space at his disposal, and he should be able to do so whilst running over the sheet itself with his blue pencil. He should also cultivate the practice of describing events in a picturesque yet in a truthful manner. Similarly a certain number of exercises in article-writing of various sorts must be made compulsory. The principles in regard to the reviewing of books with some practice must also be taught.

The main difference between newspaper writing and other writing is that, in the first case the length of the article is governed by the stern and imperative consideration of space, and within this limitation everything of importance must be said in interesting and intelligible manner so as never to weary the attention of the reader. A newspaper is an institution for the education of the people by popular means, just as a school is for the education of the children, and therefore the method of its speech and idiom must not be much above their capacity to understand.

In addition to these compulsory subjects, specialisation in voluntary subjects should also be prescribed, and such subjects may profitably be Indian Politics, European Politics, Asiatic Politics, American Politics and so on. This

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uld necessitate intensive studies in particular ojects and make the journalist specially able to write on his subjects at a moment's ice. Indeed it is an advantage to have men equipped on the regular staff of a newsper.

It should be possible for a graduate of the University to be able to imbibe so much of education pertaining to journalism within a period of two years. The study should include of course a knowledge of the law pertaining to newspapers and libel.

SOME VITAL LESSONS FROM MEXICO

By Dr. TARAKNATH DAS

CENTLY when the nationalist government of xico declared that it would nationalize the industry of the country and thus take over interest of American and British oil comies, after paying what may be regarded as sonable compensation, the British governnt violently protested against such measures. e Mexican government, instead of surrender- to British demands of restitution of oil perty of British nationality, surprised the ole world and particularly Lord Halifax, the itish Foreign Secretary, when it broke off lomatic relations with the government of s Britannic Majesty. In the past it was the bit of the British government to recall its lomatic representative to express its dis- asure towards a government which dared to pose British economic and political interests; this time Mexico turned the table on Great itain and the latter had to recall her minister m Mexico city. The Mexican government ermined to do its share that the people of xico should own the resources of the country l be not subject to exploitation by imialist powers. Mexico has been so far able oppose Britain, because she has the tacit port of the government of the United States the matter of the oil-property controversy, furthermore owing to the existence of the nroe Doctrine, Britain does not dare use any of force against Mexico. The Mexican vernment has also the full support of the xican working class and peasants in its proamme of government ownership of vital ustries of the land.

But the most interesting news from xico is contained in the following newspatch published in the *New York Evening* t of June 28, 1938.

xico Increases Health Expenses, Cuts Arms Costs

Geneva, June 28 (UP).

Mexico in the period 1928 to 1937 increased its ditures on health and education and reduced those on armament, a study by the League of Nations Economic Intelligence Service revealed today. The publication revealed that Mexico's public debt rose from 961,800,000 pesos ($211,596,000) in 1928 to 1,239,000,000 pesos ($272,580,000) in 1937.

The report stated that expenditures by the Secretary of War, Marine, and Department of Mill Supplies—combined in 1935—decreased from 96,600,000 pesos in 1928 to 80,300,000 pesos in 1937, while public health expenses jumped from 6,700,000 pesos to 14,900,000 pesos and public education expenditures rose from 25,800,000 pesos to 59,400,000 pesos.

Does this mean that the Mexican government is decreasing its efficiency in the field of national defence by reducing expenditure? On the contrary, the Mexican government *has improved its defensive power immensely*, during the last few years, by systematic spread of military education among the youth of the land and the workingmen. The Mexican workingmen are the back-bone of the present government. They are, through the national labour union, organized into a national militia, which is ready to supplement the regular army in upholding the government. This new organized labour military force costs the government very little; and it is not only an asset to the government but it is a factor in preventing the reactionaries from coercing the progressive elements in the government.

Indian nationalists now running the provincial governments and aspiring to control the Federal Government of India of tomorrow should have a definite programme of spreading military education and increasing the power of national defence and at the same time reducing the burden of heavy military expenditure which primarily aids British Imperialism. Mexico shows the way for India.

New York City,

June, 28, 1930

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THE VINE FESTIVAL IN ITALY

By SANTIMOY MOULIK

THE autumn in Italy offers a spectacle of wide contrasts to that in other countries of western and northern Europe. "The light that loses and the night that gains," as Swinburne describes the English fall, heralds a period of darkness and drizzle, of bare trees and slippery roads. In the Scandinavian countries and northern Germany, the autumn is the worst season which has neither the fascinating twilight of summer nor the romantic snow-shine of winter. In Italy, however, the autumn is the best season after the spring; it is the season of harvest festivals, of outdoor games and excursions in the cool and delightful atmosphere that follows the trying heat of summer. In spite of the falling leaves and occasional drifts of cold wind from the Appenine valleys, the sky is always blue, just that blue which one usually finds on the canvas of Giotto and other 14th century Italian painters. Under these skies and in the limpid light of clear and sparkling days, the Italian peasants celebrate their harvest festivals of which the Vine Festival is the most celebrated and the most picturesque.

In a bright and busy atmosphere on a charming September evening the ninth annual session of the National Vine Festival was inaugurated in Rome this year under the auspices of the National Dopolavoro Institute, in the Basilica of Massenzio on the famous Imperial Way that connects Imperial Rome with the Coloseum. The stalls were arranged with a decorative style which is typical of the Italian festive occasions. These stalls exhibited the best varieties of grapes produced in the different grape-producing centres of the country. High above were the brooding vaults of the Roman basilica, which under the decorative effect looked like the vineyards of the Agro Romano, sheltered as if from the wind by aqueducts, and provided with miniature rustic sheds made for the occasion to complete the rural scene. Gaily and colourfully dressed maidens, in the costumes of their respective native provinces, were in charge of tempting the visitors to buy their grapes. It was a scene which one sees on the streets of Rome during the entire month of October.

Round and about the stalls were constructed also small inns where one could find wine and sausages, pastry and ices, providing some place of gossip to the visitors. For the visitors were also organized a special orchestra and vocal concerts performed by distinguished musicians and artists of Rome.

The visitors were further allowed to buy bottles of wine at reduced rates at the Exhibition and to bring them out, if they desired, of the basilica without paying any tax.

The Corporation of Rome, which takes a very important part in the organization of these exhibitions, offers every year a prize to the grower of the best type of grape exhibited. This year the prize was won by a farmer of Tivoli, about fifteen miles from Rome and famous for its excellent vineyards. Fancifully the farmer named his product "L'Uva Dux" (Duce Grapes). Of these, I am sure, sixteen would make a seer. Other varieties were named as follows: Regina, Pizzutello, Zibibbo, Moscato, Panse, Precoce and Maccarese, etc.

The National Dopolavoro or Afterwork Institute also plays a large part in the organization of and in imparting colour and grandeur to this exhibition. This Institute, as is well known now, was established to offer facilities for amusement to the industrial and agricultural workers of Italy. More generally it was designed in the lines of a social welfare institution which could effectively deal with the problem of how best to employ the leisure hours of the workers consonant with the ideals of social justice and national vigour. It has offered a great impetus to the revival of artistic, sportive and intellectual life of those classes of the people for whom otherwise such pursuits remained a luxury. It itself sets on foot new movements in the field of sport, travel, culture, social welfare and the arts, ranging from music to drama, from Thespi's Car to the Radio and Cinema, from fine arts to home-crafts. All its efforts are to compensate the monotonous and unpleasant industrial life of the masses by means of offering facilities of joy, recreations and various diversions, making popular the festivals of the patron saints, triumphal cars, mystery plays and above all, the folk festivals and folk dances. In the spirit of its mission, the Institute this year organized a procession of decorated cars loaded

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"Long Live Grapes"

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Maidens from the Italian province of Maccarese
displaying their products

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A typical stall at the Vine Exhibition in Rome

The inauguration of the Vine Festival in the Basilica of Massenzio in Rome

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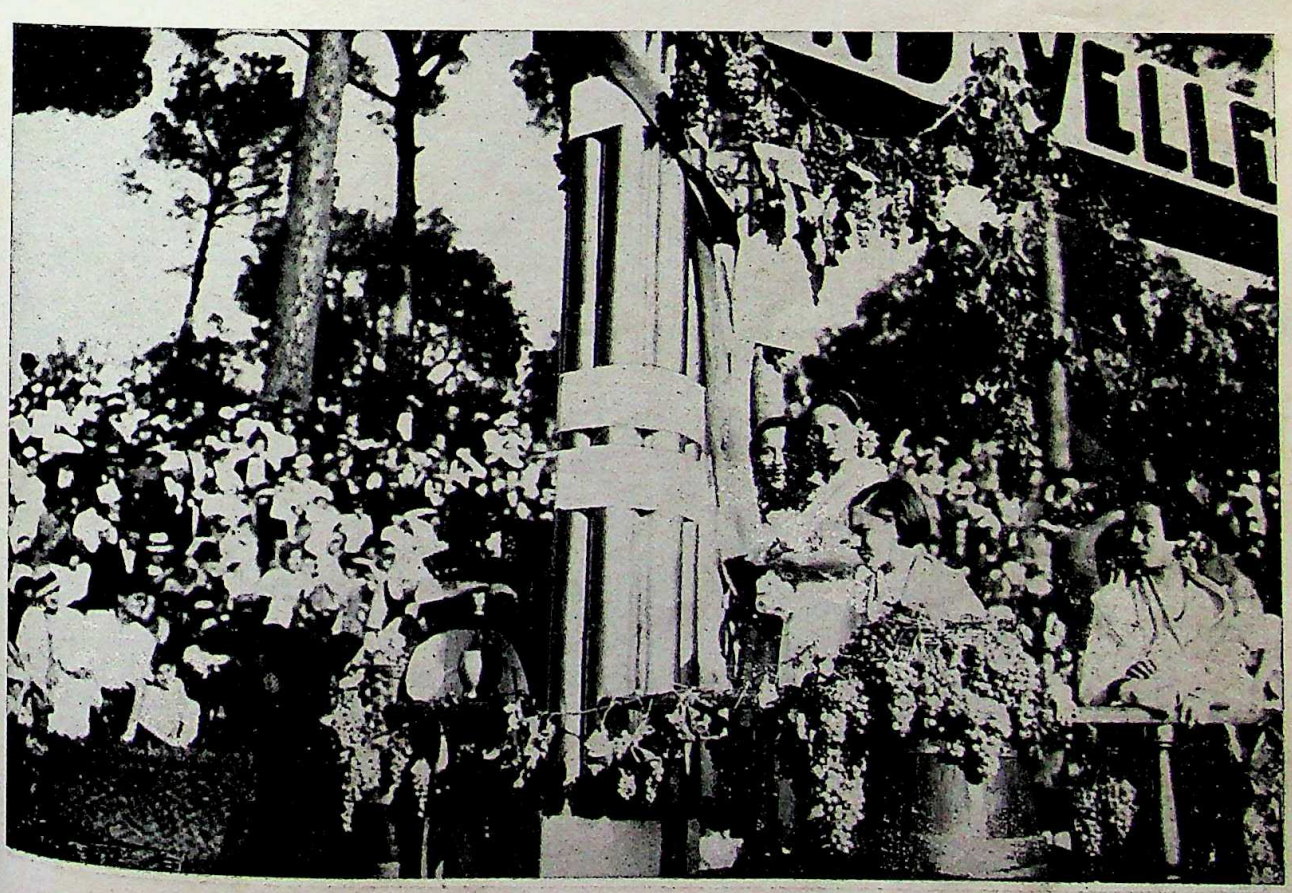

TOP : Gaily dressed maidens celebrate the Vine Festival
BOTTOM : Fascists celebrate the National Vine Festival

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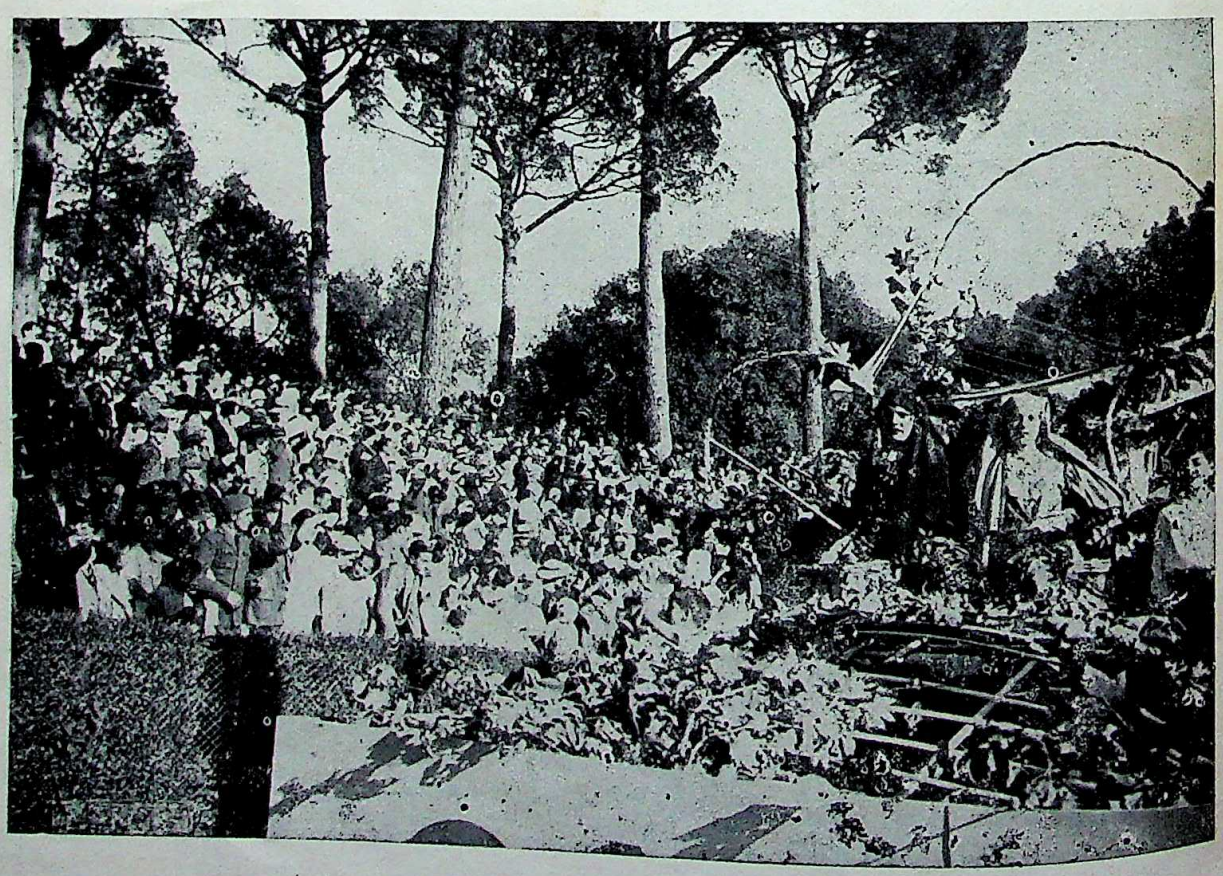

TOP : Distribution of grapes
BOTTOM : Procession of the Queen of the Vine Festival

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th grapes and maidens in the Piazza di Siena, pine-covered amphitheatre in the heart of ome's public park, the Villa Borghese, which esented the spectacle of a mixed atmosphere rural harvest festival and the urban rnival.

There is an economic side as well to this erry festival. The Government seeks to ncourage the domestic consumption of grapes hich not only brings more money to the farmers but also improves the health of the citizens. The propaganda for the increasing consumption of grapes is a very familiar thing now in Italy, and those who are in charge of this propaganda may deserve the best congratulations for the results so far achieved. The consumption of grapes has increased by leaps and bounds in Italy during the last ten years, and the figure is always on the increase.

Rome.

AT THE BIRTH-PLACE OF SHAKESPEARE

By M. MANSINHA

HE little English town of Stratford-on-Avon here Shakespeare was born, is now completely changed from what it must have been in e Poet's time. Things that one meets with ow in the streets of Stratford could not have een dreamt of even by the gigantic imagination of Shakespeare. The electricity, the wireess, the ubiquitous motor car with its nasty etrol smell, the new houses with modern menities but with a thoughtless uniformity hat makes one get sick of their sight—these ave changed Stratford from an Elizabethan illage into a modern town, but I personally elieve the changes have been for the worse. hey have destroyed the sylvan charm and eace of the beautiful Avon Valley as far as hey can.

But fortunately for the lovers of nature s well as of Shakespeare neither coal nor iron as been discovered near about Stratford. nd that is the one reason why the destruction f nature has not been so complete and enough f natural charm of the place still remains to ive the modern visitor an idea of the environment in which the extremely sensitive magination of the boy Shakespeare must have ollected those impressions of nature which ater on made his poetry so vivid with concrete nd realistic imageries. For, travelling from he North of England, while I passed through irmingham and Sheffield and the country ound about them on my way to Stratford, I ould realise at once what the fate of Stratford-n-Avon might have been if anything to gratify the greed of the Capitalist had been found here. For man's hand has not created uglier laces than the industrial towns of England nd Mammon's servants are too coarse to possess any respect for Shakespeare's memories to have spared his birthplace from the process of rape on nature which is associated with modern industrialism.

II

It is curious to know that although this small town of England has been attracting hundreds of thousands of tourists from all parts of the world, the common Stratfordian is rather indifferent to the associations of the Poet's memory. As soon as I got down at the railway station of Stratford I got into the company of two ladies with whom I began to talk. I said to them, "You must be proud of being the citizens of Stratford where Shakespeare was born." "No," replied one of them, "We don't feel it at all. We are rather frightened of him—he becomes a terror to us through his plays from our school-days!"

There is a cinema-house at Stratford; perhaps the only one for many miles around. And an English clergyman informed me that many from the country come to Stratford to see the films and never bother about the theatre where the great plays of Shakespeare are produced. On Sundays the lawns along the Avon become a veritable beehive with visitors with hundreds of motor cars parked along the roads. I came to know that most of these people are mere hikers and holiday-makers and don't care twopence for Shakespeare! One morning, while walking round the memorial theatre I got talking with a boy. I asked him by the way who Shakespeare was. And he replied that he is the man who has written a lot of letters! And he asked me if I had gone to the Picture-house where the film, "Mickey

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Mouse" was being shown, for, in his opinion, that was ever so much nicer than the plays staged in the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre!

III

Shakespeare worship was really begun by Goethe in the last century. Since then English scholarship has left no stone unturned in resurrecting Shakespeare tradition from the

The sleep-walking scene from *Macbeth*

oblivion of the past and revitalising it. And any student of Shakespeare must be amazed at the success they have achieved. Every little thing connected with the name and the life of the Poet has been unearthed from the graveyard of time to both satisfy and whet all the more the curiosity of Shakespeare lovers. Thus has been discovered the curious incident that the Poet was witness in a legal case or that a Londoner had appealed for police-protection against Shakespeare and two other gentlemen who had threatened his life! These little incidents far from explaining the mysterious genius of the Poet have intensified its mystery. For we are amazed at the fact that a man who was so commonplace and ordinary in his worldly life could produce the phantasy of the Midsummer Night's Dream or the marvellous introspection of a Hamlet.

Like the incidents of his life that have come to light, the house where he was born, the school where he was taught and the place where he spent his last days stand in bold contrast to his magnificent creations. For these Shakespearian relics are but little more than primitive. Shakespeare's father was not only a prosperous tradesman but was at one time the Mayor of Stratford. And on his mother's side the Poet was still more fortunate. But both the birthplace and Mary Arden's house are far from giving one the idea of their inhabitants being very well-off. In these Elizabethan houses the floors are covered with rough stones without mortar or cement, the roofs are supported by rough-hewn timbers and the houses are so low that one runs the risk of striking one's head against the ceiling if one is not mindful enough. There were holes in the walls instead of glass-windows, family boxes went without iron hinges as those things were unknown and wooden trenchers were used for plates in the days when Shakespeare wrote his magnificent plays. I was all the while wondering how such a miracle as a Shakespeare came out of such crude environment.

Of all places connected with Shakespeare's name the Grammar School at Stratford where he was educated as a boy interested me most. The history of this school is nearly five centuries old and the successive generations of young Stratfordians have sat and heard their lessons in the same room, where Shakespeare sat and heard his, for the last three centuries and they are still doing the same. In Shakespeare's days, of course, the school was a small affair with 30 to 40 boys. To meet the new conditions the school has been greatly extended, but the ancient class-room is carefully preserved. It is on the upper storey of an old Elizabethan house that looks ramshakle from outside, but is really still strong and solid. To the right-hand side of the Headmaster's platform a brass plate tells you where Shakespeare is said to have sat as a student. It is at the top of the first bench, which indicates that the boy Shakespeare must have been a brillinat student to occupy that position.

As is the English custom, the names of other boys besides Shakespeare who have gone out of this school and made names in the wider world are written in letters of gold on wooden boards hung on the walls of the class-room as the finest incentive to the ambition of the successive batches of students. I looked

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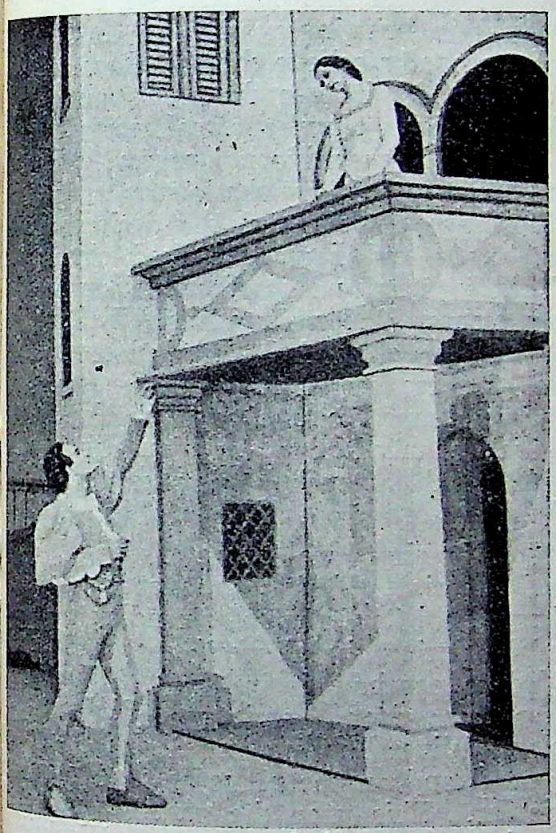
the lists and to my surprise found the es of some who have joined the Indian ce, Medical and Civil Services! And just osite to the Shakespeare-plate there hangs the opposite wall another brass plate cated

"To the memory of Ralph Reynolds Garlick, Senior ict and Sessions Judge, Bengal, some time a member he school . . . who died at the post of duty he hand of an assassin at Alipore, July 27th, 1931."

A few yards up, across the street are the s of New Place, the biggest house in Strat- in his time which Shakespeare bought and



Romeo and Juliet in the balcony scene

d in after he retired from the stage in don and returned to his native place, rich famous. After Shakespeare the house ged hands many a time till it came under possession of a clergyman named Francis rell in 1759. But the unfortunate priest no peace for the inquisitive crowds who ded to look round Shakespeare's house. As easiest way of stopping this annoyance blockhead of a minister pulled the entire e down and in his devilish vandalism even down the spreading mulberry tree which kespeare had planted with his own hand. the visitors only see the foundations of New Place which testify to the tradition of its being a substantial building. In the middle of the courtyard there is a well, exactly as we have in our homes in India. Superstition has turned it into a wishing-well, so that lady-visitors often walk round this well three times with their particular desires in the hope of being fulfilled. A few yards from the well there still stands a mulberry tree which is said to be an offshoot of the original Shakespeare tree.

Right next to the ruins of the New Place is Nash's House where Nash, Shakespeare's grandson-in-law lived and died. Nash seems to have been a famous citizen in his times for it is recorded that Elizabeth, Shakespeare's grand-daughter and later Nash's widow had the honour of once receiving in this house the Consort of Charles I, King of England. This house is now converted into a Shakespeare Museum, where the visitors are shown along with other things a pair of kid-skin gloves and a brooch as the only personal relics of Shakespeare that have survived destruction.

IV

It was Garrick, the famous English actor who first suggested to set up a permament playhouse at Stratford as the most fitting memorial at the birthplace of England's greatest playwright. But the suggestion took nearly a century to turn into a fact. It was left to a citizen of Stratford, Mr. Charles Flower, who took up the proposal in right earnest and set up a Memorial Theatre in 1869. Unfortunately that theatre caught fire in 1926 and was half destroyed. The present Memorial Theatre was completed in 1932 and was opened by the Duke of Windsor, then Prince of Wales.

The Memorial Theatre now stands right on the bank of the Avon in the midst of beautiful parks and grassy lawns. But in ugly contrast to its charming natural surroundings this modern building looks like a factory from the outside. Some say it looks like a gas-factory, and I imagine rightly so, as every evening when the plays are on, the audience, and more so the actors and the actresses, do let a huge amount of carbondioxide gas out. But its ugly exterior is amply made up for, however, by the comforts and conveniences it provides inside for the audience. It seats nearly 1,200 spectators and for all classes of the audience provides comfortable air-cushioned seats. And the builders have so cleverly brought the service of acoustics to their service in building this theatre that even the faintest whisper on the stage is clearly audible at the

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farthest corner of the auditorium. As I sat up in the balcony far away from the stage I have personal experience of it. Wood panelling is the only decoration of the interior of the theatre, for which all parts of the British Empire have contributed their peculiar timbers as tributes to the memory of the great English poet.

The theatre gives performances of Shakespearean plays from April to September every year which covers the Shakespeare festival. The festival reaches its peak on April 23rd, Shakespeare's birthday, when ambassadorial representatives of all nations come down from London and hoist their

The writer in front of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Startford-on-Avon

national flags in homage to the great poet at his birthplace, and starting from his father's house in Henby Street march in a reverent procession up to the Trinity Church, where the poet lies buried and which stands a little away from the Memorial Theatre on the bank of the Avon.

Every year the governors of the Memorial Theatre select eight of the thirty-seven plays of Shakespeare and perform them every week over the six months from April to September. The performances as I saw them this year were not very remarkable, but to the foreigners who have never seen a Shakespearian play on the stage, they give a fair idea of its real dramatic qualities. As is not unknown to students of Shakespeare in India, the Elizabethan stage was absolutely bare without any kind of modern stage devices. The dramatic effect of the plays entirely depended on the poetry of the passages, the high-sounding bombastic declamations of the actors and the histrionic art whatever it was. The modern stage is something that Shakespeare could have never dreamed of. The accompanying pictures of the well-known scenes from Romeo and Juliet and Macbeth will give the readers an idea of how far the modern stage has been successful in bringing reality on to the stage. But I personally believe that all these mechanical devices add little to the proper appreciation of Shakespeare's plays, the real worth of which lies in their magnificent poetry. But this poetry was rather overshadowed, as I found, by the stage devices and the declamations of the actors. And I was shocked also by the crude buffoonery and drunken vulgarity of the comic scenes of certain plays. In the book one does not often feel the grotesque atmosphere of these scenes, but on the stage they sometimes came to me as a shock and altogether changed my opinion as to the artistic worth of such a play as the Twelfth Night.

For the last two years the governors of the Memorial Theatre have arranged a Shakespeare Conference extending over a fortnight during the Festival season and have decided to continue it in future. During the Conference days eminent Shakespearian scholars deliver lectures on Shakespeare's art in general and on the plays of the evenings in particular. This year the general subject for discussion was "Shakespeare at Work" and Shakespeare scholars like Professor Dover Wilson of Edinburgh and Dr. Harrison of London University were among the many speakers. But the small audience consisted mostly, as I could judge, of school mistresses who were busy taking notes of the lectures, thus giving the whole thing an atmosphere of a school room. There were three Indians, including myself. I also met a Chinese litterateur—a novelist and essayist in Chinese—who told me that he is at present translating some plays of Shakespeare into Chinese for which he has been sent by the Chinese Government. He also informed me that he met Tagore in China during his Chinese tour and has translated some of Tagore's poems into Chinese.

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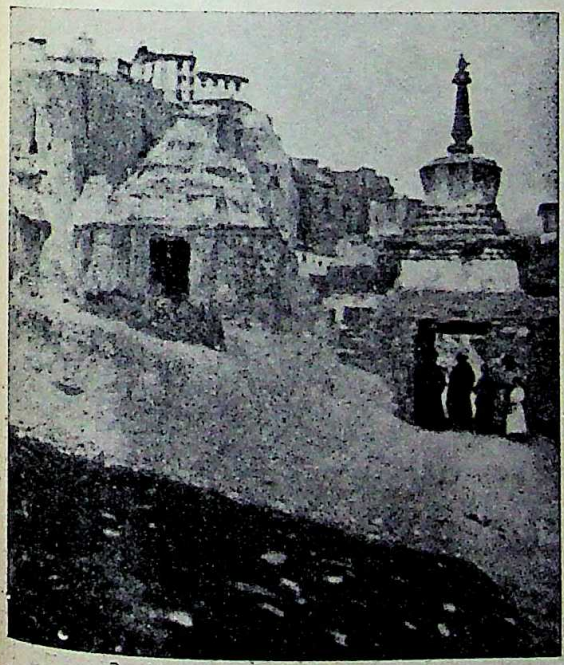
LADAK, THE HIGHEST INHABITED COUNTRY IN THE WORLD

By SUBODH CH. GANGULI, Bidyaratna, B.L.

ANY people have visited the beautiful valley Kashmir, the Switzerland of Asia and mortal in its glory all the world over. The ld grandeur of the snow-capped mountains hich surround the soft loveliness of the valley ith its winding rivers, unruffled lakes and mense forests of deodar and pine, all so ppily and exquisitely combined, has led poets all times to claim for Kashmir the name of earthly elysium. But few have cared to pay visit to the wild and lovely region which mprises the frontier districts of Ladak, the nd of Markhar and Ibex and of Buddhist mas and their wonderful monasteries called mphas.

The native state of Kashmir with an area 84.5 thousand square miles is the biggest in dia. It has a population of 36,65,000, three-



The monastery in the village of Lama Yoru

urth of which is Mahommedan. It is divided to four districts (i) Kashmir, (ii) Jammu, iii) Ladak and (iv) Gilgit. On account of the rategic position of Gilgit, the British Govern-ent have of late taken it into their own hands.

In our application for a permit to go to adak, to the British Joint Commissioner, adak, Srinagar, Kashmir, we had to mention the probable routes to be followed and proposed length of stay with dates. From Gunderbal through the Sind valley, we started along the Treaty High Road. The route, 144 miles long, consists of 14 marches from Srinagar and is fit for ponies. But it is impassable before the month of June. The shaggy black Yak is the only means of transport.

After leaving Srinagar and the Dal Lake, the round winds-up through beautiful fields of golden candy tuft, under the giant deodar forest of the Sind valley to the Zoji-la.

The whole valley lay beneath us and we could follow for miles the sinuous reaches of

Ladakian women in their picturesque costume

the Jhelum and the other rivers that bring fertility to this flat land from the surrounding mountain snows.

Gradually trees become scarcer until turning a corner where the trees presented a picturesque scene. Here we felt a shivering cold on account of a blast of cold wind. There was still snow on the top of the pass. Our ponies made their wandering way. The beauty of Kashmir was left behind, in front lay a vast expanse of sand, rock and mountain ranges. The track led through valleys between barren

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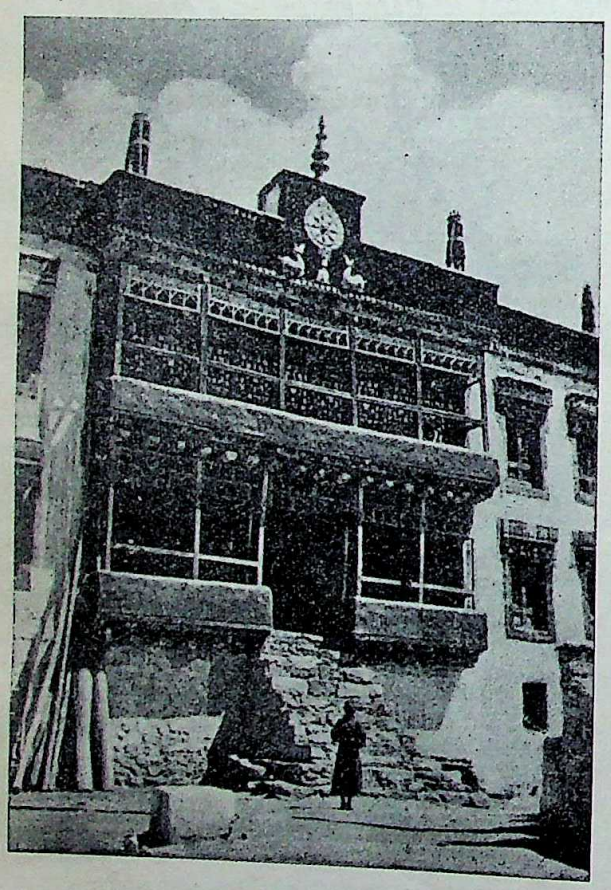
hills and sloping plains—through primitive villages of stone and mud. Away from the villages, grass became almost scarce but occasionally there were vegetation where a spring or tiny stream trickled down the heights above.

The view at night was of magical beauty. The far snows gleamed in the moon-light; the plain stretched out dim and blue as if into infinite space. From this height it almost seemed as if we were gazing down on some other world.

One has to pick one's weather carefully to cross a Himalayan pass in winter and spring and one must hurry over quickly; for the sud-



The door of the Shankar Monastery, Leh

den fierce winds that often spring up are then very formidable and sometimes destroy travellers with their deadly cold.

We passed the little monastery village of Lama Yoru lying in a fertile valley between the hills. Rows of memorials to dead Lamas stretched along the way. At the gate of the monastery, a large prayer wheel is seen inside. We entered some temples very dimly lighted. There were the images of Buddha and the rolls of prayers and sacred writings stacked upon shelves around the walls. In front of the images there were lamps burning in ghee as also incense. Small dishes of food were offered by pilgrims.

After leaving Spittack on the Indus, two days' march from Lama Yoru the long straight road seemed to stretch across an arid plain of sand before the lowest fringe of green was reached. We came here at noon and we could not find any water, for the available water was

The track led through valleys between barren hills and sloping plains

melted snow and it is only about 4 o'clock in the afternoon that the snow water from the mountains reaches Leh. During the day-time, streams are mere trickles but in the evening all the footpaths become rushing rivulets.

The western Himalayas with an average height of 17,000 feet above sea-level divide the State of Kashmir into two portions—different in climate and other physical respects and the people, different in race and religion. To the south of the range there live the Aryans while to the north live the people of Mongolian stock.

In Ladak, the people are Buddhists and though subjects of Kashmir, Grand Lama is their real lord. Ladak has an appearance practically of Tibet, the same strange scenery and climate, the same language and dress.

In Kashmir there is a regular rainfall and

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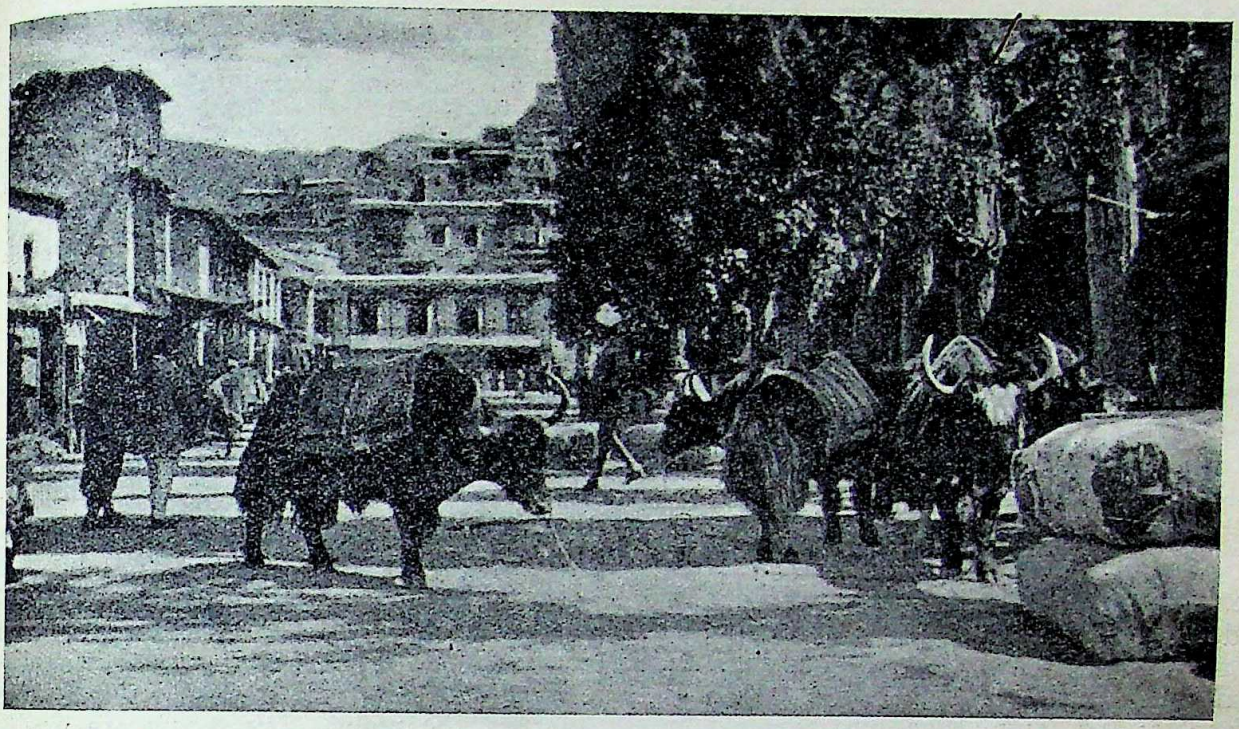

The shaggy black Yaks is the only means of transport in the ice

e summer months there are refreshed by the ater stored by the heavy winter snow-fall. It no wonder therefore that it presents a beauti- l land of green verdure and radiant flows. ut these mountains intercept the clouds from e south, crossing India from the distant seas. his causes the black waste of Central Asia here practically there is no rain-fall, and even e winter snow-fall is not sufficient. It is erefore a cloudless region, always burning or ezing under the clear blue sky.

Ladak is the highest inhabited country in e world. There is cultivation of crops at a ight of 15,000 ft.

Our road wound up through the outskirts the town and we came up to a picturesque zar. The many brilliantly tinted wares dis- yed in front of the low flat-roofed houses and ops, and the Tibetans strolling about lent lour and romance to the picture. We even- ally reached the Dak Bungalow, and thus me to Leh, the Capital of Ladak at a height 11,500 ft. above sea-level.

The Ladakians live a very dirty life. They ver take bath in their whole life nor do they ght a lamp at night. They have mostly oden houses; only the poor who cannot afford have them build earthen houses. They con- der themselves fortunate to have a guest. ey offer him food but do not speak to him t he might take offence and curse them.

The women's costumes are very picturesque, the head dress of cloth studded with turquoise, is elaborate in proportion to the wealth of the woman's husband. Large ear-rings and massive necklaces, bracelets of chastened silver or brass are the usual ornaments.

There is no purdah in Ladak. Women can own land in their own right and the rich ones choose their husbands. There is no fortune to be made in Leh; the men have to wander far to find grass for their cattle. They go trading to countries. Their flat Mongolian features and yellowish skin together with their pig-tails give them a Chinese appearance.

The varying effects of light are very beautiful especially in the evening when the setting sun paints the picture with hues which gradually fade from glowing shades of richest rose to purple shadows.

The King of Ladak is an incarnation of the first priest-king. His kingdom is under the rule of Kashmir. He lives in the village of Stock, quite near to Leh, and as he only draws the revenue of that place he is very poor and has never been to Srinagar. He visits Leh once a year and stays in the castle built on ledges of rock.

We went up to the castle one day through a labyrinth of dirty passages; after climbing several ladders and steps we reached a court-yard used for religious dancing. This natural fortification has a commanding view of the

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desert and surrounding country. Higher above it is the monastery "Gumpha" situated on the highest point of the hills overlooking Leh.

Two Lamas live in the Gumpha. There is a room; the idol, too big to be brought up so high and through the door, was made where it stands. There are the wheel of life and rows of images each with a lamp in front which is never allowed to go out.

At Leh the two main trade routes from Yarkand and Chinese Tibet converge and then continues as one road upon which no vehicle ever runs.

At last one day we stole out of the sleeping city before dawn, out into the desert and over to the mountains of Kashmir and covered the return journey along the same route on ponies and reached a more civilised world.

SANCTUARIES FOR ANIMAL AND BIRDS IN CEYLON

By H. C. R. ANTHONISZ

SANCTUARIES for the safeguarding of animals and birds in Ceylon are very necessary, owing to the unlimited facilities for poaching. Moormen and Singhalese villagers are the chief offenders; no animal or bird escapes their attention.

We have so far provided 11 sanctuaries, 8 for animals and 3 for birds. These sanctuaries have watchers and helpers to see that no poaching goes on.

It has been necessary to create these sanctuaries owing to poaching by day and at night by the aid of electric torches.

The poachers shoot anything edible, but chiefly go in for deer and elk. The flesh of these animals find a ready market and a rich harvest is derived from the sale of their flesh, either fresh or dried.

Yala in the Southern Province and almost bordering on the Eastern Province is the oldest and most important of these sanctuaries. It was at first put in charge of Mr. Engelbrech, an repatriated Boer prisoner. He got this place into good order. He was a marvellous man. He died a few years ago. Elephants, wild buffaloes, leopard, deer, elk, pig, peafowl, etc., abound here. They are not afraid of man and one can come across herds of 400 to 500 deer here. The mouse deer which is not a protected animal, is a pretty spotted little thing no bigger than a big hare. It's eyesight is defective during the day and it does its feeding chiefly during the night. It's hoofs are pretty and jewellers mount them in gold and sell them as ornaments.

Some people erroneously call it the "moose deer"; this of course is a huge animal, the biggest of the deer tribe and its habitat is in cold countries, such as Canada, New Zealand etc.

The bird sanctuaries are frequented by wild ducks, pigeons, blue coot, painted storks flamingoes, the Ibis pelicans and various members of the crane, besides teal, cotton teal dub, chick, etc. Those of the duck tribe flamingoes and a few others, come in during the north-east monsoon, when the lagoons and tanks get filled with rain water. They are abundant from November to mid-January.

I do not know the conditions prevailing in India but I learn that no sanctuaries have been established there. It is then I think, very necessary, to have a few large preserves, well protected, otherwise game is bound to disappear in time.

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A CHINESE STATESMAN'S MESSAGE TO YOUNG ASIA

By Dr. TONG SHAO-YI
Ex-Premier of the Republic of China

[Note :—The *New York Times* of October 1, 1938 ported the tragic death of the Rt. Hon. Tong Shao-Yi, e First Premier of the Chinese Republic and co-worker the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen. It was reported that the enty-eight year old veteran elder statesman of China as hacked to death by a so-called Chinese patriotic *ze-man*, who suspected him to be pro-Japanese. These en entered the home of the retired statesman on the lse pretence of presenting him a scroll in recognition his patriotic services to China. Once in the house, e ruffians hit the unarmed and unsuspecting old man his head with an axe ! What chivalry !

The late Tong Shao-Yi was one of the greatest Asian atesmen with the vision of Asian Independence to be ained through Sino-Japanese and Indian co-operation. one time he was anti-Japanese and supporter of the e Yuan Shi-kai; but after he became the Premier of e Chinese Republic, he realised the necessity of aceful development of China, which could be possible rough friendship between China and Japan. During e World War, he, like the late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, was posed to China's entry into the World War on the le of the Entente Powers. In 1917 he incurred the spleasure of the British authorities in China and the itish Government by writing the *Introduction* to a oklet *Is Japan a Menace to Asia?* by Dr. raknath Das, published by the Commercial Press, anghai. This essay may be regarded as his *Message Young Asia;* and the following is the full text of]

The future of Asia depends upon the bility of the Asiatic people to assert their ghts politically. Political weakness of Asia as been the cause of many troubles and wars ring the last century and half. Asia as a hole except Japan, affords for the strong owers unbounded natural resources, cheap bour, markets, defencelessness and inefficient vernments which give every incentive for gression. About the modern imperialism ong the Great Powers, Mr. Walter Lippman his book *The Stakes of Diplomacy* rightly ys:

"It is not enough to say that they are *expanding* or *eking markets* or *grabbing resources*. They are doing these things, of course. But if the world into which ey are expanding were not politically archaic, the growth foreign trade would not be accompanied by political perialism. Germany has expanded wonderfully in the itish Empire, in Russia, in the United States, but no rman is silly enough to insist on planting his flag erever he sells his dyestuffs or stoves. It is only when expansion is into weak states—into China, Morocco, rkey or elsewhere that foreign trade is imperialistic. is imperialism is actuated by many motives—by a ling that political control insures special privileges, by a desire to play a large part in the world, by national vanity, by a passion for ownership, but none of these motives would come into play if the countries like China or Turkey were not politically backward."

Political backwardness is not inherent among the Asiatic people, though it is the current opinion among the western students. China in the past had her bright periods of history, her glorious days of Imperialism. In the field of culture and civilization China contributed her full share when she was politically strong. India of Asoka and Akbar was far ahead of any of the European countries of those ages. It is by contact with the Orient that Europe learnt many useful things for her present civilization. Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar in his excellent work *The Chinese Religion Through Hindu Eyes* has very rightly said:

"The darkest period of European History known as the Middle Ages is the brightest period in Asiatic. For over a thousand years from the accession of Gupta Vikramaditya to the throne of Pataliputra down to the capture of Constantinople by the Turks the history of Asia is the history of continuous growth and progress. It is the record of political and commercial as well as cultural expansion—and the highest watermark attained by oriental humanity . . . It was the message of this orient that was carried to Europe by the Islamites and led to the establishment of medieval universities. In describing the origin of Oxford, Green remarks in the *History of the English People* : 'The establishment . . . was everywhere throughout Europe a special work of the new impulse that Christendom had gained from the Crusades. A new fervour of study sprang up in the West from its contact with the more cultured East. Travellers like Abelard of Bath brought back the first rudiments of physical and mathematical science from the schools of Cordova or Bagdad'."

Professor Holland in his great work *European Concert in Eastern Question* has conclusively proven that the European Powers acted in concert to destroy Turkish supremacy. All the European Powers kept silence when all the treaty obligations were violated during the Turco-Italian War and the Balkan Wars. To us it is quite clear that the Great Powers work unitedly to extract certain concessions from China. Mr. Millard in his book *Our Eastern Question* says :

"Great Britain endeavoured definitely to outline her own and the spheres which she conceded to other Powers,

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in response to a reciprocal attitude from them. That Great Brtiain's position and her predominating vested interest in Central China and Kwantung would be respected and that she in turn would respect Japan's position in South Manchuria, Russia's position in North Manchuria and Mongolia, France's position in Yunnan and Germany's position in Shantung, was clearly demonstrated in agreements and by various acts."

Among other things the Concert of the Great European Powers have had one motive before them—exploitation of Asia and Africa to their advantage. This aggression of Europe in Asia can be stopped for the good of Asia and Europe by a solid Asiatic unity not merely from a cultural standpoint but also from a political standpoint. This stupendous work of political regeneration of Asia by an Asian Concert has great moral and ethical aspects. There cannot be effective peace as long as one nation or a group of nations looks down upon the other as inferior and tyrannizes. Friendship and fellowship can be established on equal footing. Japan's demonstration of military strength forces the so-called superior nations to shake hands with her, though with great reluctance. Political assertion of Asia will make Europe and America more tolerant and respectful towards human rights.

Because Japan is politically strong, she is able to develop her country politically and culturally. China is struggling to be free and she should accept co-operation from any quarter that is truly friendly. Japan is China's disciple of the past and all-far-sighted Japanese believe that *Japan without China and India, is in the long run, without legs*, I would say that China without Japan and India is without legs. The fulfilment of Indian aspiration depends upon a strong united Sino-Japanese Alliance. Those Japanese and Chinese statesmen who are conscious of the real interests of both nations are not suspicious of one another. But it has always been the case in the world's history that only a few people can detect the true situation, while the mob misses the right perspective of difficult problems. So the masses of China and Japan and especially the jingoists of both countries, whether consciously or unconsciously, are acting against their own highest interests by distrusting one another. To our regret we find that the *anti-Japanese feeling in China is being fanned to flames by those outside interests which do not want to see China and Japan united.*

About Indian unrest Mr. H. Fielding Hall, a British Civil Servant in Burma, has spoken in his book *The Passing of Empire* (1914) in the following way:

"The discontent has not passed, nor will it, nor can it pass. It is deep-rooted in the very nature of things as they are now. It is not local, nor is it confined to one or two strata of society, nor is it directed to one or two acts of Government. It is universal, in all provinces and all classes, directed not against this act or that act, but against the Government as a whole . . . This discontent is not sudden. It has grown slowly for many years. It is not local; in one province it may be more apparent than in another, but it is universal. It is not temporary, but increases. So much is admitted by those who know . . . India feels uncomfortable and clamours for anything she can get. The Indian Government gives her what it can, offering profoundest condolence, which is sincere, and for the rest sitting upon the chest . . . Man is gregarious, and he is so made that he cannot fully develop himself except in larger and again larger communities. To reach his full stature in any way he must develop in all ways. He must feel himself part of ever greater organism, the village first, the district and the nation and finally humanity. But in India all this is impossible. Except the village there is no community that exists even in name, and we have injured and almost destroyed even that. Thus an Indian has no means of growth. He cannot be a citizen of anything at all. Half his abilities and sympathies lie entirely fallow, therefore he cannot fully develop the other half . . . It is the slowly growing consciousness of an energy that has no outlet, of a desire for advance in every direction, that causes unrest. In some ways the educated classes feel it most. Elsewhere they see men of their class cultivating their patriotism, increasing that sense of being and working for others, of being valuable to the world at large, showing capacity for leading, ruling, thinking, advancing in a thousand ways, while none of them is for them. They want to express the genius of their races in wider forms than mere individuality, but they are not able to do so. They want a national science and literature and law, they cannot have it. No individual as an individual can achieve anything. Not till he feels he is a cell in a greater and more enduring life can he develop. But this is not for India."

Can there be anything more pathetic than the condition of the people of India, one-fifth of the population of the whole world? The cause of the three hundred and fifteen millions of the people of India is the cause of Asia and of Humanity. Japan and China, if far-sighted, should not be unmindful of the problems of the people of India, because a strong, free India will be a source of strength to them.

We have been tired of hearing that Japan is a menace to Asia. Now comes a Hindu scholar, Mr. Taraknath Das, well-versed in world politics, who tries to show that Japan is not a menace to *Asia with Asian supremacy*, but rather, that Japan is a menace to European aggression in Asia. Some western author has recently said: "Japan is an international nuisance and she may easily grow to be an international peril." We, however, do not look at a rising Japan in the same spirit. We wish only that China and India be equally strong, that Japan hold her own on the Asiatic conti-

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ent against European aggressors. Then the ternational nuisance, charged to Japan, but ally traced to other outside forces, will cease exist in Asia. The awakening of Asia is the ost outstanding feature of the present age. he future of Asia is bright and glorious if e new spirit of Asia be rightly directed in -operation with all the Asian people. We ope, though we may not live to see fully ccomplished, that Japan and China and India will work unitedly, standing for Asian Independence against all outside aggressions.

Shanghai, China,
19th of December,
5th Year of Republic of China.

This essay was written some twenty-one years ago. The world situation has changed greatly since then. But it still remains true that friendly understanding and co-operation between *independent* China, *independent* Japan and *independent* India, if and when possible, would be a blessing to Asia and to the world.—Editor, *M. R.*

WHAT IS KARNATAK?

Is It A Kanarese-Speaking Province?

By SHAN. RA. SHENDE

ANNADIGAS have achieved their object of etting through the legislatures the resolutions ecommending the creation of a new province or Karnatak. The flat refusal of the Governor f Bombay at Bijapur to do so and the nega-ve answer by the Secretary of State for India, ave not, in the least, discouraged them, but n the contrary they are thinking of taking a eputation to England to convince the people nd authorities there. Even Mahatma Gandhi not silent in this matter, as he is engaged in rafting a scheme for the redistribution of rovinces on linguistic bases and therefore arnatak has bright hopes, in the near future, f having a separate administrative unit for it ven though the Hon'ble Mr. C. Rajgopala-hariar has recently disfavoured this move of e Kannadigas.

II. Books under Review

And this makes one anxious to know which acts of land will go to form that province and hether it will be a purely Kanarese-speaking ne. Though it is clear that this has to be etermined by a Boundary Commission, it is qually clear that the Commissioners will most-f rely upon the information supplied to them. he readers might well be aware that for wenty years the people of Karnatak have een vigorously carrying on movements in ifferent forms for this purpose with influential nd representative bodies behind them and have ublished books giving elaborate informations, escriptions, charts, maps, and statistical tables to make out their case clear and strong. These books had been furnished to the legislators and officials concerned and must have been in the hands of M.P. and the British Cabinet Members. The latest book, namely, *A Case for Karnatak Unification,* published by the All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, at the time when resolutions for the creation of the Karnatak Province were tabled in the Provincial Legislatures provides an inquisitive reader with a table with names of the parts they desire to get included in the would-be province.

Since the members of the Boundary Commission will certainly weigh the information supplied to them in a book-form by such a body as referred to above and rely safely and mostly upon it, it is intended here to test the same to find out whether it is virtually a Kanarese-speaking Province.

III. Definition of a Linguistic Province

In the first place it is necessary to give here what a linguistic province should be. A linguistic province can only be of tracts of land containing contiguous towns and villages with a clear majority of the speakers of the one and the same language the authenticity of which can only be ascertained with the help of the language figures for the same from the latest Census Reports.

But since the Census Reports do not only not provide us with the language figures for towns and villages but not even those of the

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Talukas we have to make use of the figures of districts only. The 1901 Census has given these figures of some of the Talukas and the writer shall have to use these wherever necessary.

The books published so far on this subject show in a table 13 parts (8 districts and 5 Talukas) which the writers desire to get included in the proposed province. This table gives only the numbers of total population but does not provide with the figures of speakers of different languages in use there. Had the table contained language figures of those parts it would have been very easy for the reader to judge which language is predominant there and whether these parts can really be called Karnatak. The writer of this article has, therefore, collected these figures and given in a table printed at the end of this article.

IV. Do these parts deserve inclusion in Karnatak ?

Now let us examine each division serially in the light of the above principle and the figures in the table and find out how far the claim of each one is valid to be included in Karnatak:—

(*i* and *ii*) The districts of Bijapur and Dharwar show without doubt a clear majority of the speakers of Kanarese. These therefore deserve to have a seat.

(*iii*) As regards the district of Belgaum the majority of the people in Eastern Talukas speak Kanarese while the Western Talukas show predominance of Marathi. The figures given below are from 1901 Census as these are not available from that of 1931.

	Population	Kanarese	Marathi
(a) Belgaum Taluka ..	1,05,528	38,564	48,956
(b) Chandgad „ ..	32,034	951	30,378
(c) Khanapur „ ..	81,908	26,609	48,643
(d) Chikodi „ ..	1,86,400	92,547	78,713

(e) Belgaum Town : proportion of numbers of speakers of Kanarese to that of Marathi is 2 : 3.

(f) Athani Taluka : A group of villages is predominantly Marathi speaking.

Evidently the first three Talukas and a little less than half that of Chikodi cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 1/3 of the district must necessarily be left to Maharashtra.

(*iv*) The Eastern Talukas of the Bellary District will have to be handed over to Telugu and the western ones can go to Kanarese. The proportion of the speakers of these languages is 3: 5 in this district. No Taluka language figure is available. 3/5 of this District shall have to be ceded to the Andhra Desha.

(*v*) In the South Canara District Kanadi, Marathi-Konkani and Malyali have nearly the same strength. Tulu, which is the local language, is double in numerical strength to that of each one of the above. Tulu has no script nor literature of its own, while Kanadi is, by chance, endowed with official favour and has been made the vehicle of instruction. This resulted in Tulu having succumbed to Kanadi.

The position of the four languages is as follows:—

Kanarese is spoken in the North-Eastern part while Marathi-Konkani has a hold towards North-West. Malayalam has made a home in the south and Tulu has spread in the whole of the centre of the district. The language figures of 1911 and 1931 show that Marathi-Konkani, Malayalam and Tulu have increased in number while Kanarese is decreasing.

Census		Kanarese	Tulu	Malayalam	Marathi & Konkani
1931	out of every 10,000 of the population	1782	4928	2177	1763
1911		1871	4281	1983	1664

Deserving Talukas should therefore be made over to the respective languages.

(*vi*) Kanadi is not the chief language in the North Kanara district. The proportion of Kanadi to Marathi is 7 : 5. The Taluka language figures for 1931 are not available and therefore those of 1901 are given below —

	Population	Kanarese	Marathi
(1) Karwar Taluka ..	58,540	12,595	42,551
(2) Hallyal „ ..	35,122	10,558	19,501
(3) Supa Petha „ ..	21,008	1,186	19,053
(4) Yellapur „ ..	28,814	11,975	9,027

The first three Talukas and nearly half of the fourth cannot be claimed by Karnatak. 5/12 of the district shall have to be excluded from the would-be province.

(*vii*) Coorg has her local languages Kodgu and Yerda and spoken by 1/3 of the population. Kanadi, which is foreign in the land, is the mother-tongue of only 6 out of 16 of the population.

(*viii*) In the Nilgiri district Kanadi has been registered against 1/5 of the population while Tamil and Badaga speakers share 1/3 and 1/4 respectively of the Humban race. Each one is stronger than Kanadi. Nilgiri, therefore, cannot at all be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(*ix*) Sholapur Taluka contributes 1/4 of the population to Kanadi, while Marathi speakers are double the above. It is neither justifiable nor practicable for it to be classed as a part of Karnatak.

(*x—xiii*) Nothing can be said of these Talukas as to their place in Karnatak, since no language figures are available.

The above details show that out of the 13

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rts intended to be divisions of Karnatak, the st two districts belong to it but out of the maining 11, six districts cannot wholly be ssed as parts of Karnatak; Sholapur is a non-ranatak Taluka and the fate of the last four not be determined. This is the position of e Kanarese in Karnatak.

V. Name Karnatak a Misnomer

From the above and some other points of ew the name Karnatak as applied to these parts is a misnomer:

Firstly, the districts and Talukas, which virtue of majority of non-Kanarese langu-es ought to have been excluded have been ked with Karnatak. What is real Karnatak a question to be solved.

Secondly, the total population of the so-lled Karnatak, as is supposed to be, is 70 lacs 931 Census) while Kanadi speakers will be ly 50% of them.

Thirdly, the total number of Kanadi-eakers in British India is 112 lacs but only 3 of this *i.e.* 35 lacs can only find place in the -called Karnatak and 70 lacs will have their mes outside it.

Fourthly, the language Kanadi belongs to e Dravidian stock, while its speakers hail m the Aryan race.

Fifthly, the Kanadi, as spoken in these rts being an outsider is an admixture and es not possess the grace, beauty and elegance the classic Kannada language of Mysore, its me and real Karnatak.

Sixthly, the people of the northern part the so-called Karnatak are racially and lturally Maharashtrians.

The book under review, which was nished to the members of the Assemblies to n sympathy and votes when the resolutions for creating a separate province for Karnatak were being discussed, is thus exposed and the readers will now judge the correctness of its purpose.

It is true that the component parts of the would-be province are to be determined by a Boundary Commission after giving a chance to all neighbouring languages to lay before them their say and the Commissioners will not depend upon what an interested party has said; still it is unjustifiable, on the part of such influential and representative bodies as the Karnatak Unification Sabha and the Karnatak Unification Sub-Committee of K.P.C.C. and the newly formed The All Karnatak Unification League, Belgaum, to claim what is not theirs.

VI. Basic Information Not with the Government

When the Bombay Government have not, the writer has made sure, preserved the language figures of the Talukas of this Presidency collected by the Census Authorities in 1931, one will doubt what other source of information on the point of dispute the Boundary Commission will be guided by in order to lay hands on towns and villages to class these as parts of the proposed province of Karnatak and determine boundaries thereof.

When, this way, the position of the Government is insecure as regards the basic information required for the creation of linguistic provinces, there is no wonder if private efforts will prove inadequate and misleading.

The redistribution of provinces is, beyond doubt, most essential, but whether it should be done by languages or otherwise and which is the opportune time to do so, is a problem worth consideration and that, too, with a broader angle of vision.

A table showing 1931 Census figures of important languages spoken in the proposed Karnatak Province.

Divisions	Population	Kanarese	Marathi	Tamil	Malayalam	Tulu	Telugu	Kodagu	Yerda	Badga
Bijapur District	869220	712229	27496	..	...	...	...	...	..	...
Dharwar ,,	1002677	863924	46018	..	...	...	...	...	...	...
Belgaum ,,	1076701	695600	273275	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Bellary ,,	969794	533538	11549	...	...	...	305775	...	..	...
South Canara ,,	1372241	244552	241890	..	298743	561623	...	...	..	...
North Canara ,,	417835	229566	158119	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Coorg ,,	163337	62767	1577	...	14914	14275	...	44585	10026	...
Nilgiri ,,	169330	29967	1301	54311	17432	...	9482	...	...	42521
Sholapur Taluka	272018	?	?							

—Since 1931 Census does not furnish language figures of Talukas, the same are below from that of 1901.
(9) Sholapur Taluka 2,03,905, 49,414, 1,07,044.
—The proportionate rise in 1931 population over that of 1901, will be the same as regards the numbers of peakers of languages.
(10-13)—(10) The Madagasira Taluka of Anantpur district (11) Hosur Taluka and (12) Krishnagiri Taluka Salem district, (13) Kollegal Taluka of Coimbatore district, are left unmentioned, language figures being not vailable.

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THE MENACE OF WINGED DEATH

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No nation can afford to have among its leaders political ostriches and this principle applies *a fortiori* to the weaker nationalities. A glance at the world situation will clearly reveal the dangerous potentialities therein as regards the interests of India. Today, the world is an armed camp with the principal nations vying with each other in the race for building up armaments. India is like a fattened calf already offered as a sacrifice to any nation which is strong enough to oust Great Britain from her control over this country. Her large population, her great consuming capacity, her military emasculation, her industrial backwardness and wealth of raw materials, make this country an attractive bait. It is imperative that the leaders of Indian thought should become alive to this danger and concentrate on the necessity for building up *the defensive strength of India.*

Recent tendencies in warfare have revealed that aerial strength will determine largely if not finally the results of war. The aerial strength is one which can be easily built up. It is not costly either, for aeroplanes are comparatively cheap to buy and to man. India is essentially a country where danger of aerial warfare exists and where offensive aerial measures can easily be undertaken. It is obviously impossible for Indians to build up a strong navy; a navy takes time to build up and its cost is one beyond the resources of our country. *In the air however India can offer successful resistance, if prompt measures are taken immediately to build up an air-force and to train up personnel necessary for that force.*

The danger to India can come both from the east and from the west, sending over large aircraft carriers to be based, upon one of our west coast ports. Similarly from the east,—we can imagine an enemy to capture one of our eastern ports and to erect an eastern air-port thereon. If India is to offer any successful resistance, it will have to lay out air-bases both on the west and the east which will be within striking distance of enemy locations. A fleet of two thousand aeroplanes whether from the east or the west is not too high to be imagined as being sent by the enemy. In the Spanish war which is waged on a comparatively minor scale there are over one thousand aeroplanes on the nationalist side. In the Chinese war also, large numbers of the Japanese planes are operating in China.

In modern warfare, the use of the aeroplane is varied. Apart from such cases as reconnoitering, conveying troops and ammunition and assisting espionage, the air-arm has three uses. It assists in actual combat by bombing, and machine-gunning enemy troops, artillery positions and supportings. In the Chinese war it has been observed that this assistance vitally affected decision in many an engagement. Secondly, the air-arm is used in bombing and destroying the means of communication and transport like bridges, roads, railway lines and stations. It is easy to imagine how helpless our own country would become if our means of communication are violently disrupted. The Hong Kong Canton Railway was repeatedly bombed by the Japs from the air. The Chinese labour gangs have repeatedly repaired the lines after each attack with infinite patience and indomitable courage; but even then, the results were not entirely satisfactory. It is doubtful if the labour gangs in India will evince the same amount of discipline or courage as the Chinese. While we have more road and rail mileage than the celestials, our communications are very exposed. Except for some railway bridges, these are left absolutely unprotected. Elementary military tactics tell us that all our important arterial bridges, (road and rail) important railway stations and yards should be protected by anti-aircraft weapons and where necessary by small air-force detachments. It is obvious that any enemy attacking India from afar will first establish himself near a port and after landing troops, artillery, and ammunition, send over large bombing squadrons to confuse and paralyse the defender's means of communication. This is essential to prevent large concentrations prejudicial to the invaders and this method has been successfully employed in China and is sure to be employed here.

The third main purpose of the air-arm is

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demoralise the civil population by violent acks on open cities and other points of lnerability. In theory, international laws ohibit the bombardment of open towns; but practice this form of attack is invariably ployed. Twelve years ago, the theory was pounded by the Italian General of Aviation, uhet, who indicated in his book *Mastery of e Air*, how the civilian population of an acked country, their homes, shops, and nicipal services should become main mili- y objectives, so that war can be carried be- d the enemy's lines and the morale of the ple cracked. The lessons of General Douhet e well learnt at every Military Academy. e Spanish and Abyssinian wars bristle with tances of Douhet's theory in application. ese attacks have diverse objects. The prin- al one is to create confusion and strike ror in the mass of the civil population. er all, wars are sustained by a sort of mass chology. The morale of the non-combatants often be rudely shattered by a policy of rightfulness" in war. Nothing can be more e-inspiring than wholesale and surprise acks from the air on the unprotected popu- ions of cities. The bombing can be so severe t a popular anti-war hysteria can be induced influential sections of the people and Govern- nts can be forced to fly from their head- arters to less central localities. Diplomatic tacts can be interfered with and the reins public control which are so vital in war y be forcibly slackened. The Italian success the Ethiopian war was not a little due to annihilation of the town of Harrar.

The bombing of cities has other objectives, nely, to put out of commission the cities' ter and electric supplies. Since in modern es all social utility services are concentrat- in some degree, the danger of an attack on se services can be easily imagined. As the erness of the strife increases, nations be- e desperate and their moral consciousness s blunted. This happened in the last Great r resulting in the use of poison gas, ex- sive bullets and unstinted submarine war- e, and is bound to happen again. In a war, possible means will be considered to be ified by the end, which is national safety. e use of incendiary bombs has already com- nced. The world is not yet aware of the full arious possibilities of thermite bombs. It been estimated that a 100 lb. thermite mb, can smash its way through five stories of oncrete building and set fire to whatever es in contact with it. In the next war wholesale asphyxiation of helpless city residents is certain to be attempted. What measure of success will attend this attempt, future alone can decide. It is significant that all nations exposed to this form of attack are vigorously organizing to meet it. Gas-masks for all civilians, gas-proof refuges, fire-fighting equipment and decontamination squads are being feverishly arranged. It is doubtful if all these measures will effectively neutralise the anticipated danger. The present plight of such important cities as Shanghai, Nanking, Madrid, and Barcelona tells an eloquent tale of the horrors of aerial bombardment, whose black picture has not been over-painted by writers like H. G. Wells in their prophetic romances. To the horrors of bombs will be added the plague of epidemic disease when food and water supplies are deliberately or otherwise contaminated.

The general air-arm is divided into broad categories *viz.*, the bombers and the fighters. Of course, there are special types of machines for scouting and aerial photography, transports of troops and for throwing smoke-screens. The bombers are intended for attack and the fighters for protection and defence. The former are large-size machines skilfully camouflaged, comparatively silent and capable of rising to great altitudes with heavy load and with a large flying radius. The art of aerial bombardment has achieved remarkable progress. The machines are able to climb up, fully loaded, to a height of nearly 25,000 feet, and drop their deadly missiles with a fair degree of accuracy on the targets below. A small boat like *The Panay* was directly hit at Nanking in a few minutes while steaming at some speed. Anti-aircraft devices are, alas, of uncertain utility; the ironic association of the *Archies* with them is unhappily true. For one thing, the fire is so dispersed that it is not effective; besides, the strongest gun so far made is not able to meet its mark beyond a height of 12,000 ft. (although the British claim for their 3.7's a range much higher than this figure). Since bombers usually keep above this altitude, the guns rarely do more than scare them off from short-range attack. The few bombers which have been shot down by anti-aircraft guns appear to have been surprised when flying low or while diving for a hit against a comparatively difficult target. It is also possible that they might have lost height owing to mechanical failure and then run into a withering fire.

The principal weapons against the bombers

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are the fighters. The latter are comparatively small machines, usually manned by two (a pilot and a fireman) and capable of very high speed and effective gunnery. The latest models are said to travel at nearly five miles per minute. These monoplanes are supplied with powerful machine guns which spit fire fore and aft at a terrific velocity. The chaser planes are built not only to stand severe aeronautical strain but to be able to manoeuvre with ease and rise rapidly into the air in a few seconds. Their cruising range is limited and they cannot carry much load but they are essentially built for swiftness of attack. It has to be remembered that bombing planes are never sent out without an escort of fighting planes to ward off attack. The strength of the air escort varies with the anticipated opposition. Where the defenders are known to have no air equipment, no escorting will of course be necessary as for example in the bombing of the villages in the Indian frontiers, in the French Morocco, and in Palestine. The fighters are also employed in ground engagements as a supplementary means of attack when countering a comparatively ill-equipped foe. In Palestine and in China, it has been reported that enemy infantry were frequently machine-gunned from the air; and in the latter stages of the Great War, the German means of communication were seriously jeopardised by air raids.

The use of air-power has nowhere exploded the old theories of warfare as in naval strategy. Hitherto, nations measured their strength on water in terms of the weight of their flotilla and the range and the size of their guns. Although Great Britain has had to climb down from the ambitious pedestal of "a two-power standard" in naval equipment, yet till the twenties she was considered to be invulnerable at sea. The rapid improvements in aerial science have caused great misgivings to the protagonists of big ships. For one thing, the last war proved inconclusive as regards the utility of capital ships. The battle of Jutland was an anti-climax to the vaunted potency of Britain's senior service. The advent of the air-fleet arm caused such a furore in naval circles that committees were appointed to decide the future of dreadnaughts. The outcome was naturally inconclusive but it was recognized that the battleship, though essential was not unassailable by air-craft. Over-deck protection consequently became a matter of vital concern. The tendency is at present to armour heavily the vital parts of the ship exposed from the air. In addition, all the heavy vessels carry naval planes either in their own bodies or auxiliary carriers, to ward off bombers. It is doubtful however whether the big battleship is now sufficiently impervious to aerial attack. The big ships offer such large targets that to hit them is not difficult. In the Spanish war, evidence of this superiority of the air-arm was forthcoming in the attack on the German pocket battleship *Deutschland*, which was subjected to fire unexpectedly by two Red bombers and heavily damaged in spite of vigilant anti-aircraft action. The Nationalist warship *Espana* is claimed to have been sunk by Republican aeroplanes in a similar fashion. It can be taken as established fact that the superiority of the battleship no longer remains uncontested. Even if efficient anti-aircraft guns be carried, these cannot be effective against bombers which, regardless of their own destructive power, dive on to the deck of a ship with terrific speed and impact.

If this be the situation with armoured dreadnaughts, the case is much more serious as regards merchantmen. They are absolutely at the mercy of hostile action from the air, as the destruction of many trading vessels in the Spanish war has proved. In a future war, the countries dependent on sea-borne supplies of foodstuffs and munitions will be set at serious disadvantage as their mercantile arrangements are certain to be paralysed by indiscriminate air attacks. *England especially is faced with a crucial problem.* In the last Great War, she was still ruling the waves in most of the world, as Austria had no navy worth the name and the German grand fleet was bottled up in the Kiel Canal. She was therefore able to extensively import war materials and provisions, and to transport troops from the Dominions, India, and from America, till the German "U" boat organization was perfected. In the latter years of the struggle submarine inroads played such havoc with British supplies that the Allied position became critical in 1917 and there was talk of a separate peace. Only the entry of U. S. A. with her immense shipping resources into the war and the development of the anti-submarine contrivances (*e.g.* the famous "Q" boats) saved the situation.

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THE ANDHRA PROVINCE AGITATION

By C. NARAYANA MURTHY, B.A., B.L.

HE advantage of linguistic division of India is n accepted doctrine. The Congress Working ommittee silenced the agitation in the Andhra esa by its resolution. The Andhra Maha abha at its twentieth session held under the residency of Sir S. Radhakrishnan on the h and 9th of October has passed some resolu- ons and has given a new orientation to the an of action to be pursued in future. It is nvenient to examine some of those resolutions a later stage of the present article and we all proceed to study the problem before Sir adhakrishnan took the lead.

Dr. Pattabhisitaramiya, a member of e All-India Working Committee and resident of the Andhra Provincial Congress ommittee, besides some others, presented the se for the immediate formation of the rovince on 24th July, 1938. Sree Rajagopala- hari in his tour of the Andhra area encounte- d ugly demonstrations at Guntur on 16th ly. Dr. Pattabhi, though he was in asulipatam on the 22nd of July and addressed public meeting, thought fit to condemn the monstration made on 1st August, '38, in his okhale Hall speech at Madras in the follow- g words: all Andhras should hang their heads shame. In that self-same speech he fended the mighty results achieved by the eputation and the concrete effects of the ndhra agitation. He said that though he d see the superfluity of the Deputation after e speeches of the Premier delivered in the urse of the Andhra tour he did not advise to t it off and yet defends it though the Con- ess was committed to linguistic distribution Provinces long ago. We may guess the ason with correctness. Mob-emotion was at whiteheat. The Beelzebub he had raised uld not be called back. If he did not dance the tunes of his own creation he might be garded as unfaithful to his own people. In- vidual conviction was therefore sacrificed. he Deputation went and therefore it had to defended. That the Congress resolution was more than a command to shut up has been phasised by Sir M. Venkatasubba Rao in his eech at the Andhra Conference as the Chair- an of the reception committee:

"The Working Committee gave the assurance that the Congress supported the action of the legislatures of Madras and Bombay. But was that assurance necessary? The principle of linguistic provinces has long been accepted and acted upon by the Congress. Indeed an Andhra Province was for Congress purposes a territorial unit. Thus the important part of the resolution was that which called upon the people to desist from further agitation which might divert the attention from the main issue. I take it that the issue here meant is that of independence."

Therefore the Andhra Provincial Congress Working Committee had to pass a resolution to save its face: "appreciating the sympathy" of the Madras Government at its meeting on 12th August, 1938.

With the session of the Andhra Maha Sabha on 8th October a new orientation has been given to the Andhra agitation. What was yesterday floundering in the gutter is today elevated to the Empyrean. What was yesterday a street-brawl is today a cultural and political agitation of the noblest magnitude. The Philosopher-Patriot has done what Dr. Pattabhi with his masterly mind which wanted to be all things to all people and be the same to himself all along did not do. Dr. Radhakrishnan's Presidential address is a fine piece of restrained criticism. See these:

"We cannot improve the country faster than we can improve ourselves. Our leaders and managers of public opinion have a great responsibility. They must not contract men's outlook, confirm their prejudices or inflame their passions. . . Our leaders have been influential in the Madras Government from the year 1920 down to the interim Ministry of 1937, except for a short interval. They were and are patriotic Andhras and for some reason, which I am not able to understand, they demanded a Province when out of Power and took no steps to accomplish the idea when in power . . . I can understand the mood of disillusion and chagrin in which the Prime Minister found the Andhra districts during his recent tour. I cannot, however, refrain from entering my strong protest against the disrespectful demonstrations that were directed against him. No situation, however charged with political acrimony, can justify a lapse from good manners. From the civilized we at least expect civility."

The important resolutions are those dealing with the Sree Bagh Pact and that making Madras as the Capital for the future Andhra Province. Of the eleven Districts (Andhra) there are five which go by the composite name

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of Rayalaseema. They are Cuddapah, Kurnool, Anantapur, Bellary and Chittor. They are economically backward, equal in area almost, with extensive sparsely populated areas which can easily absorb the overpopulated Circar Andhras, and with large mineral resources. These two contiguous parts of Andhra Desa have some substantial differences, most of them accentuated after the formation of the Andhra University. The Circars because of their economically superior position have been trying to exploit their brothers of the Rayalaseema. Even this time in the Andhra University elections not a single member was elected from among the candidates of Rayalaseema. There are very many other differences which show that there is no genuine feeling of brotherliness but an eyewash thereof and that is the Sree Bagh Pact.

The Sree Bagh Pact was signed by some self-styled representatives of Rayalaseema and the Circars. It grants some economic advantages, political representation on District basis instead of population basis, fixes either the Capital or the High Court in Rayalaseema, the choice being given to Rayalaseema. According to this "Representative Pact" it is hoped there will be no disadvantage to any. It comes into force after the formation of the Andhra Province. It is now recognised that there is a strong opposition about the representative character of the Pact. By the Maha Sabha's recent resolution fixing Madras as the Capital the Pact is impliedly overruled in part even without the intangible advantages that should take place at a remote date. As Mr. R. Suryanarayan Rao of the Servants of India Society said that the Pact requires revision as it is illusory. Further he says that, that with the growing needs of the Madras Province for ameliorating the distressed conditions of Rayalaseema with the revenues from excise sources cut off, our idea of the formation of a new Province should make us seriously think. Unfortunately, Mr. Lathe stated that the Canarese-speaking districts of Madras and Bombay will not be self-supporting financially. The Tungabhadra project is partly in Canarese area and an immediate division will have to be postponed for financial reasons. So the financial position should completely be examined before the decision is taken.

At this point we may discuss the point of contact between Federation and Linguistic Provinces. As Prof. M. Venkatarangaiah of the Andhra University has suggested, all the Canarese areas contiguous may be given to Mysore, the Telegu area to Hyderabad, the Malayalam areas to Travancore if we should have ideal Linguistic Provinces in the Madras Presidency. This can only materialise with an absolutely powerful democratic Federation. That is the sort of Karnatak Province advocated in *The Modern Review* for July 1938 by Mr. V. B. Kulkarni. It is just that type of Province that is visualised by the present writer and all agitation therefore for separate Provinces should at present cease and the Congress not embarrassed. All administrative steps may be taken to this end and the census figures of 1931 be taken as the basis of computation in view of the controversy that will arise in Bi-Lingual areas. It is this lead that was given by Sir S. Radhakrishnan. The sooner it can be formed the better, says the Maha Sabha resolution. Meanwhile let differences be bridged by advocating concrete measures of substantial advantage.

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INDUSTRIALISATION OF INDIA

By NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

HATEVER may be the limitations of Provincial tonomy, it must be admitted that its inaugution has brought about a genuine enthusiasm the country for new endeavours in diverse rections. This is natural, for self-government ways generates an ever-increasing sense of lf-improvement and uplift. The history of ore than a year's regime in the provinces is deed a fair record of earnest endeavours on e part of the provincial governments for ttering the conditions of the masses and for fecting other ameliorative measures. There e, of course, limitations both financial and nstitutional, but the way in which the proncial governments are trying to grapple the any problems of India's social and economic e is indeed encouraging. The conference of dustries Ministers of seven Congress Provinces hich concluded its session at New Delhi only cently is an instance in point indicating the rnestness with which the provincial governents are facing their tasks.

The proceedings of the Conference as well the resolutions passed demonstrate an gerness for the progressive and rapid dustrialization of the country. But this very gerness, which we can easily understand and preciate, has perhaps somewhat clouded the nse of economic realism of the members. In r enthusiasm to achieve rapidly, we must t lose sight of what is best worth achieving of the best and most practical way of hieving it. The resolutions adopted by the nference provide only the outlines of a mprehensive scheme of economic planning. t a strict analysis would reveal a number gaps in the approach work—gaps which uld seriously prejudice the chances of hieving an outstanding success by pursuing ch a scheme. Before a consideration of these ficulties can be undertaken a short resume of resolutions may here be given:

(1) A planning committee will shortly be appointed undertake the preliminary work of giving effect to decisions (*a*) that a comprehensive scheme of onal planning should be formulated which will vide for the development of heavy key industries, dium scale industries and cottage industries keeping view India's requirements, resources and the peculiar ditions prevailing in the country and (*b*) that pending submission and consideration of a comprehensive industrial plan for the whole of India, steps should be taken to start the following large scale industries of national importance on all-India basis and the efforts of all provinces and Indian States should as far as possible be co-ordinated to that end: (*i*) manufacture of machinery and plant and tools of all kinds, (*ii*) manufacture of automobiles, motor boats, etc., and their accessories and other industries connected with transport and communication, (*iii*) manufacture of electrical plants and accessories, (*iv*) manufacture of heavy chemicals and fertilisers and (*v*) metal production and industries connected with power generation and power supply.

(2) An all-India planning commission will be appointed which will submit interim reports on each industry detailing therein their recommendations on the following points: (*i*) place or places where particular industry should be established with due regard to all relevant circumstances, such as the supply of raw materials, natural and local advantages (*ii*) method of organization of industry; whether it should be under complete state control or under private enterprise and in the latter case, the mode of state aid and (*iii*) method of financing the industry and its management.

(3) Industrial and power alcohol should be manufactured in India.

(4) All the provincial governments and Indian States should co-operate with and assist one another in matters of marketing, industrial research, compilation and distribution of commercial and industrial intelligence, expert advice and technical and vocational education.

(5) The project of manufacturing automobiles in India should be examined by the planning committee in all details.

Separately considered nothing much can be said against any of these resolutions. They focus attention on different spots in the economic field and emphasise the need for improvement or reform in regard to many of our outstanding deficiencies. But considered as component and logical parts of a comprehensive programme of economic planning for India the resolutions are open to comment. In the first place, the question suggests itself: whether the scheme of economic planning which the planning committee and the planning commission are expected to produce will cover only the industrial development of the country or whether it will embrace all the aspects of India's economy. From the proceedings of the Conference and particularly from the first resolution,* it appears that the economic

* "This Conference of the Ministers of Industries is of opinion that the problems of poverty and unemployment, of national defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialization. As a step towards such industrializa-

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planning will concern itself only with the industrial development of the country. Obviously exclusive emphasis has been laid on industrialization as a panacea for all the economic ills of the country. One should remember that the factors of India's economic prosperity are many among which industrial development is only one, albeit an important one. But that does not probably justify the formulation of a programme which covers only a part of the entire economy of the country. Agriculture as yet is the largest industry of the land absorbing nearly 70 per cent of the population. If this is not planned according to the requirements of the country or side by side with the development of other factors of national economy the results achieved are likely to be halting and lop-sided. The economic planning as envisaged in the resolutions of the Conference is thus more or less piecemeal and being piecemeal it falls short of planning in the truest sense of the term. An all-India planning commission should embrace every aspect of national economy. The problem is essentially that of effecting an all round improvement. A special pleading for industry to the neglect of agriculture or a sentimental clinging to agriculture to the neglect of industry are errors which economic analysis is prone to commit in this country and from the former error the deliberations of the Industries Ministers' Conference is not entirely free. The Bombay Committee recently formed has perhaps a clearer perception of this question than the proposed Planning Commission are likely to have if they adhere strictly to the resolutions passed by the recent conference. In this connection some observations made by the Hon'ble Mr. N. R. Sarker, Finance Minister to the Government of Bengal, in his address at the Ganesh Festival at Gwalior some time ago, are very pertinent. He said:

"India's policy of industrialization should be determined on the basis of the requirements of her own economic order. In certain details, India may initiate and adopt with profit the industrial methods and technique of other countries. But the main objective of our policy should be a broad-based and remunerative agriculture, succoured by flourishing cottage industries and further sustained by the development of larger industries."

tion, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. This scheme should provide for the development of heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries, keeping in view our national requirements, the resources of the country as also the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country. The scheme should provide for the establishment of new industries of all classes and also for the development of the existing ones."

It must not be supposed that this is an attempt at belittling the utiliy or necessity of sectional enquiry such as has been envisaged in many of the resolutions of the Industries Ministers' Conference. On the other hand, one must concede that the most essential prerequisite to successful economic planning is a careful scrutiny of every aspect of our economic life. But the planning itself is a gradual and progressive process which while abjuring the policy of drift should not seek drastic and piecemeal changes in the internal economy.

In the second place, economic planning to be successful must be in harmony with the tenor of a country's political and economic traditions and with its genius. In evolving an economic plan it is idle to look for absolute excellence. We must correlate our plans to the conditions and circumstances in our own country and not seek to graft on an unreceptive soil an alien ideology simply because it has thrived in another country. We often look wistfully to Soviet Russia as a model of successful and rapid economic regeneration through wholesale industrialization and we are so much awed by this economic regimentation that we often view only the phenomenon and not the political and economic background against which it appears. The President of the Congress in opening the Conference observed that no industrial advancment was possible until we passed through the throes of an industrial revolution. If industrial revolution is an evil, it is a necessary evil. We can only try our best to mitigate the ills that attended its advent in other countries. Furthermore, we have to determine whether this revolution will be a comparatively gradual one as in Great Britain or a forced march as in Soviet Russia. Observed the President:

"I am afraid that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

But while one can readily understand one's zeal in the matter of the economic reformation of this country we must not mistake zeal for wisdom or allow wish to father our thoughts on such economic regeneration. A forced march towards an industrial revolution sounds well and is likely to appeal to our sense of honour and disturb our inferiority complex. But who is to force this march—the State or the people? The President looks for State initiative in this matter. But to successfully bring about an industrial revoluton the State, like Soviet Russia, has to be a Socialistic State

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which India yet is not. There remains private enterprise. But it has to be seriously considered, whether to expect a successful industrial evolution in India, with her traditional dependence on agriculture, her slow political evolution and her conservative traditions, through private enterprise, is within the bounds of economic realism. The industrialization of a country should be strictly correlated to its economic conditions, its resources and its political organisation. This consideration necessitated the industrial evolution being slow and gradual in England and in India it must needs be more so. To force the pace of the industrial evolution in a country which is hardly ready for the stress it must involve or to attempt to break away too suddenly from the past is not always a wise policy. If there is too wide a gap between one step and the next in the process of our industrial evolution it is not likely that our achievements will either be lasting or real. In this connection Mr. N. R. Sarker made some interesting observations in the speech already referred to which may bear elaborate quotation:

"It is my firm belief that the future can only be built on the foundation of the past and that any slavish adoption of methods or theories which have succeeded in other countries or avoidance of what seems to us the defects in their systems can hardly guarantee the best of results. It is generally a mistake to graft a new system on an existing and perhaps a completely different one. We can no doubt gradually evolve a system that will be beneficial to us. But we cannot borrow a ready-made system from other nations whose very genius differs from our own and pronounce it as the best possible and impose it on ourselves.

"It is best to recognise the necessity for continuity and for not breaking away too suddenly with the past. Nothing in our national life is so thoroughly bad that some means cannot be found of using it for a further advance and thus avoiding the dangerous interregnum between total demolition and the completion of reconstruction. Finally, it is best to rely on reality, to take the world as we find it today and not as we think it ought to be, not as we hope it will be in time to come, believing that only thus is it possible for each succeeding generation to leave it, in fact, a little better. It is an obstinate blindness to reality and a pathetic faith that it is possible to make human nature approximate to their ideal simply by wishing, and thus to dispense with the slow and painful process of evolution, which waste the noble enthusiasm and generous sympathy of so many of our more zealous reformers today. It is thus my firm belief that in evolving a new scheme of industrialization every phase and aspect of our industrial life must be taken into consideration. Cottage industries, middle-sized industries, large scale industries must all find a place in such a scheme for they have each an important bearing on our economic life."

There is, in the resolutions passed at the Industries Ministers' Conference, the stipulation that the Planning Committee will ascertain what industries should be under the complete control of the State and what industries under private initiative and control. It is thus recognised that there may be a duality of control over the whole field of economic reform. It would therefore be necessary to co-ordinate these divergent authorities, for unless we are clear as to what authority will execute the plans we may evolve, our programme will not lead us very far.

Then there is another important difficulty. In order to give effect to a planned programme which the provinces may formulate it will be necessary to induce the Central Government to participate in such a programme. The States also should co-operate if any economic planning on an all-India basis is to be essayed.

In a normal course of things, the Central Government should have taken the initiative in organizing the Conference the provincial Ministers have convened and in appointing the planning commission for formulating a comprehensive programme of economic planning, but things being what they are, the initiative has been taken by other authorities which clearly points out that there may be difficulty in ensuring the sort of co-operation between the provinces, the Central Government, and the States as would be necessary to execute the plan.

It should be recognised that there are many spheres such as trade, banking, fiscal policy, railways, etc., in which the provincial authority is not competent enough to exercise full influence with the result that unless the Central Government render co-operation and assistance at every stage, no substantial results will be achieved.

The object in enumerating these difficulties is not to disparage the efforts at economic planning but merely to show that very great circumspection and care is necessary in evolving a planned programme for the whole of India. It may also be a little premature to set to the task. The Central Government is now on the point of transition and the provincial governments also have not as yet settled down and succeeded in evolving a system of inter-provincial co-operation and collaboration in all matters of economic and social importance. Just at this moment, it is doubtful whether the planning committee or the planning commission will be able to address themselves to the task of formulating an economic plan with that measure of harmony and determination which is essential for success. And even if a scheme is formulated it will lack the necessary

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atmosphere and conditions under which it may be launched with any surety of success.

While, therefore, the creation of planning committees and commissions is always desirable for studying the existing conditions and evolving an economic programme for the country, it is open to question whether the conditions necessary for essaying a comprehensive plan have yet come into existence. The provinces will, for the present, carry on their individual programmes of economic development, endeavouring all the while to secure the co-operation of other provinces and where necessary of the States and the Centre. Only when such development is well under way and the prospect of co-ordinated effort over the whole field of our economic life can be envisaged, would it be worth while and profitable to attempt the larger task of planning the economic reorganisation of the whole of India.

LEGISLATIVE PRIVILEGES UNDER THE NEW INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By FAZLUR RAHMAN, M. A., B. L.
Member, Bengal Legislative Assembly

The Law of Privileges is a part of the Constitutional Law of a country. The proper functioning of a Legislature depends to a very great extent on the privileges it enjoys. Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, which secures to a Provincial Legislature some important privileges and also empowers it to define its privileges in other respects, is thus of great importance. Every Provincial Legislature will soon formulate its privileges by its own Act and it is necessary that the proper scope of the Section should be clearly understood before any such legislation is undertaken. There appears to be some misconception about the scope of the Section; and to remove such misconception I have attempted an interpretation of the Section. A discussion of the subject by constitutional lawyers would perhaps have been of great advantage to the legislatures in India.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 of the Government of India Act, 1935, has conferred on every Provincial Legislature the privilege of "freedom of speech." The right interpretation of this Sub-Section requires a correct appreciation of the privilege as it obtains in England. Mr. Joseph Redlich in his book—*The Procedure of the House of Commons*, Vol. III, pp. 48-49, has ably explained this subject in the following manner:

"By Section 9 of the Bill of Rights it was declared 'that the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any Court or place out of Parliament.'

"The statement in the Bill of Rights shows the limits within which the principle is to be applied; the claim made is not for absolute freedom of speech; speech is only to be independent of every authority except the private jurisdiction of Parliament over its own members. The power of Parliament to judge the acts and speeches of its members is the starting point, a condition precedent for its complete and absolute liberation from the control of any exterior authority. We can, of course, conceive a Parliament which disclaimed such an autonomous Jurisdiction, and refused to call its members to account for transgressing the bounds of usage and tradition; and again a Parliament might declare in advance that it did not insist on any standards of speech among its members and would exercise no control over them; in such cases we should be without the historic premises from which the privilege was deduced in England. The struggle there for freedom of speech was waged to emancipate the action of Parliament from all influence of Crown, courts of law and Government; it was never a fight for an absolute right to unbridled oratory, for freedom to each member to say exactly what he pleased. From the earliest days there was always strict domestic discipline in the House and strict rules as to speaking were always enforced. The House could point to its autonomous regulation of the conduct and speech of its members, and to its enforcement of its rules; its power of so doing enabled it to claim and to win for its members the right of exemption for all responsibility at common law for what they said in its debates. . . .

"We have therefore found not merely that definite rules of debate are compatible with freedom of speech; we have been led to the conclusion that they are an absolute necessity if the words of the members are to be protected from question by any other Court or authority. Freedom of speech and self-imposed rules of debate are linked conditions for the existence of true parliamentary action.

"A further consequence is the necessity for special legal provisions to secure obedience to the rule thus laid down for speech and debate. Without such sanction we

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uld still lack the proper foundation for the privilege freedom from external restraint."

Three propositions emerge from the above uotation: (1) that Parliment has private urisdiction over its own members in regulating peeches and debates; (2) that there should be gal provisions for securing obedience to the les laid down for speeches and debates; and 3) that its members should have the right of emption from all responsibility at law for hat they may say in its debates. These ropositions have practically been embodied in ub-Section 1 of Section 71 and in Sub-Section of Section 84 of the Government of India Act, 935.

Sub-Section 1 of Section 71, excepting the ortion relating to the publication of the report nd proceedings of a legislature, may be divided to three parts: firstly, the qualifying clause, z., "subject to the provisions of this Act* nd to rules and standing orders regulating the rocedure of the legislature;" secondly, "there hall be freedom of speech in every Provincial egislature;" and thirdly, "no member of the egislature shall be liable to any proceedings any Court in respect of anything said or ny vote given by him in the Legislature or ny committee thereof." The qualifying clause, hat is, the first part of the Sub-Section, controls he second part and not the third part of the ub-Section. This clause gives the Legislature urisdiction over its members to regulate their peeches. The first and second parts together ecure freedom of speech to each member of he Legislature but subject him to the jurisdiction of the House, that is, to its rules of rocedure. Sub-Section 1 of Section 84 of the ct gives legality to the rules of procedure ade by each chamber of the Legislature so s to secure to them the obedience of its embers. The third part of Sub-Section 1 of ection 71 secures to each member of the egislature immunity from all liability at law respect of anything said or any vote given y him in the Legislature or any Committee hereof.

The above interpretation of Sub-Section 1 of ection 71 is the only one which is consistent ith the privilege of freedom of speech, as it tains in the British House of Commons. nder this interpretation of law, a member will bject himself to the disciplinary jurisdiction the Legislature if he says within it anything violation of its rules and standing orders, t shall be completely immune from all liability at law for such statements, and his speech, though not within the restrictive provisions of the rules and standing orders, cannot be questioned or impeached in any court of law. A reference to Section 67(7) of the Government of India Act which has recently been repealed, also confirms this view.

The other interpretation that the qualifying clause in Sub-Section 1 of Section 71 controls the entire Sub-Section, that the privilege of freedom of speech is not available to a member when he exceeds the bounds of the rules and standing orders, that for every speech that he delivers he is liable to be brought before the Court of Law where he has to justify the speech, and that neither the Speaker nor the Legislature can give him any protection, makes the privilege of "freedom of speech" absolutely meaningless and illusory. This position being completely inconsistent with the scheme of Provincial Autonomy could never have been intended by the Government of India Act, 1935. Moreover, the construction of the Sub-Section does not bear this interpretation.

But to prevent the mischief from any misinterpretation of the Sub-Section, a provision may be made in a Provincial Act, defining privileges, to the following effect:

> "Notwithstanding anything contained in any law, no member of the Provincial Legislature shall be liable to any proceedings in any Court of Law for anything said or any vote given by him in the said Legislature."

This provision is within the competence of the Provincial Legislature, inasmuch as the Legislature has full power of legislating on criminal law including all matters included in the Indian Penal Code at the date of the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935, and also of making laws on criminal procedure including all matters included in the code of Criminal Procedure at the date of the passing of the Act. Moreover, it has full power of dealing with the laws of evidence and of judicial proceedings, of declaring what constitute actionable wrongs and of legislating on questions of the jurisdiction and powers of Courts (*Vide* items numbered in 1, 2, 5, 14 and 15 concurrent Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935). The fact that the powers of the Legislature in the matter of legislation on criminal law and on actionable wrongs have been limited by the exclusion of the offences in respect to matters of privileges, does in no way affect the competency of the Provincial Legislature to make a provision of law like the one proposed above, inasmuch as the said pro-

* The Government of India Act, 1935.

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vision does not mean any declaration of any offence regarding privilege but means an exclusion of certain actions from the field of criminal offences and actionable wrongs.

Sub-Section (2) of Section 71 of the Act has empowered a Provincial Legislature to define its own privileges by an Act. Section 100 read with items numbered 12 and 37 in the Provincial Legislative List of the Seventh Schedule appended to the Government of India Act, 1935, has given powers to the Provincial Legislature to protect its own privileges by declaring any breach of the privilege to be an offence.

These latter powers of the Provincial Legislature have not in any way been limited by Sub-Section 4 of Section 71. It cannot reasonably be maintained that this Sub-Section by providing punishment for one kind of breach of privileges, has by implication abrogated the express provisions of law, empowering the Legislature to declare as offences other kinds of breaches of privileges. The only limitation that has been imposed on the powers of the Provincial Legislature in the matter of protecting its privileges is by Sub-Section 3 of Section 71 which disables the Provincial Legislature from assuming the status of a Court or from vesting it with any punitive or disciplinary powers, other than the power of removing or excluding persons infringing the rules or standing orders, or otherwise behaving in a disorderly manner. A Provincial Legislature, though it cannot confer on itself the status of a court to try and punish as offences the breaches of its privileges, can however declare them as offences and empower the courts of law to try these offences and provide punishment for them (Read Section 100 with items numbered 1 and 2 in the Provincial Legislative List and item numbered 15 in the concurrent Legislative List).

Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday Celebration in U. S. A.

"For many more years to come may the shining example of the precious life of Mahatma Gandhi continue to enlighten humanity and guide man's erring steps by showing the non-violent way to World Peace and Happiness."

The above resolution was unanimously and enthusiastically adopted in a public meeting at 3-30 p.m. on October 2, 1938, assembled to celebrate the Birthday of Mahatma Gandhi at the Ball-room of the Hotel New Yorker, New York, under the joint auspices of the All-World Gandhi Fellowship and the World Fellowship of Faiths. On the previous day in the afternoon, a similar celebration was held under the same auspices at the Fritz-Carlton Hotel, Boston, Massachusets. Principal speakers in these meetings were Mr. Richard B. Gregg, Rev. George Paine, Rev. C. A. Butterfield, Mr. Yusuf Meherally, Dr. Mahanam Brata Brahmachari, Rev. Gladys Grier and Mr. Kedernath Das Gupta. The subject of discussion was "Gandhi's Way to Peace."

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THE POPULATION PROBLEM

By Prof. A. CORREIA FERNANDES, M.A.

The population problem has always engaged the attention of some of the master-minds of the world from the earliest times. In the works of Aristotle and Plato we find considerable attention devoted to the discussion of the problem of happiness in its relation to numbers. In fact, what is in our days called the population problem is suggested by Aristotle in connection with his polity and by Plato in his *Laws* and *Republic*.

But the population problem in its more objective, historical and scientific aspects began to engage the attention first of Europe and then of the world since Malthus wrote his famous essays on the population problem. With him begins the first comprehensive and pseudo-scientific attempt to envisage the problem of human numbers in their various aspects and to detect and formulate laws regarding growth of population and its relation to prosperity and welfare. Since his days the population problem has been a perennial source of controversies, polemics, disputes, conferences and learned treatises.

It may interest the reader to know that the Bible stands first in the amount of commentaries it has given rise to and in the volume of apologetic, explanatory, inspiratory and critical literature that has grown round the *Holy Writ*.

The next book which has produced the largest amount of literature, apologetic as well as denunciatory and critical, is Karl Marx's *Kapital*. Shakespeare comes next, soon followed by the population problem, if in the literature on the subject, we include the innumerable and voluminous decennial censuses undertaken by all the civilised nations of the world.

In India the population problem has gained importance in comparatively recent times. About even ten years ago very few people devoted their attention to it. To-day Indian economists and demographists, provincial governments, welfare organisations, special conferences are all devoting close and concentrated attention to the problem of population. A definite movement seems to be growing in the country towards the adoption of what is called a population policy through a widespread use of the technique of birth-control. Neo-Malthusian leagues have been started and a number of provincial parliaments have been confronted by their members with resolutions on this problem.

It is, therefore, worthwhile to understand exactly what is meant by the population problem, to determine its real nature and to discuss such measures as may be necessary to deal with it, measures not repugnant to moral principles and also to the deep spiritual nature of Indian society and to its social customs and religious traditions.

The population problem has as many aspects as the colours of the rainbow, and whenever only one of these aspects is repeated, emphasised and over-emphasised the country gets a wrong perspective of the real population problem. The qualitative aspect is as important as the quantitative. The problems of health, sanitation, low expectation of life, malnutrition, unscientific diet are so many important aspects of our population problem which are as important as birthrate and death-rate, national dividend, the growth of food-stuffs and of industries. Generally, it has become now the practice to identify the population problem of India with the rate of its increase alone, giving a subsidiary place to the qualitative aspects of the problem.

India is a vast country as large as the whole of Europe excluding Russia. But it is only one-half of the total area of the United States with a population three times as large. The growth of population of India within the last four hundred years has been as follows:

Year	Population in Millions	Rate per cent of actual increase in successive inter-censal periods
1600	100	—
1750	130	—
1850	150	—
1872	206	—
1881	254	1.5
1891	287	9.6
1901	294	1.4
1911	315	6.4
1921	319	1.2
1931	353	10.6

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The same growth can be expressed in another way, particularly from the year 1872 when India had its first organised census.

Period	Increase in Millions
1872-1881	48.0
1881-1891	33.5
1891-1901	7.0
1901-1911	20.5
1911-1921	3.8
1921-1931	34.0

In 1935 the population of India must have stood approximately at about 377 millions assuming that the rate of increase of this population has been the same as that revealed in the last census, namely, about one per cent. per annum.

Thus we see that from 1600 to 1935 the population has increased from 100 to 377 millions. When Malthus was writing his thought-provoking lament on the law of population and the positive and negative checks which control it, the population of England was only 10 millions. Since then, the population has increased almost according to the Malthusian law, that is, has practically doubled itself every 25 years and has thus confirmed, so far as England is concerned, the Malthusian law of population. It is now about 4½ times as large as the population of England during the days of Malthus. And yet, whereas Malthus with a population in his country of only 10 millions was profoundly distrustful of the future of his country, and also of the rest of the world, on account of the threatened saturation with which he thought the world would soon be confronted, the British public today, and particularly its economists and statisticians, are alarmed not at the over-population of England, but at its threatened under-population in the coming decades. Already before the war the population of England was not increasing as fast as during the Victorian period. After the war there has been a remarkable increase in the expectation of life which has given to England a fictitious and an illusory growth of population. But the net increase of population has been negative, particularly in recent years. And as the process of elimination through old age continues the stage of depopulation which already has begun in England tends to be more and more pronounced as years roll by.

Turning to India, it is interesting to speculate on what would be our population if the Malthusian law had been in operation in India. Assuming that the population was in 1600, as Moreland states, about 100 millions during the days of Akbar, today the total population of India should have been 6400 millions, taking a period of 50 years for the doubling of the population. Even if all the positive checks of Malthus had been in full force, the population of India under worst conditions of the Malthusian law should have been at least 2000 millions which is more than the total world's population today. It is only enough to mention this calculation to show how absurd is the Malthusian law of growth of population when applied to large and ancient countries like India. The contrast between India's and England's growth of population is, indeed, very remarkable. Within a single century the population of England has followed the Malthusian rhythm and tempo of increase. But in India a period of nearly 4½ centuries had to elapse before India could have had a growth of population which is only 3½ times its total population over four centuries back. This shows that the laws controlling the growth of population are not fixed, determinate and are not even determinable. They show the absurdity of the logistic formula.

The growth of population depends on a multitude of factors when it is not controlled by artificial, neo-Malthusian methods. Those, therefore, that calculate India's growth of population even at the rate of ten per cent. revealed in the last census have to be cautioned against this optimism or pessimism, as the case may be, about the future of India's population. The growth of eight per cent. was considered by many as a normal and natural growth. But this rate does not find confirmation in all countries or at all periods. Each country seems to have its own rate.

Let us now examine some other features of India's demography. The birthrate in India is fairly high though there are several other countries in the world which have a distinctly higher birthrate.

Country	Birthrate per mille	Deathrate per mille	Natural increase per mille
British India	35	24	11
England and Wales	15	12	3
Federated Malay States	36	20	16
Palestine	45	19	26
Japan	32	17	15
Egypt	42	27	15

India Years	Annual number of births	Birth rate per mille	Annual number of deaths	Death rate per mille
1871-1880	Not available	—	3,540,202	20
1881-1890	4,565,687	24	5,058,578	26
1891-1900	7,174,694	34	6,662,417	31

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India Years	Annual number of births	Birth rate per mille	Annual number of deaths	Death rate per mille
1901-1910 ..	8,591,136	38	7,657,513	34
1911-1920 ..	8,810,018	37	8,142,364	34
1921-1930 ..	8,345,364	35	6,347,063	26
1931 ..	9,135,890	35	6,615,099	25
1932 ..	9,054,506	34	5,805,666	22
1933 ..	9,678,876	36	6,096,787	22
1934 ..	9,288,897	34	6,856,244	25
1935 ..	9,698,794	35	6,578,711	24

From these tables it is clear that India has what many economists consider more or less a high birthrate. It is about 35 per 1000 as against the birthrate in England and Wales of 15, and even less in France and some other countries of western Europe. On the other hand, Palestine and Egypt have a much higher birthrate.

As all are aware, the growth of population is determined by four factors: birthrates, deathrates, immigration and emigration. The last two factors are not playing any important part in India's population just now. The birthrate in India has been farily steady from the beginning of the present century. And if this rate is maintained it is clear that the population of India at the next census will be a little under 400 millions. It is possible that this figure may be increased due to the fact that the expectation of life in India has been showing in recent times, some progress. Already we have moved from about 24 years of average to about 26 years. And this progress in general health and longevity will naturally be reflected in the coming census. The total births in British India in 1935 were a little over 9½ millions. The crude birthrate in 1935 was about 35 per mille of the estimated population as against 33½ in 1934. There is a larger number of males born in India than females. But, contrary to what happens in Europe, the deathrate among women in India being much higher than among men, particularly during the reproductive ages of 15 to 40, there is a paucity of females in India, whereas there is in the west a paucity of males. I give below a table of females per 1000 males for different countries in different periods. The table is taken from Mr. P. K. Wattal's book *The Population Problem in India.*

Country	Females per 1,000 males (actual population)
England and Wales (1931) ..	1,087
France (1926) ..	1,083
Turkey (1927) ..	1,079
Germany (1925) ..	1,067
Italy (latest) ..	1,045
Holland (1930) ..	1,012
Egypt (1927) ..	1,009
Japan (1930) ..	990
United States of America (1930) ..	976
Australia (1921) ..	967
Canada (1921) ..	940

The death-rate in India is, as we have seen very high, and only Egypt can beat India's record in this direction. The death-rate in England and Wales is exactly one-half of the deathrate in India. Infant mortality occupies a very important place in our death-rate. The number of people that die in India every year is almost equal to the total population of Switzerland. The crude death-rate in 1935 was 23.6 per mille, a figure which is lower than that for 1934. Different provinces have different deathrates, but this rate among females for the age-period 15 to 40 is higher than among males. Thus in 1935, 5¾ lakhs of males died between the years 15 to 40 as against 6 1/3 lakhs of females. The total deaths of children under one year exceed a million and a half which reveals an appalling condition of health and maternity life in India. This problem demands an immediate attention.

The result of this heavy deathrate among females at the reproductive age is that we get at the age of nine, in spite of the higher mortality of boys, only 59,859 girls to 61,411 boys. Such a population tendency produces many undesirable consequences. It promotes traffic in girls, leads to great disparity of age between husband and wife, and in big cities like Bombay and Calcutta where the disproportion between males and females is terrible, it creates promiscuous sexual relations, diffuses venereal infection and gives rise to many other social evils.

Another qualitative problem connected with India's population is nutrition. As is now widely recognised nutrition plays a great and fundamental part in one's life. In fact, there is some truth in the saying "Man is what he eats," though the truth of this aphorism must not be carried too far. The world has only in recent years realised the great relationship between diet, health, intelligence, work and energy. One of the great contributions which the League of Nations has made to the world's progress is its investigation of the problems of nutrition. The problem, no doubt, is extensive and tremendously complicated. But it is one which deserves far more attention than has been given to it by the world in general and by India in particular. In India, only since the

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present Viceroy assumed the reins of office, interest in questions of nutrition has grown rapidly. The Indian Research Fund Association has done remarkable work in this direction and rich fruit is expected to be gathered in the near future after the present investigations that are in hand have been carried to a successful end.

In a recent note on *Nutrition Work in India* prepared by Dr. Ackroyd, the following views are expressed:

"Hitherto the view that malnutrition is prevalent in India has rested on *a priori* reasoning; on general knowledge of the conditions prevaling in the villages and the poorer quarters of towns and cities; on scattered observations regarding the existence of food deficiency diseases; on animal experiments; on the pronouncements of experts; rather than on exact data collected by systematic research. Research in India is, however, now being organized for the collection of these fundamental data, which will enable the whole problem to be defined and clarified, and vague general statements replaced by precise knowledge.

"Human nutrition research and public health nutrition work are impossible without knowledge of food values. There is at present no comprehensive table of food values available for general use in India. In 1935 a systematic survey of the nutritive value of Indian foodstuffs was begun in Coonoor, and has rapidly progressed."

Dietary surveys are being carried out by the Coonoor and Calcutta research units. And the preliminary results already show that the diet of the average villager is deficient not only from the point of view of quality, but also of quantity. But what is curious is that a greater degree of malnutrition and under-nutrition is found among the poor people of India in its towns and cities, whereas in Europe and in America urban nutrition is decidedly superior to the rural degree of nutrition. Blood examination in South India has also shown that the hæmoglobin contents of the blood in South India is on an average about 20% below European standards. This does not appear to be a physiological fact, but rather the result of a poor consumption of iron in the ordinary diet. Similarly, the basal metabolism of average Indians is lower than that of average Europeans. If the diet researches are given a practical turn and are utilised to organise a standard diet for the people of India in the different provinces, the result will be a rise in the quality of India's population and an improvement in its health. The problem of nutrition is indeed a very important problem and offers vast possibilities for India's physical regeneration.

The problem of the relation of food supply to population is a very intricate and enormously controversial one. There are diverse opinions on the subject though the prevailing view seems to be that the growth of population and the growth of food supply not having kept the same proportion in their rise there is a lag between food and population with the result that the pressure on the soil has increased so as to create a condition of over-population and even a state of saturation. It is worthwhile to examine this view since the problem of over-population in India has been discussed more in relation to the food supply than to the total income of the country.

Generally, the view that there is a shortage of food supply and that the condition of over-population has been reached in India is held by economists and publicists like Radhakamal Mukerjee, P. K. Wattal, K. T. Shah, Ranadive and others. Official reports, particularly those issued annually by the Public Health Commissioner with the Government of India and investigations and researches of experts in nutrition also appear to subscribe to the view that in India a state of over-population, if not of saturation, has already been reached. The next census is expected to give us a population of 400 millions and it is claimed that this population has not got enough food supply in the country, if by food supply we mean a certain minimum number of calories, say 2,800, per diem per head, which is necessary in a climate like that of India to enable an average human being to maintain his life with a certain minimum amount of efficiency. The following is a calculation of deficiency of food supply.

Total area	66,41,57,589	acres
Cultivated area ..	22,58,45,734	"
Fallow, though cultivated, area	15,18,14,555	"
FOOD SUPPLY:		
Necessary quantity of food supply	810	lakhs of tons
Total produce	760	" "
Seeds and animal food ..	218	" "
Foreign exports	55	" "
Deficiency	323	" "

Another way of putting the same problem is as it has been presented by Professor Radhakamal Mukerjee in his recent book *Food Planning for Four Hundred Millions*.

India's population in 1931 ..	353	millions
India's population capacity on the basis of her food supply in 1931	291	"
India's food shortage in 1931 ..	42	billion calories
India's present population 1935 ..	377	millions

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India's addition to food supply between 1931 and 1935	..	30.3 billion calories
India's present food supply	..	280.4 " "
India's present food needs	..	321.5 " "
India's present population capacity 1935 ..	..	329 millions
India's present food shortage	..	41.1 billion calories
Present number of "average men" estimated without food assuming that others obtain their normal daily ration ..	..	48 millions

It has also been stated that of the total population 2% are over-fed, 10% have ample food-supply, 30% sufficient to eat and 58% less than sufficient.

In proof of this extensive malnutrition and under-feeding the following tables are given:

Period	Number of Famines	Estimated Mortality
1800-1825	.. 5	1,000,000
1825-1850	.. 2	400,000
1850-1875	.. 6	5,000,000
1875-1900	.. 18	26,000,000

AVERAGE EXPECTATION OF MALE LIVES IN INDIA AND ENGLAND

Age	India	England
0 ..	.. 26.91	55.62
10 ..	.. 36.38	44.64
20 ..	.. 29.57	45.78
30 ..	.. 23.60	37.40
40 ..	.. 18.60	29.19
50 ..	.. 14.31	21.36

In every civilised country the span of life is lengthening. Many health workers are confident that before the close of the twentieth century the normal life in some western countries may reach the biblical three score and ten. But Indian expectation of life is very low.

Another way of showing the population pressure in the country is to demonstrate how there has been an important change in the agricultural activities of India. The cultivator, it is stated, is resorting to inferior cropping due to economic pressure and in many parts of the country the cultivation of major cereals like wheat and rice do not show a satisfactory increase. On the other hand, barley and cheaper millets are taking the place of wheat and rice, particularly in northern India where the poorer sections are increasingly using bread of inferior grains.

In discussing the problem of food supply in relation to population we must not forget that it is not possible for any country to keep a definite ratio of increase between its population and its cultivable area, cultivated area or even its food supply. National agricultural production will necessarily be limited by natural restrictions. But the quantity of food alone is not the criterion to judge of the population problem. We know how England was considered over-populated with a population of only 10 millions, and today the general outcry in England is that population is not increasing at its old ratio of the second half of the last century. It may be mentioned also, in passing, that the cultivable area of England today does not differ materially from what the country possessed in the days of Alfred the Great. But so great and fundamental have been changes in agricultural technique that the same area today produces much more than even Malthus ever dreamt it would do within a comparatively brief spell of a hundred years. Again it must not be forgotten that the population problem cannot be discussed always in terms of food supplies within the same country. If that were so, then England would have been saturated with population nearly 2½ centuries ago.

But let us examine the position of food supply in India. The following index numbers show the variation of population and food supply in India.

	Population	Food supply available for consumption (unweighted)	Excess or Deficit of food supply Index in relation to population Index
Average of five years 1910-1911 to 1914-1915 (base)	100	100	
1915-1916 ..	103	125	+22
1916-1917 ..	104	126	+22
1917-1918 ..	104	122	+18
1918-1919 ..	105	87	—18
1919-1920 ..	100	113	+13
1920-1921 ..	99	99	0
1921-1922 ..	100	120	+20
1922-1923 ..	101	125	+24
1923-1924 ..	101	109	+ 8
1924-1925 ..	101	103	+ 2
1925-1926 ..	101	113	+12
1926-1927 ..	102	117	+15
1927-1928 ..	102	111	+ 9
1928-1929 ..	103	120	+17
1929-1930 ..	104	122	+18
1930-1931 ..	107	123	+16
1931-1932 ..	114	122	+ 8
1932-1933 ..	117	123	+ 6
1933-1934 ..	118	122	+ 4
1934-1935 ..	120	123	+ 3

It will be seen from these tables that there is no lag between food supply available for consumption and the growth of population from 1910. The food supply has increased between 1910 and 1935 to 123 whereas the growth of population is 120 and food supply weighted is 125.

India being an exporting country, the rise in her exports is another indication of the

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growth of food supplies. The following table shows the total exports of grain and pulse from 1901 to 1930 in millions of cwt. From 1930 onwards the position for a couple of years deteriorated on account of world depression. But from 1933 India has again experienced an upward trend. I have left out the period 1931 from the table as it was hardly normal in any sense of the word.

Year	Total Exports of Grain and Pulse in millions of cwt.
1901	43.7
1905	67.2
1910	78.6
1915	48.6
1920	29.7
1925	61.2
1929	50.0
1930	52.3

A student of mine and myself two years ago began to work out details for a minimum vegetarian diet as we understood it from the needs and requirements of about a hundred students with fifteen servants living in a hostel on rice, wheat, bajri, jowar, pulses, gram and soyabeans. From careful tables of every-day purchases and consumption maintained at this institution, tabulated by my student and afterwards checked and corrected by myself, we arrived at the conclusion that about 22 ounces of vegetarian food are necessary for a student per day, which gave us about 12¼ mds. of food grains per year. Working on this principle on the census of 1931, we arrived at the figure of 53 million tons as needed for a vegetarian diet more or less of a minimum standard but sufficiently nutritious so as to give the necessary calories and vitamins for the normal functioning of the human body. For the population of British India it was calculated that the total food requirements were about 42 million tons. Of these, about 23 to 24 million tons were made up of rice, 18 millions of wheat and jowar, and 4¼ million pulses. The total present-day production of food as given by Sir M. Visveswarayya is as follows:

Rice	33.2	million tons
Wheat	9.3	" "
Other food grains	18.4	" "
Total	60.9	" "

We must take about 10 million tons for seeds and cattle and we are left with 50 millions for the population of British India whose requirements on the basis of a strictly vegetarian and none too rich diet of my friends of the hostel and on whose consumption I worked out the figures come to about 45 to 46 million tons. Our calculation shows that there is no definite shortage of food in India even after taking into consideration exports of foodstuffs.

Comparing the calculation of food production given by Visveswarayya with that of Jathar and Beri, we get the following:

Rice	30.79	millions
Wheat	9.36	"
Jowar	6.18	"
Bajri	2.13	"
Gram	3.37	"
Total	51.83	"

But according to Visveswarayya and some others the total food required for the population of India is about 85 to 90 million tons which gives 18½ mds. per year. Working on this basis there is a definite shortage of food in India. Nevertheless, the possibilities of meeting this shortage are very clear. If our agricultural technique could be only as efficient as that of China, then we would be able to increase our food supply in such a way as to exceed even the shortage assuming that Sir Visveswarayya's calculations are a true indication of the food shortage. On the basis of one acre per head as opposed to East's minimum of 2½ acres per head as representing the area necessary for producing enough food per man, we find that we are not very far away from this requirement. The following table gives the acreage per capita from which we see that India has not to be very pessimistic regarding the crop requirements for her population.

Country	Crop Area: Acres per capita
Japan	0.36
China	0.44
India	0.78
U. S. S. R.	4.2
United States	3.3
Canada	28.9

An improvement in agricultural technique and an effective remedy for the consolidation of holdings will create a satisfactory food position in India even on the basis of the present productivity of the land. But the possibilities of a new agricultural revolution are so great that one feels inclined to think that the dark and ominous prophecies of those oppressed with the population problem envisaged in terms of the food supply are premature and almost unfounded. The methods of distribution of wealth in the country are eminently defective and are to a very great extent responsible for the maldistribution of income and even of the food supply. That is a problem that deserves careful and immediate attention.

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But as I stated before, the population problem cannot be discussed only in terms of food supply. The ability of a country to maintain an optimum population depends upon its agricultural, as well as commercial and industrial wealth. In this connection the progress made by India though far short of the total possibilities or even minimum requirements is not altogether despicable or even unsatisfactory. There has been an all round increase in the production of our industries and this increase is reflected in the increased national dividend which today is between 70 and 80 rupees per head. The possibilities of the development of industries, small scale as well as large scale, are almost immense, and will favourably react on the national dividend per capita in India. The following table shows how national dividend, though still almost insignificant when compared with countries like England and America, has moved upwards from decade to decade.

Authority	Year of calculation	Estimate of annual per capita income (Rs.)	Index of prices 1873=100	Incomee adjusted to pric changes (Rs.)
Dadabhoy Naoroji ..	1870	20	102	20
Famine Commission as corrected by Lord Curzon ..	1881	27	96	27-8
Lord Curzon ..	1901	30	110	27
Findlay Shirras ..	1911	80	129	62
Wadia and Joshi ..	1913	45	143	30
Findlay Shirras ..	1921	107	236	45
V. G. Kale ..	1921	84	236	35-9
Shah and Khambatta ..	1921	74	236	31-6
Findlay Shirras ..	1929	111	207	53-10

The danger in our industrial development consists in the multiplication of large scale industries with very little regard to the importance of small scale industries or to the inherent defects in the present distribution system. Increased production of wealth through machinery and large scale production will be only a partial remedy to India's poverty, food shortage, low standard of life and unsatisfactory expectation of life. The population problem has also to be examined from these wider, but nevertheless, more fundamental, aspects.

There is a widespread talk in many parts of India on the necessity of a population policy. The poverty of the people, widespread unemployment and under-employment, low vitality and productivity, large mortality, high birthrate are supposed to be evils which can be cured by the magic of a population policy, identifying such a policy with neo-Malthusian methods of birth-control through an almost universal use of contraceptives.

India is teeming with population problem which do not necessarily mean the problem of birth-control. In the first place, the most obvious and the most urgent and fundamental problem today is the qualitative problem. The standard of life, of education, of sanitation, of production, of vitality has to be raised by a comprehensive system which can be done only through a vigorous and persistent state action. All the attention, energy and resources which India can at present command would be perhaps too limited to deal with the qualitative aspects of the population problem. But the task, however immense, has to be carried out with courage, imagination and knowledge. Closely connected with the general toning up of the whole level of social, economic, moral and cultural life is the problem of maldistribution which intensifies poverty and destitution in India. It cannot be denied that almost one-fourth of the population of India is below the margin of subsistence. The foodstuffs are not exhibiting a proportionate shortage. In fact, even the available foodstuffs to the extent of 50 million tons exclusive of exports can certainly produce a better system of nutrition, provided the system of distribution is modified in such a way as to bring a larger number of producers and consumers within the orbit of social justice. Besides, there are endless prospects of a veritable revolution in our agricultural technique which will give to the country a greater quantity of food supplies. This, quite apart from the possibilities of a comprehensive industrialisation of the country both on a large and a small scale.

The Malthusian law of population has been conspicuous throughout history for its non-working rather than for its operation. In India itself, we have seen how after 400 years our population is only $3\frac{3}{4}$ times as much as it was early in 1600. In the case of China the situation is still more evident. The working of the Malthusian law of population should have saturated China and produced an overflow of the Mongolian race throughout the rest of Asia. We know of several races and peoples that have disappeared from the face of the world, not through the operation of the Malthusian positive and negative checks, but from a sheer lack of moral vitality. The growth in numbers is not merely a biological process conditioned by economic factors. If this were so, the world would not have witnessed the rise, expansion, development and then a fall and

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disappearance of many races, creeds and peoples. Inhabitants of the old Roman empire disappeared not as a result of any widespread operation of the Malthusian checks, positive or preventive, and so also the ancient Egyptians, Greeks and many other races and civilisations. The moral factor is important and perhaps as important as the biological factor. Only when a country is morally vigorous and economically stable does the population increase at a certain rate, but if a race is even well fed and apparently prosperous and morally and politically devitalised and sapped the increase in numbers is checked by the absence of moral *fertility* and the stage of depopulation gradually sets in. It is strange that the economist and the sociologist should devote hardly any attention to the moral factor influencing the growth of population or contributing to depopulation. And one great force which undermines the moral responsibility and blows to smithereens ethical principles is the deliberate use of the neo-Malthusian methods as the corner-stone of what some people call a population policy. Neither the Malthusian nor neo-Malthusian theories of population can explain its growth and movement over long periods of human history which probably goes back to some 40 to 50 thousand years.

Western Europe is now confronted with the problem of depopulation and of declining population. The tendency which had begun before the War has been recently accentuated to an alarming extent with the result that the population problem of Europe is the problem of its declining population. Even Russia had to reverse its whole population policy almost in a state of panic and officially burn its new neo-Malthusian boats. In Italy and Germany all kinds of devices, ingenious and disingenious, are being popularised for the purpose of stabilising if not increasing the rate of the population growth. The situation in France is even worse. England is also confronted with the problem of a stationary population which is really an issue of declining population. There has been a considerable growth in European longevity which has created the illusion of a stationary population in the last decennium though in reality the population in the earliest age growths has shown a marked downward tendency. In 1881 there were in England as many children as old people of 65 and above. In 1907 seven times as many children as old people. Today the proportion is three to one. And in 1965, if the trend goes on, it will fall almost one to one. Such a situation is almost disastrous. And these conclusions are confirmed by analysis of recent changes in birth and death rates in England. Thus the birth-rate has declined almost steadily from its peak to 36·3 per 1,000 in 1876 to about 17½ today. The following table is an illuminating commentary on the declining population of England.

TOTAL POPULATION, ENGLAND AND WALES
(000'S OMITTED)

Age group	1881	1901	1935	1965 (estimated)
75 and over ..	336	442	908	1549
65—74 ..	852	1076	2308	3311
45—64 ..	3708	4845	9016	10811
25—44 ..	6734	9252	12476	11114
15—24 ..	4875	6367	6428	4967
5—14 ..	5948	6829	6572	4601
0—4 ..	3521	3717	2860	2149
Total ..	25974	32528	40568	38502

Apart, therefore, from moral aspects, the neo-Malthusian population policy if adopted in India may produce serious moral, social and even economic disintegration of consequences which today are the nightmare of European statesmen and economists. It is true that India has been seized more or less suddenly with a population problem. And the only reaction has been to attack its quantitative aspects sometimes quite irrespective of ethical considerations. But the qualitative factors are equally important as well as the modifications of external forces and circumstances economic and social which are powerfully contributing to the weakening of the standard of life. It is a problem that cannot be considered only in one aspect. It is a multiple problem demanding cool and careful study, a long view both of the past and the present and a mental attitude uninfluenced and undisturbed by panic and haste.

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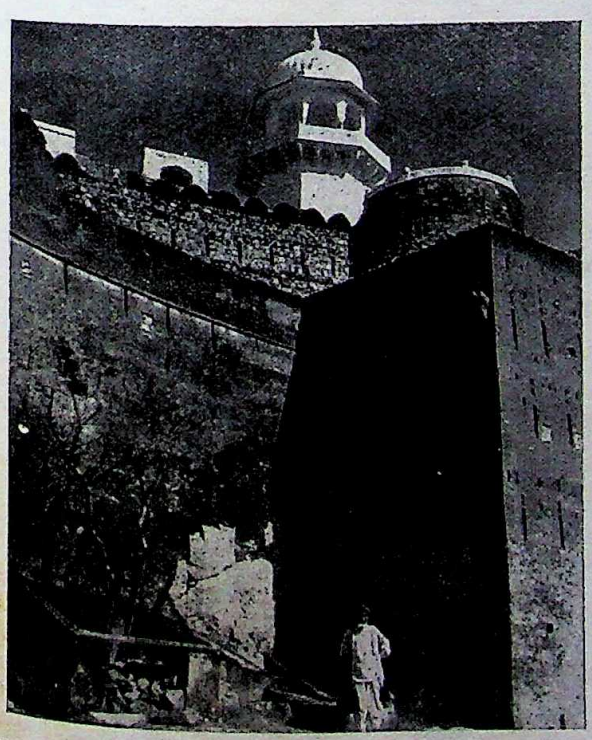
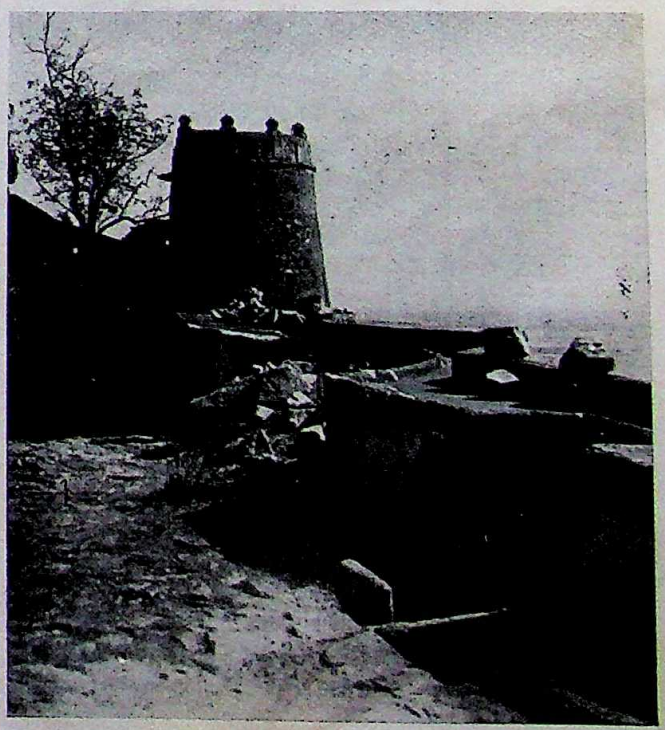
A Rajput — R. R. Varma

Perhaps he dreams of the past history of his land





Rajput Forts —S. Bhatia

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The Charan today —*Jayantilal Pareekh*

"The Rajput war-poetry is a widow now," he sings, "the great Maru Rag to which she was wedded is no more alive"

The wandering minstrel —*S. Bhatia*

He sings of the past and of Rajput martyrdom. Songs of Rajput chivalry, dear to the people, again and again come to his lips

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THE CHARANS OF RAJPUTANA

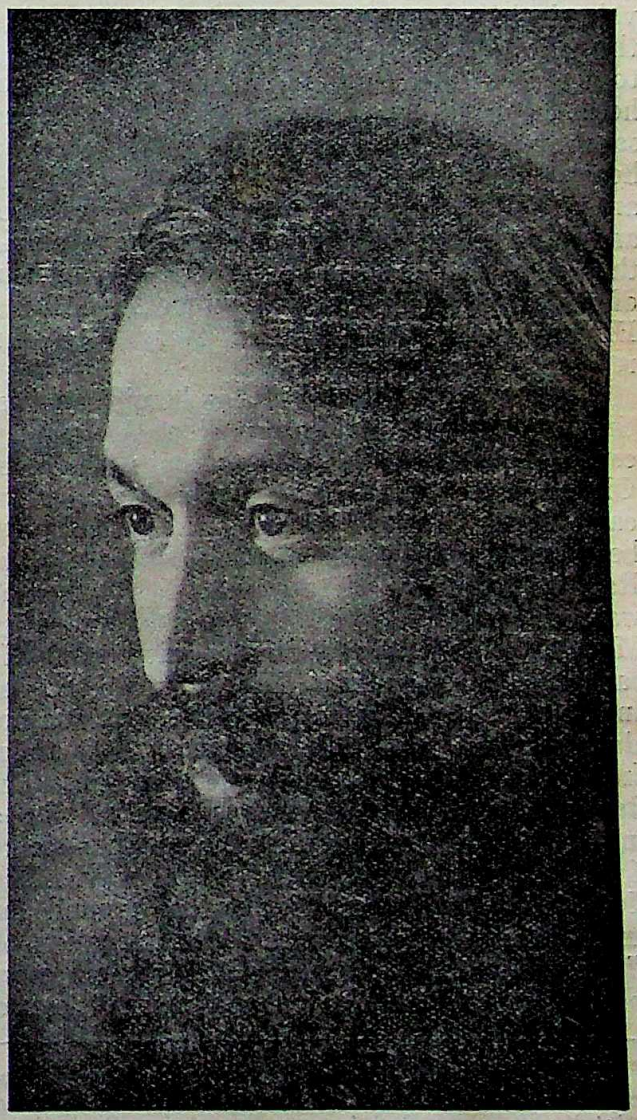
By DEVENDRA SATYARTHI

The sense of race was strong in the Rajput bard, the singer of heroic *Doohas*, who called himself Chāran. "One who sympathizes and inspires is a Chāran" the etymologist would tell. The Chāran was undoubtedly such a one.

The origin of the Chārans, however, is not an easy problem of history. It seems probable that the tenth century A.D., found them scattered in various parts of North India, and that round about Kanauj, their favourite centre, they had rich colonies. Then came a time when the Chārans from far and near rushed to Sind, where in a village, called Chalkana, a Chāran of Sauva clan, was going to be a victim of tyranny at the hands of Hammir Soomra, the king of Sind. The name of that Chāran was Mammat, and his father, Mada, in his time, had captured the imagination of the Chāran race at large. The king saw Mammat's eldest daughter, Ubbatdevi, and fell in love with her at first sight. The king wanted her to be his bride, but her father refused to give her in marriage to him, saying: "My daughter will remain a virgin all her life, for my community calls her a goddess." And it was true. The Chārans had declared that Ubbatdevi, Mammat's daughter, was the incarnation of Mother Hinglaj.[1] Ubbatdevi had six sisters: (1) Guli, (2) Huli or Hol, (3) Rekhyali or Rephli, (4) Ichha or Achhi, (5) Charchika or Chhachhi, (6) Laghvi or Langi or Khodiar: they all were incarnations, half or full, of Hinglaj, the Chārans believed. The king of Sind put their father in his prison, and all the sisters miraculously escaped. The youngest one went to *Tantaniadara*, a stream fourteen miles from Bhavnagar in Kathiawar, and the others, including the eldest one, reached the hill of *Temda*, fourteen miles from Jaisalmer in Rajputana. Soon came the downfall of Hammir Soomra's kingdom in Sind. The Samma Kshatriyas got it.

1. The time of Hinglaj, the premier Charan goddess, is approximately the ninth century A. D. The Charans have many goddesses, and when they say, *Nou Lakh Lovadial* (nine lacs of goddesses every one wearing a *Lovadi, or a woollen Sari*), they really mean it. And all the goddesses are said to be half or full incarnations of Mother Hinglaj alone.

Later on Kathiawar, Kachh and Rajputana became the chief centres of the Chārans. The Rajputana Chārans came to be known as *Maru* (lit. of Marwar), the Kachh Chārans called themselves *Kachhela* or *Parjia*. In Kathiawar



Devendra Satyarthi

they became *Sorthia*. One of their off-shoots was the *Tumbel*; it was called rather 'half Chāran'. Others did not accept water or food from their hands. By and by their customs differed from each other according to the countries they made their homes.

The wandering minstrel —S. Bhatia
He sings of the past and of Rajput martyrdom. Songs of Rajput chivalry, dear to the people, again and again come to his lips

The Charan today —Jayantilal Parekh
"The Rajput war-poetry is a widow now," he sings, "the great Maru Rag to which she was wedded is no more alive"

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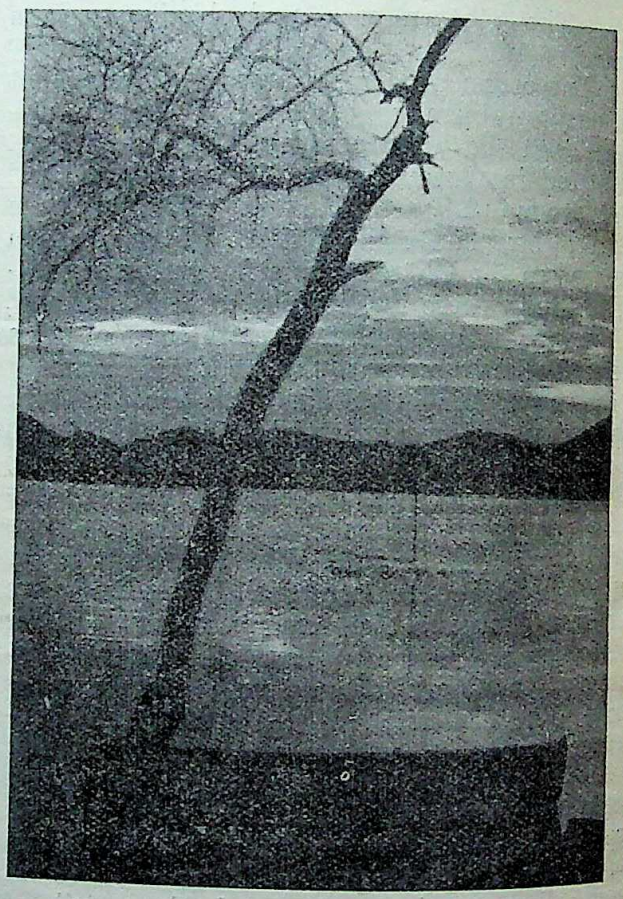
Rajputana became a *Tirath Kshetra* (holy place) to all the Chārans, and many members of their community living in far-off places came as pilgrims to the seat of Ubbat-devi. And many of the pilgrims settled down in Rajputana at different times. They love Rajputana so much.

And then came the fourteenth century; on its heels came bloody warfare. Ranthambor Fort had already paseed into the hands of Alauddin . Chittor Fort, too, went. Padmini, the queen of Bhim Singh, burned herself alive, along with many other Rajput women: it was their *Jauhar*. It was their last resort; they valued their honour and for it they sacrificed themselves: and thereby they inspired their men to wear yellow clothes and face the enemy heroically, rather desperately. The Chāran saw all this before his eyes. In his heart of hearts, Mother Hinglaj spoke to him: "Why are you silent, my son? My daughter, Padmini, and many other daughters of mine have played their part well in the *Jauhar*. O! why not sing of war, my son ?" Every night he saw Mother Hinglaj in his dreams and every night she repeated the same words.

And there he was with his heroic Doohas: tiny, little songs sung to the great *Maru Rag*: songs of hard realities of life; songs which the Chāran loved, which everybody loved. Soon came Rana Hammir Singh on the scene, and he resumed possession of Chittor Fort. The Rajputs rejoiced. The Chāran stood and watched the scene with the eyes of an artist. Mother Hinglaj patted him on his back. He had sung successfully. The war for honour and freedom went on for centuries. It was not always a victory for the Rajputs. Sometimes they were defeated. They suffered much. The Raj family of Mewar always yearned for a united front. But it was not possible—some of the Rajput chiefs had given way. The Mewar Raj, however, did not lose ground for hundreds of years. And as the intoxication of offering their lives at the altar of freedom grew upon the heroes, the Rajput war-poetry[2] leaped into life. Every song spoke of generations of brave swordsmen, who gave their everything to the cause of freedom—their bodies and souls, their hearts, their thoughts.

The Chārans as a race were not all bards. Many of them were cattle-breeders; and they raised their huts in the forests, every little colony called *Nes*. Say what one may, the Chāran, even as a herdsman, helped the cause of war. He raised cows and horses of fine breeds. His one consolation was that he supplied pure milk and *ghee* to the heroes, and that he produced mettlesome horses and mares. Sometimes the Chāran took to the work of a *Banjara*, or travelling tradesman; and with his loaded bullock, he went from village to village.



The Udaisagar Lake at Udaipur

2. Rabindranath Tagore, *Speech before the Rajasthan Research Society*, Calcutta, Feb. 18, 1937: "The *Bhakti* literature we find in every province. Everywhere the poets sang of Radha and Krishna in a key of their own. But the literature that Rajasthan created out of her blood is unique. And it is not without reason. The Rajput bards sang extempore to the war-drum, facing the hard reality of life. It was the dance of nature, like Siva's *Tandav*, that they saw before them. Can someone today create that type of poetry through imagination ? The heroic sentiment and emotion, enshrined in every little song of Rajasthani language, is the original asset of Rajasthan, and the pride of India at large. It is spontaneous, sincere and nearer to nature. My friend, Kshitimohan Sen, introduced me to Hindi poetry. To-day I have got a new thing. These stirring songs give me quite a new approach to literature. Many a time have I heard that the Charans sang and roused the heroes. Today I have listened to the age-old poems of the Charan. They have a force even today. India awaits a well-edited volume of the poetry of the Charan." (Translated from Bengali.)

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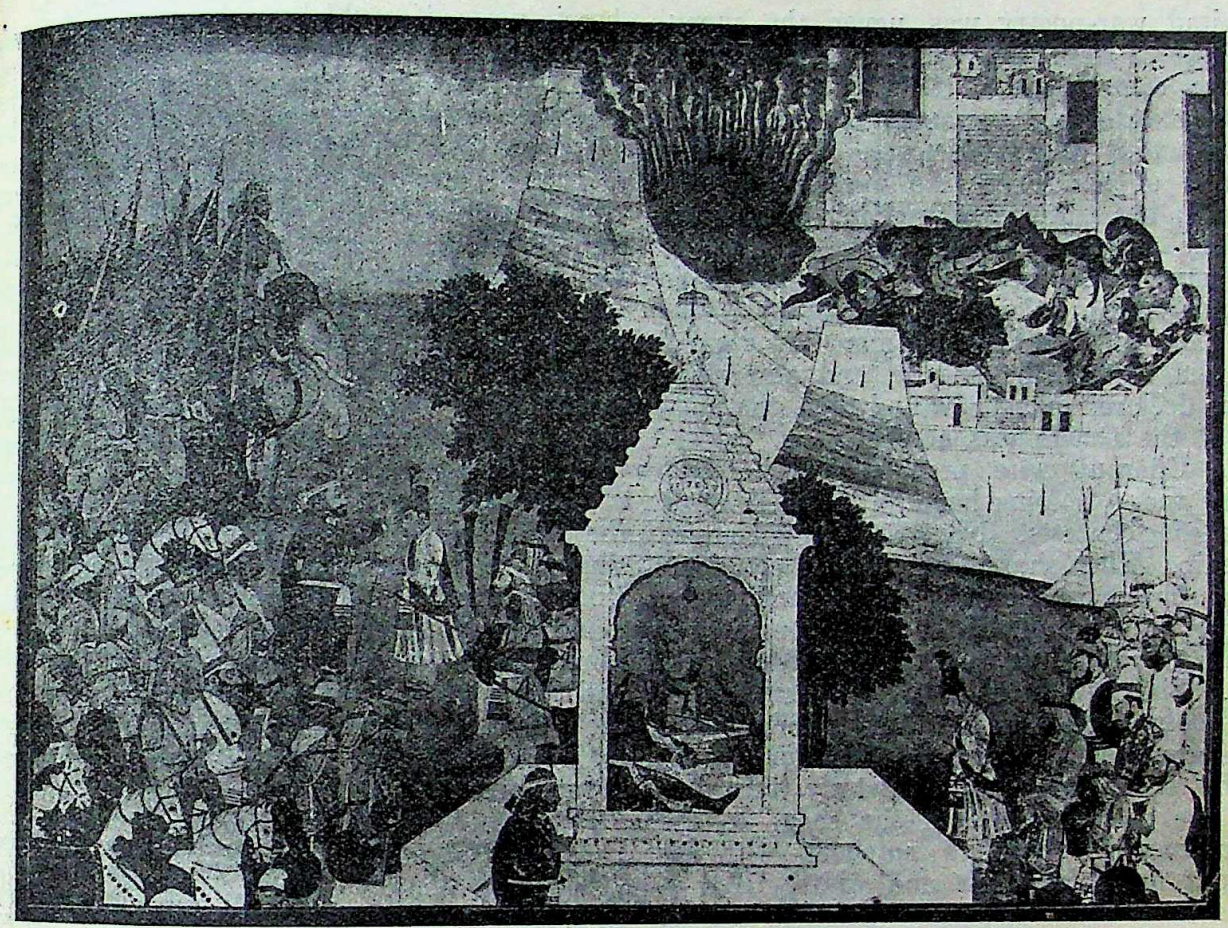

The Jauhar

Hammir, a brave Chittor chief, fought with and defeated Allauddin, but as he was returning with his army triumphantly, the ladies in his fort mistook it for the enemy host and rather than be taken captive they threw themselves into a burning pyre to save their honour

[From and old illuminated MS of *Hamir-Hath*, through the kind courtesy of Dr. Hirananda Sastri, Director of Archaeology, Baroda State.]

Most probably he kept daggers, swords and shields, too, for sale and got many a right moment to contribute some weapons to some of the poor, honorary soldiers. The Chārans at large were always landholders, and while in prosperity they took a special care to give gifts to the *Kulaguru* (the family preceptor, always a Brahmin) who preserved their lineage-accounts and certain other people whom he called friends.

And every now and then the cattle-breeder Chāran, too, produced a son who could make new songs. Poetry was in his blood. The whole neighbourhood rejoiced when a new poet appeared on the scene: his mother got congratulations from her kith and kin; the father was congratulated separately. Every now and then the sisters smiled and laughed and joked, calling their brother *Kaviraj* (lit. poet laureate).

The Chāran's person was sacred. He was never given capital punishment, whatever his crime. The nation wanted him for many more songs. The great range of his genius impressed the Rajput Chiefs, and he was always at liberty to say anything he liked, even before the king, who took pride in patronizing him. The Chāran's first impulse was to acknowledge the gifts, the king bestowed on him, but he never suffered from "inferiority complex". The royal patronage came to him as the dew comes to the flower. As every Rajput mother's son was expected to be a swordsman, ever ready to fight for the freedom of his country heroically, so was the Chāran expected to spread the gospel of honour and freedom through the length and breadth of Rajputana. And when it was a war to the knife, the Chāran, too, took hold of sword and shield to do his bit. It is a pity that Rajput history today cannot give a full list of Chārans who rose to distinction.

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Rajput war-poetry was never the monopoly of the Chāran. Some of the Rajput Chiefs and kings contributed to it. Men and women both sang extempore; women, perhaps, sang more and with a greater force. The Chāran put many of his songs into woman's mouth; woman, in her turn, composed her own songs, too. The people generally took to *Doohas*: other metres were rare. The *Dooha* metre, in its original form, belonged to the people. The people sang of love between man and woman before the fourteenth century, and now when war was declared every now and then, the main theme of the *Dooha* was heroism.

The Chāran's wife, perhaps, had her own role; she was a helping hand to the womenfolk in their song contests. None acutually claimed authorship. They shared each other's creations, as they shared each other's smiles and tears. Every Rajput woman, as she roused her husband to go to the battlefield, wove a new *Dooha*. The new recruits in the creation of heroic poetry looked to the Chāran for revision and improvement of their compositions.

The songs were not generally recorded. There are no references in the songs to the Chāran keeping always a notebook with his texts put down in black and white. Had it been a tradition to preserve every line of heroic verse, it could have been possible today to prepare an encyclopœdia of Rajput heroism. The *Doohas*, old or new, only lived in memory. The text of a *Dooha* was not fixed. It varied with each individual singer. Nor did it attain at once its final form. New songs came to being with every new battle. Their authorship passed into oblivion; the sex of the original author, too, was not known. The song, in which woman spoke, did not always indicate its origin from woman; it was a fashion with the *Dooha*-singers to put many of their songs into the mouth of woman. In some cases, the final form of a *Dooha* had one line from one sex and the second from the other.

The Chāran accompanied the soldiers to the battlefield with a flag of his own. While singing, he became a new man. Poetry flowed from his lips like a stream. All the Chārans, who made poetry, might have been cast from the same mould so similar were their traditions and ideals and views. Everything they had, their bodies, their hearts, their souls, belonged to Rajputana; they wanted it to remain free, always free.

[My sincere thanks are due to Sri Raghunath Prasad Singhania and Sri Bhagvatiprasad Bisen, the founders of the Rajasthan Research Society at Calcutta, for helping me in the study of the Charans and their poetry.—*Author.*]

ROMANCE OF COTTON INDUSTRY IN JAPAN

By M. V. DANI, B. Com.

A TINY, little island country, in the Far East, hardly known by the world about 90 years ago, with a primitive form of economic activities and a primitive form of political control, emerged out of its hundreds of years of slumber, at the sight of Commodore Perry's ships, and began to view the world in a new light. The outworn institutions of feudal regime began to crumble down. Mr. S. Uyehara gives a graphic description of the state of affairs at this time. In his book *The Industry and Trade of Japan*, he says that:

"It was a time when the extremely distressed economic conditions of the country gave a momentum. The deterioration of nobles and the moral decay of the upper class were at a climax. Farmers especially were reduced to absolute misery and poverty owing to excessive taxation and their slavish position. There was then no equality and freedom, no complete safety of life and property. Great barriers divided the classes. The common people had to kneel and bow so low as to touch their foreheads on the ground whenever they met a procession of feudal lords. The commoners had no right of appeal against unlawfulness, inhumanity and tyranny of classes higher in the social scale. It was not an uncommon thing for them to be whipped if they failed to pay heavy taxes. Bad harvests occurred in succession and plague often visited the country during the distressed period."

Awakened from this state the nation began to follow in the footsteps of the civilised Western nations, and comparatively in a very short time became marvel of the world. The Yamato race, supposed to have a slow understanding power, began studying things steadily and in a short spell of time made such a sure progress in all its economic, political, cultural

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d social activities that it began to command spect from the foremost nations of the world.

The key industries of Japan's foreign trade re textiles, which constitute about half of her xports; cotton goods top the list even though apan has to import all her raw cotton from reign countries. This is the present position the country in the cotton industry. The dustry was absolutely in a primitive form till little before Meiji era, *i.e.*, 1862 A.D. Cotton as not a local product in Japan till 789 A.D., which year seeds were brought from the ontinent of Asia. However till 1554 A.D., ere is no record of cotton cloth being manuctured in the country. After this period otton cloth became clothing material of ordiry people also. Long contact of the people ith the silk weaving industry had given them ecessary skill for the manufacture of cotton arn and cloth. Still all these processes were rried on by hand till 1862. In that year rince Nariakira Shimizu of Satsuma clan in yuyushu became interested in modern machiry of producing cotton yarn. Before his plans ere matured he died. His desire was fulfilled y his son Yoshimitsu in 1867, by establishg a mill at Kagoshima. The lord started nother mill at Sakai, near Osaka as he found hat the first one was established at a disdvantage as regards the supply of raw material. A third mill was started by Mampei Kashima, a merchant with the government help n 1872. In this manner there was a slow proress in the industry. Dissatisfied by this slow ate the government began to encourage the pinning idustry more actively and directly. hey offered to import units of 2,000 spindles nd sell them to the people on ten years time, ithout interest and to send technical experts to each the operatives in different mills. Model overnment mills were established in different arts of the country. More units of 2,000 pindles were ordered and mills were establishd at Hyogi, Osaka, Nara, Okayama, Miye, Yamanashi, Shizuoka, Tochigi and Miyagi. The overnors of the prefectures were instructed to ncourage people to take interest in the new ndustry. Later on these government mills ere leased or sold to private parties. Various ype of state help was given to foster the new ndustry .Foreign experts were engaged. Young en from Japan were sent to various countries n Europe and America to have first-hand ndustrial and technical education. The ndustry began to make rapid progress. The osition in 1894, *i.e.*, before the first Sinoapanese war was as follows :

Years	Companies	Mills	Total Spindles
1866	.. 1	1	5,456
1871	.. 2	2	7,456
1872	.. 3	3	8,204
1879	.. 4	4	10,204
1880	.. 5	5	12,204
1881	.. 7	7	16,204
1882	.. 13	13	28,204
1883	.. 16	16	43,704
1884	.. 19	19	49,704
1885	.. 22	22	59,704
1886	.. 22	22	71,604
1889	.. 28	28	215,190
1890	.. 30	30	277,895
1891	.. 36	36	353,980
1892	.. 39	39	385,314
1893	.. 40	40	381,781
1894	.. 45	45	530,074

In early days Japanese cotton was used but later on as the industry began to grow it was found desirable to use foreign cotton. During this period consumption of imported cotton increased from Y170,639 in 1880 to Y19,610,760 in 1894. The relative position of yarn was as follows:

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
1868	1,500	12,196	13,696	..	13,696
1871	1,983	26,561	28,544	..	28,544
1872	2,182	43,446	45,648	..	45,648
1879	2,714	78,571	81,285	..	81,285
1880	3,246	95,324	98,570	..	98,570
1881	4,310	92,421	96,731	..	96,731
1882	7,502	84,324	91,826	..	91,826
1883	11,625	82,135	93,760	..	93,760
1884	13,221	70,683	83,844	..	83,844
1885	15,881	71,385	87,206	..	87,206
1886	15,568	82,101	97,669	..	97,669
1889	67,046	142,703	209,749	..	209,749
1890	104,839	106,361	211,200	31	211,169
1891	144,980	57,792	202,772	108	202,664
1892	204,950	81,028	285,978	109	285,869
1893	214,758	64,684	279,442	1,051	278,389
1894	292,400	53,143	345,543	11,796	333,747

(in bales of 400 lbs.)

Till 1890 the industry made quite a satisfactory progress. During the next three years production and exports increased and imports began to diminish. Sino-Japanese war gave a momentum and there was increase in new mills. More capital was invested in buying new machinery and in extending already existing concerns. This period did not last for a long time. As a reaction the industry again began to suffer. Due to acute financial stringency many mills were closed down. There was a danger of widespread collapse in the industry. This would have affected the general economic structure of the nation a great deal. The government stepped in to remedy the situation. In 1896 the State established Hypothec Bank

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of Japan, for the purpose of advancing long term loans, at a low rate of interest. This bank was ordered to extend extraordinary help to the industries that were in financial trouble, especially the textile industry, and to issue debentures. For this purpose Y5,000,000 were kept at the disposal of the bank and was asked to proceed carefully, in order not to cause undue inflation and to prevent the industries helped from relying too much on the state help. The loans extended in 1898 were 2,371,000 yen. Conditions improved and the next year was found somewhat prosperous by the spinning mills. The period between 1899 and 1903 saw many amalgamations of spinning mills. Number of mills which were started after the Sino-Japanese war began to compete with each other. Mills having insufficient working capital began to suffer a great deal. This condition became acute when money market was further tight. Many means were tried to remedy the situation without any avail. Ultimately it was found desirable to amalgamate with sound concerns. This amalgamation increased number of spindles and operatives under a few heads, which could effect improvement to bring down the cost of production.

However the so-called Golden Era of the industry was found from 1904 to 1907, *i.e.*, from the Russo-Japanese war. The war operations gave a good chance for the mills to extend their operations. The successive victory in the war opened new markets. The mills experienced a great boom and made huge profits. 11 new weaving mills, including spinning also, were started at a nominal capital of 21,500,000 yen. Twelve mills increased their capital by 11,269,950 yen. Three mills issued debentures for improvements and additions amounting to 950,000 yen. Various mills planned increases which they could effect later on. The following table shows the situation at this stage since the Sino-Japanese war:

Years	Companies	Mills	Total Spindles	Imported raw cotton consumption Y	Average daily working spindles
1895	47	47	580,945	24,822,097	518,736
1896	61	61	757,196	32,573,352	692,384
1897	65	74	970,567	43,620,214	768,328
1898	74	77	1,146,749	45,744,371	1,027,817
1899	78	83	1,189,929	62,210,717	1,170,327
1900	79	80	1,267,872	59,471,629	1,144,027
1901	66	81	1,295,598	60,650,362	1,181,762
1902	56	80	1,352,948	79,784,771	1,301,118
1903	51	76	1,381,306	69,518,110	1,290,347
1904	49	74	1,345,585	73,420,386	1,306,198
1905	49	78	1,426,594	110,623,183	1,402,931
1906	47	83	1,472,353	82,661,859	1,441,934
1907	42	83	1,540,452	115,641,599	1,500,579

The position of yarn manufacture and trade was as follows :

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
1895	366,689	48,637	415,326	11,786	403,550
1896	401,614	66,713	468,327	43,249	425,078
1897	511,236	53,636	564,872	140,116	424,756
1898	644,504	53,099	697,603	229,445	468,158
1899	757,315	27,369	784,684	341,203	443,481
1900	645,432	30,170	675,602	208,333	466,269
1901	660,590	19,982	680,491	209,172	471,319
1902	770,853	8,993	779,846	197,481	582,365
1903	801,738	3,539	805,277	307,201	498,076
1904	695,212	1,792	697,004	257,307	439,697
1905	905,536	7,405	912,986	267,383	645,603
1906	945,165	18,843	964,008	267,348	696,662
1907	983,482	5,952	989,434	226,472	762,962

(in bales of 400 lbs. each.)

Again after this boom period depression prevailed. Mushroom concerns failed. More amalgamations took place. Due to increase of many other concerns money market was tight. Value of several industrial shares declined. However the spinning and weaving industry, on the whole, did not suffer so much. Curtailment in production was adopted. The condition of spinning and weaving mills at this period was far better than that of previous periods of depression. The huge profits earned during the last boom enabled the industry to write off large amounts for depreciation and to create sound reserves, which were made use of in bad years. From 1912 things began to improve. The last Great World War was a blessing from the heaven for the Japanese industries in general and cotton industry in particular. The wealth accumulated during this period put the Japanese economic activities on sound basis. Describing the importance of this situation Mr. Arno Pearse rightly observes that Japan entered in earnest the world's market at a most opportune time, when the great war suddenly opened up to her markets which would have taken years to conquer under normal conditions.

It was a great opportunity for the development of industries. Japan took full advantage of it. Mr. Cunningham says that not only did Japanese manufacturers find themselves freed from competition in their main market, China, but owing to the incapacity of England and other regular suppliers to meet the demand they were enabled to build up a great trade in substitute goods with markets such as India, Netherland Indies, South America, Africa, and other countries to which they had not previously found entry. Mr. J. Orchard tracing the importance of all the previous wars along with the great war

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ys that wars and the fear of wars have played n important part in bringing Japanese manu-cturing industries to their present state of evelopment. Industrialisation was begun as a eapon against possible aggression from a reign nation, and each of the three wars in hich Japan was engaged in modern period, e war with China in 1894-95, Russo-Japanese ar in 1904-5 and the World War, was a power-l stimulus to industrial expansion. The llowing figures will enable to have an idea the steady development in the cotton dustry till the post-war period.

ars	Companies	Mills	Total spindles	Daily average working spindles	Imported raw cotton consumption Y.
14	42	157	2,657,174	2,369,800	220,496,000
15	41	161	2,807,514	2,463,376	218,502,000
16	40	161	2,875,904	2,757,299	277,572,000
17	43	170	3,060,478	2,850,637	334,679,000
18	43	177	3,227,678	2,936,495	522,632,000
19	54	190	3,488,262	3,179,568	674,562,000
20	56	198	3,813,580	3,191,753	727,365,000

The position of yarn production and trade as follows :

ears	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan
914	1,666,181	607	1,666,788	569,990	1,096,798
915	1,720,264	588	1,720,852	575,891	1,144,961
916	1,925,579	660	1,926,239	547,147	1,379,092
917	1,923,841	904	1,924,745	470,852	1,453,893
918	1,803,866	1,088	1,804,954	421,512	1,383,442
919	1,920,782	8,907	1,929,689	230,333	1,699,356
920	1,816,976	5,121	1,822,097	304,925	1,517,172

(in bales of 400 lbs. each.)

There was a remarkable development in e exports of piecegoods particularly in war ears as can be seen from the following gures :

903	..	Y. 6,874,947	1917	..	Y.148,108,352
907	..	Y.16,344,097	1918	..	Y.268,640,465
914	..	Y.43,403,410	1919	..	Y.351,195,333
915	..	Y.47,899,898	1920	..	Y.352,173,295
916	..	Y.73,173,460			—

The condition of the weaving side of the embers of the Japan Cotton Spinners Asso-ation, which constitutes a major portion of apan's cotton industry, for the same period as as follows :

Years	Average working looms	Male	Female	Total workers
903 ..	4,963	657	4,253	4,910
907 ..	9,225	1,525	8,727	10,252
914 ..	24,911	3,569	22,459	26,028
915 ..	27,687	3,547	22,930	26,477
916 ..	30,110	3,737	23,245	26,982
917 ..	31,920	4,333	24,434	28,767
918 ..	38,073	5,735	30,997	36,732
919 ..	41,469	7,635	37,040	44,675
920 ..	44,635	8,005	39,048	47,055

Even today one curious aspect of Japan's cotton industry is that all the spinning is carried on by big members of the Japan Cotton Spinners Association. However, that is not the case with weaving. It is considered that about half the cotton fabrics are woven in small weaving sheds and by handlooms. Due to their small unit and scattered nature it is very difficult to get their exact statistics. The above figures give only a partial idea about the looms owned by the spinning mills and labour engaged for the purpose of weaving. I have just given the figures to show as to how the influence of the great war was also felt by the weaving side of the big spinning mills. There was considerable increase among the operatives in the big spinning side also.

Years		Male	Female	Total
1903	..	14,314	59,365	73,679
1907	..	15,242	64,377	79,619
1914	..	22,163	92,251	114,414
1915	..	22,674	92,500	115,174
1916	..	23,845	97,279	121,124
1917	..	25,518	97,648	123,166
1918	..	26,790	95,069	121,859
1919	..	30,935	101,399	132,334
1920	..	33,966	109,782	143,748

After the restoration of peace Japan's cotton industry suffered with those of other countries from the post-war depression. The export of Japan's cotton goods to the war time markets fell off a great deal. However this depression was not keenly felt by the industry as a whole as sufficient provisions were made for the bad years. The fact is well proved that in spite of the terrible disaster of earthquake in 1923, in which cotton industry suffered a great deal, marked progress was witnessed in 1925. In this year record figures were reached in the production of cotton textiles, which, considering the difficulties faced by the cotton industry of other nations of the world must be regarded as real achievement. From this year till 1930 there was a sort of a lull in the progress of the industry. On the other-hand depression was experienced till 1931. Various means were tried to get over the situation. Rationalisation was adopted and it was thoroughly practised in all the branches of the industry. Gold embargo and the subsequent exchange depreciation helped to recover its position. The Manchurian incident and Japan's success therein created a vast market. Once more steady progress was maintained since 1932 which is continuing even today.

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Years	Companies	Mills	Total spindles	Looms	Daily average working spindles	Average working looms
1925	54	230	5,185,632	68,160	4,669,753	62,976
1930	62	251	7,045,029	75,657	5,897,894	65,169
1931	61	252	7,375,978	74,138	5,904,343	64,392
1932	63	257	7,848,494	76,591	6,307,884	68,028
1933	61	260	8,525,222	83,687	6,737,621	73,966
1934	62	264	9,325,594	87,033	7,502,504	79,630
1935	60	263	10,330,452	89,664	8,197,422	82,397
1936	71	276	11,975,584	95,813	8,392,024	85,974

The position of yarn and the consumption of imported raw cotton for the same period was as follows:

Years	Production	Imports	Total	Exports	Used in Japan	Imported raw cotton in Y.
1925	2,436,783	3,641	2,440,424	310,801	2,129,623	923,355,000
1930	2,524,699	9,052	2,533,751	59,616	2,474,135	362,047,000
1931	2,567,133	115,533	2,682,666	31,724	2,650,942	296,273,000
1932	2,810,437	28,586	2,839,023	89,604	2,749,419	447,401,000
1933	3,099,856	58,966	3,158,822	48,307	3,110,515	604,847,000
1934	3,472,442	54,518	3,526,960	64,844	3,462,116	731,425,000
1935	3,560,832	17,938	3,578,770	96,582	3,482,188	714,262,000
1936	3,607,458	14,449	3,621,907	110,524	3,511,383	850,451,000

(in bales of 400 lbs. each)

The position of exports of cotton piece-goods was as follows:

1925	Y.432,850,421	1933	Y.383,215,392
1930	Y.272,116,781	1934	Y.492,351,023
1931	Y.198,731,572	1935	Y.496,097,082
1932	Y.288,712,833	1936	Y.483,591,246

The increase in average working looms and operatives constituted as follows:

Years	Average working looms	Male	Female	Total workers
1925	62,976	8,703	47,023	55,726
1930	65,169	7,396	27,956	35,352
1931	64,392	5,812	23,024	28,836
1932	68,028	5,379	25,015	30,394
1933	73,966	5,296	29,013	34,309
1934	79,630	5,245	30,709	35,954
1935	82,397	5,025	32,163	37,188
1936	85,974	4,788	33,671	38,459

The changes in the operatives of spinning industry were:

Years	Male	Female	Total workers
1925	39,221	134,383	173,604
1930	30,202	108,981	139,183
1931	23,661	98,008	121,669
1932	21,154	105,651	126,805
1933	19,295	110,128	129,423
1934	18,747	122,661	141,408
1935	18,640	133,899	152,539
1936	17,950	132,917	150,867

The present Sino-Japanese conflict has decidedly opened possibilities of a bright future for the industry. Due to the present war conditions and application of war time measures such as control of imports and exports and exchange the industry may be temporarily suffering from shortage of raw materials, etc. However the situation will be changed for the better when peace prevails. The picture of the phenomenal rise of the cotton industry will not be complete unless figures of investment in the industry and its further development are given. (See table below).

The total spindles at the end of 1937 were 13,474,102 and looms of the big spinning companies, who were members of the Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, were 104,666. The estimate of the total looms of the country at the end of the year 1934 were 376,704, as per returns of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry.

Thus the rise of Japan's cotton industry from primitivism to the acme of the modernism fills one with awe and admiration. From the position of an obscurity it has attained a position of foremost importance among the cotton industry of the world.

Years	Authorised capital	Paid up capital (in Yens)	Reserves	Fixed capital	Average rate of dividend
1889	—	7,499,525	—	—	—
1903	38,555,400	34,029,216	5,123,892	—	—
1907	90,036,300	57,731,125	20,883,730	44,478,855	20.6%
1914	109,676,400	85,820,424	36,639,349	113,107,937	14.8%
1920	394,327,650	276,535,896	165,697,053	187,263,695	37.4%
1925	509,212,500	351,804,817	221,777,742	425,050,550	16.6%
1931	509,364,750	380,555,292	240,686,976	563,380,826	8.9%
1936	670,302,600	476,592,095	289,359,293	699,381,972	11.3%
1937 (June 30)	702,477,600	524,138,071	299,116,323	732,392,033	12.4%

(The figures of fixed capital in latter years are seen more than the paid up capital, they are naturally met out of debentures and debts.)

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Book Reviews

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ENGLISH

PRISON ANTHOLOGY: *Edited by A. G. Stock d Reginald Reynolds. With 9 illustrations. Jarrolds blishers (London) Ltd., Paternoster House, Paternoster w, E. C. 4. Price 12s. 6d. net. Demy Octavo, . 292.*

This singularly interesting and thought-provoking ok has an introduction of 20 pages, and the prose pieces d poems included in it, written in prison, are divided o eleven sections, namely, On Prisoners and Prisons, neral Criticism, Fact, Fiction, Defiance, Dock and affold, Domestic, Religion, The Consolations of Philo-phy, Complaint, and Miscellany; and are 176 in mber. Their writers are almost as many. There are ly three Indians among them, one being Pandit waharlal Nehru. His paper on "The Mind of a Judge," hich is reproduced in the book, originally appeared in e *Modern Review.*

The "Who's Who" section tells the reader who the isoners were whose writings make this volume so man. Many of them were or are eminent men and men. "It is natural that in every generation the most dependent spirits should have clashed with the authority the State. Hence great writers, religious and political aders have often been among the jailbirds of their e; and from these and other prisoners, less famous no less spirited, we might expect original and varied nt. The anthology does not disappoint this hope."

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN ENGLAND: *Commentary. By Harold J. Laski.. Georege Allen and win, London. Demy 8vo. Pp. 453. Price 12s. 6d.*

Among the living publicists of Britain Professor ski perhaps is unsurpassed in his knowledge of the glish parliamentary system. No man is better fitted write a book on the British constitution than he. aders will, therefore, be glad that he has produced s book, which is an up-to-date successor to Walter gehot's *English Constitution.* The author emphasizes his preface that this book is not a formal description the working of the parliamentary system in England, essentially, as its sub-title states, a commentary ited to certain aspects of its working. He has tried deal with those aspects of its working which are most evant to the pressing problems of our time. The blems are those which confront Great Britain as a liamentary democracy and discusses the chances of r satisfactory solution.

The introduction, which occupies 58 pages, is very portant. It begins by discussing why Great Britain's tem of representative government has been more continuous and successful than any other elsewhere. He considers it unsatisfactory to attribute it to some special British genius for the difficult art of self-government.

The body of the book deals with the Party System, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, the Cabinet, the Civil Service, Parliament and the Judiciary and the Monarchy.

The provincial governments in India are at present run on the model of the British parliamentary system. If and when Federated India becomes an actuality, the Federation also will most probably be worked on the British parliamentary model. If *Purna Swaraj* is attained, that is, if India becomes fully independent and ceases to be a part of the British Empire or the British Commonwealth of Nations, there will be no monarchy. But even then substantially the British parliamentary system is likely to be followed. Hence Indian publicists and students should become acquainted with the merits and defects of that system as pointed out in Professor Laski's judiciously and impartially written book.

THE LETTER OF AN OLD BOLSHEVIK: *A Key to the Moscow Trials. George Allen & Unwin, London. Price 2s. net.*

The title of this book is self-explanatory.

"What mystifies the world is the manner in which the Old Bolshevik guard has been disposed of, their conduct and 'confessions' at the Moscow trials, and the nature of the new phase in the Communist dictatorship which the executions have symbolized." It is claimed for this book that it will help the reader to understand not only the trials themselves, but the entire character of the present phase in Russia, the conduct of the accused and Stalin's objectives.

THE LITTLE CLAY CART: *Translated anew from the Sanskrit with Introduction and Notes. By Revilo Pendleton Oliver. Published by the University of Illinois, Urbana Illinois, U. S. A., 1938. Price $2.50. Super-royal 8vo. Pp. 250. Printed very clearly on thick and fine antique paper.*

This new translation of *Mrichchhakatika*, a Sanskrit drama in ten acts attributed to King Sudraka, is prefaced by a long and scholarly introduction. The work contains an Appendix comprising seventeen sections.

In the Introduction the translator gives the reader much recondite information relating to the Author, the poet Bhasa, the date of Sudraka, the text, the commentaries, translations, this particular translation, and transliteration and pronunciation. He says that he has tried to restrict the notes to a minimum and to include in them nothing that is not necessary to an accurate understanding of the text.

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In the Appendix he treats of The Gods of Brahmanism, The Orthodox Philosophies, The Heretical Philosophies, The Caste System, The Four Stages of Life, The *asvamedha* Sacrifice, Suicide, Charudatta's Social Status, Gambling, The "Gambler's Circle," Ordeals, Erotology, The Hetaerae, The Prakrits, Authenticity of the Plays attributed to Bhasa, Bhasa's Play, and Aryaka. It is not possible in a brief notice like the present one to comment on the translator's observations in the Appendix. They are interesting and thought-provoking.

He holds that *The Little Clay Cart* is apparently a *refacimento* of an earlier drama by Bhasa, of which four acts are now extant.

The translation reads well and is easily understood. The translator points out some differences between this drama and the dramas of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti:

1. Four of the six plays of the latter are frankly based on preternatural forces. The superhuman does not appear in *The Little Clay Cart.*

2. In the formers' works human characters are of exalted rank. In them we see nothing of the ruined gentlemen, courtesans, gamblers, inhabitants of the demi-monde, and outcasts who are responsible for much of the realism of *The Little Clay Cart.*

3. The plays of Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti are primarily poetic, rather than dramatic. *The Little Clay Cart* is written in a style that is simple and direct, so that, in comparison, it seems attenuated and pedestrian.

4. In the former the emphasis on peotry, rather than dramaturgy, led to a corresponding weakness in plot. Although poetic ornament is used in *The Little Clay Cart* quite freely, this element is always subordinated and made to conform to the dramatic structure of the play.

5. This drama does not present *dramatis personae* familiar to Indian audiences; the characters are drawn from strata of society, seldom represented in serious drama, and each character has a definite personality of his own.

6. It does not conform to some of the rules laid down in the treatises on dramatic theory; *e.g.*, the hero does not appear in every act, and neither his name, nor that of the heroine appears in the title of the play.

D.

SARDESAI COMMEMORATION VOLUME: *Edited by S. R. Tikekar. Published by Keshav Bhujaji Dhaawali Girgaon. Bombay, 1933. Pages 318. Price Rs. 6.*

Rao Bahadur Govinda Sakharam Sardesai is universally acknowledged as the foremost authority on Maratha history. His *Marathi Riyasat* in nine volumes embodying a complete history of the rise, expansion and fall of the Maratha power and the editing by him of 45 volumes of "Selections from the Peshowa Daftar," from out of 27,000 bundles of Maratha MSS. justly entitle him to the honour and gratitude of his countrymen. A prophet, however, says the adage, is not honoured in his own country; we are therefore all the more glad to find that the services of G. S. Sardesai to the cause of Marhatha history were appreciated by the people of his own province.

The volume under review embodies contributions by scholars from all parts of India and is also enriched by the writings of a few English scholars too, *e.g.*, H. G. Rawlinson, Charles A. Kincaid and Edward Thompson. The dissertations contained in this volume relate mainly to Indian History, but treat of other subjects too, such as the Rastrapala Nataka of Aswaghosh, the caste-name Gavit, etc.

Amongst the contributions, mention may be made first of Sir Jadunath's (1) Mahadji Sindhia's Lalsot Campaign, (2) the Earliest Persian Account of the Panipat Campaign, 1761, both of which are of unsurpassed interest. On Panipat Campaign, there are two other interesting papers—(1) fragments of a Bhao-ballad in Hindi, which make a few incidents of war alive before our eyes by the charm and vigour of the bold narrative and (2) the other entitled, the Maratha-Afghan diplomatic tussle on the eve of Panipat, gives many illuminating details of the pourparlers that were carried on by the Durrani Chief and the Maratha C-in-C Sadasiv Rao Bhau, to win over Shujauddulah, the Nawab of Oudh. The statements, however, that the Oudh Chief looked upon Najib and not the Marathas as his rivals, and the contention made that Shujauddulah was not alienated by the Maratha policy of "loot, enslavement and horror" and was induced to join the Durrani Chief "by Najib's tact, diplomacy, and personal influence" are not at all convincing. The writer seems to have lent undue weight to Najib's tact, particularly on his pan-Islamic appeal, but it is clear that though the appeal provoked a blunt outburst from the Oudh Chief he did not immediately espouse "the cause of Islam" but bided some time, and "deliberated over the pros and cons for two or three days." It would, therefore, be more reasonable to hold that the graver and weightier consideration of self-interest (described on page 275, *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, II) and not the cry of "Islam in danger" nor Najib's suavity of speech and melo-dramatic action (by placing his neck under the Nawab's dagger), induced the wavering Nawab to cast in his lot with the Durrani Chief.

Among other articles, incorporated in this volume particular interest attaches to Rev. H. Heras' "The plastic representation of God amongst the Proto-Indians." This paper is a very erudite attempt to establish the worship of An, the supreme Lord, by the people of Mahenjodaro, but his reading of the pictograph writing and identification of images on the seals with An may be easily questioned. Space does not permit us to make comments separately on each of the articles, but we have no hesitation in stating that almost all the articles are well-written, and throw new light on the topics they deal with. There is, however, one contribution. "Indian Theory of the Universal State" which leaves much to be desired. The statements made herein are not only grotesque, but betray a curious form of historical sense, *e.g.* "the Empires of Ram and Ravana are greater than the Roman empire," p. 179, "such a great hero of India (Udayan) deserves a place in World History" p. 185. "A federation of the Asiatic world . . . was established by Yudhistira." . . . p. 186, etc. One or two dark spots however do not diminish in any way the merit of the volume which, we are sure, will be prized by all lovers of history. The volume fittingly concludes with a charming sketch of Sardasai's life and work by Sir Jadunath which will be read with intense interest by all from start to finish.

We commend this volume to all serious students of history, and though there are a few misprints here and there, (pp. 72, and 255), we heartily congratulate the editor Shripada R. Tikekar in bringing out this commemoration volume.

N. B. RAY

GREAT TRADE ROUTE—A SENTIMENTAL JOURNEY: *By Ford Madox Ford. George Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 12s. 6d.*

Mr. Madox Ford is a well-known writer. I have, therefore, given some time to the understanding of his

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ook. I took it up with the hope that it would allow e an easy glide like the other sentimental journey, its ighteenth Century predecessor, but unfortunately I ould not get any sense before I attacked it for the third me and this time I began the assault backwards. Obviously it is the story of a voyage from the East to the est, from Europe to America and from New York down to the deep south of America and back from there to urope *via* Gibraltar. But in reality it is a humorous escription of the experiences and emotions of the uthor—his own reactions to the world he has found imself in; the travel is merely a peg on which to hang em. He touches upon amusing anecdotes and incidents the right Shandean fashion. I cannot speak for his glish and American readers, but to the average Indian will seem rather obscure. There are lots of intimate ings, not familiar to us, on which much of his humour rns, and therefore, they are as good as lost on us. ough discursive in treatment, the central theme of the ok can be guessed from the author's antipathy to the achine age and dictatorship. He does not liquidate em however by lining them up against the wall and ming the machine gun on them, but by showing them It is doubtful however if the world will listen to m in the present state of circumstances.

THOUGHT AND IMAGINATION IN ART AND FE: *By Katherine M. Wilson, M.A., Ph.D., (Cantab). orge Allen & Unwin Ltd. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

This is a book of essays in which the author proaches her questions from the standpoint of a modern stic, relying on no authorities of the past, but finding asons for the forms of art, moral laws and religious liefs in our commonsense observations and nature. here are altogether fifteen essays, of which three are finitely literary. Discussing the question of Shelley's agination, the author makes the startling remark that elley has little imagination but a gigantic fancy. For s she relies upon Coleridge's well-known distinction tween imagination as the shaping and modifying power d fancy as the aggregative and associative power. e two other literary essays are (1) "The Lasting ality in Tennyson's Poetry" and "The Finite Emerson." e abstract treatment of her subjects and a tendency wards sententiousness frequently reminded me of the ays of Lord Avebury. The essays are well worth the dy of students preparing for examinations in English erature.

S. N. RAY

THE TIMES OF INDIA: *(Centenary) Annual 1939.*

This sumptuous annual publication has again come in its usual excellence. Latterly this annual has come more and more Indian in its character. Apart m its beautiful get-up and richness in illustrations, d fare is presented for the readers' consumption. ongst other articles, "India one hundred years ago" S. T. Sheppard and "The Fighting Patwardhans" by Patrick Cadell are worthy of special mention, as is reproduction of Mr. W. E. Gladstone Solomon's he return from the Well" amongst coloured illustra-ns.

K. N. C.

SEPARATE STAR: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY: *By ncis Foster. Published by Victor Gollancz Ltd. ndon. 1938. Pp. 320. Price 12sh. 6d.*

The author is a young man of about fortyfour, has d a life of wonderfully varied and rich experiences and book, which is mostly a record of these, reads like ovel. Beginning life as a precocious child, who is the tor and principal contributor of a printed school magazine he becomes by turns, a newspaper reporter, and a student in an Anglican Theological Seminary. When the great war breaks out, he enlists in the Artists' Rifles and is wounded when leading a very daring raid on the enemy's trenches. Upon the signing of the Armistice, he secures a permanent commission in the Indian army and is sent out almost immediately afterwards to Palestine and from there to Egypt. Returning to India after a couple of years, he takes an active part in the Waziristan campaign of 1921-22, with which his army career ends. He now begins to take a serious interest in institutional religion and eventually enters the Third Franciscan Order, though he was born and brought up as a Protestant. Finally, although he retains his sympathies for Romanism as the only authoritative form of popular Christianity, he leaves the Order, marries and becomes a free-lance priest after having been ordained by a bishop of the Nestorian Church. As a priest, he does not accept money for any religious service and earns his living through literary pursuits.

Although even as a child the author develops an interest in religion and the ultimate meaning of life, he does not for some years go out deliberately in search of truth so much—as truths, both spiritual and otherwise, are thrust on him by his experiences. The most interesting event in his life, we think, is his chance meeting with a Hindu Mystic, named Ananda and it cannot be denied that the author's philosophy of life, which is startlingly original in many respects, is based ultimately on the Indian mystical belief which recognises the oneness of the universe with God and considers the world of senses as merely a picture in His mind. The author goes in for a lot of original thinking when he sets out to find a basis of unity for this philosophy with what he considers to be the fundamentals of the Christian Doctrine. In some places the conclusions he arrives at in his efforts to effect a compromise may appear to some to be rather forced but his sincerity of purpose cannot for a moment be doubted.

To the Indian reader the book will doubly commend itself because the author does not make a secret of his admiration for India and the Indians. The accident of his being attached for some considerable time with a regiment of Dogras, one of the finest and manliest of Indian races, must have had something to do, with this attitude of mind, which is so unusual in the average Englishman.

S. K. C.

THE LIGHT OF VIRTUE: *By Newman. Part I. Published by Manager, Thiruvalluvarnilayam, Tuticorin. 1933. Pp. 36. Price Re. 1. 2as.*

This is a translation in English verse of some passages from the Tamil work, *Dharmadheepikai* by Kaviraja Jagaveerapandian. It consists of a number of moral precepts, more or less of the hackneyed kind. The translation is not at all happy and in most places is neither English nor poetry.

CHILDREN OF AN IDLE BRAIN: *By Nagendra N. Mukerjee. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 15.*

This is a lovely little volume of humorous poems. Although its bulk is small its contents are of exquisite quality, all the pieces being genuine poetry with elegant diction, faultless metre and delicious wit.

THE SWAN MESSENGER: *By G. K. Pillai, B.A. Published by Arthur H Stockwell, Ltd., London. Pp. 48.*

This is a dramatic poem giving a beautiful poetic version in English of the fascinating Indian legend of Nala and Damayanti. It is a remarkable performance and shows all through a dramatic sense, verbal elegance and

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metrical melody of a high order. The work deserves a wide circulation and is sure to meet with warm appreciation wherever it is read.

P. K. GUHA

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION IN BENGAL. PART 1. (HOWRAH): *By Bejoy Krishna Bhattacharjee, Published by the Book Agency. Pp. 292. Price Rs. 2-8.*

With the growing consciousness in the country, the civic administration has slowly but steadily come to be dominated by advanced public opinion. Consequently the civic problems have come to loom large in public eye ever than before. Any attempt to study the problems in their proper perspective must be viewed with a sense of satisfaction. Mr. B. K. Bhattacharjee, the author of the present book under review, deals with the problems of the Municipal Administration of Howrah, and hopes to deal with the other Municipal Towns in a separate book. Municipal problems in most of the towns are more or less identical and the problems dealt with in the case of Howrah, gives a rough idea as to the civic problems of Bengal in general. In the circumstances the usefulness of the present volume cannot be overestimated. Education, health and sanitation are the main problems of the cities and towns, which call for more serious attention of the Municipal authorities, and the author has made a critical analysis of the subjects.

With the growing populations in the urban areas, the question of improving and expanding the cities and towns, has added to the complexities of the problem. Referring to the operations of the Calcutta Improvement Trust, the author regrets the influx of foreign population, displacement of original inhabitants and abnormal rise in the land values in Calcutta. This is no doubt a deplorable situation, but how far that is due to the operations of the Improvement Trust alone, it is difficult to assess. This cannot be viewed as an isolated factor. In fact, it is the failure of the villages to maintain the growing number of population that hastened this influx to the cities and towns, and no satisfactory solution of the problem is possible unless the countrysides are made habitable and attractive for the people to live in and the exodus is stopped. This is the crux of the economic problem of the country, urban, and rural, and is a tragedy of our economic life.

Mr. Bhattacharjee is a nationalist, and a freshness of outlook lits up the pages of this thought-provoking book.

NIHAR RANJAN MUKHERJEE

SADHANA OR SPIRITUAL DISCIPLINE. Its various forms (Expository and critical): *By Sadhu Santinath. Published by the Oriental Book Agency, 15 Shukrawar, Poona 2. Pp. 157+CXXXII+XVIII.*

The book forms the eighth chapter of the author's bigger work in two volumes "The Critical Examination of the Philosophy of Religion" (published by the Indian Research Institute of Philosophy, Amalner) with many additions as footnotes and appendices mostly from other parts of the latter. Both the former and the latter works are meant for free distribution to interested persons and important libraries.

Sadhu Santinath, the well-known scholar-monk of Upper India, is one of the chief disciples of the late Saint Gambhiranath of Gorakhpur. He has spent twenty-five years in strenuous practice of, first devotional, then Yogic and finally Vedantic Sadhana, as the result of which, he was, as he tells us in the book under review, fortunately able to attain the state of *Samadhi* (trance). The severe austerities he had undergone in course of his prolonged *Tapasya*, produced serious brain-troubles. For relief, he had to divert his attention to the study of Philosophy and has occupied himself with the same for over a decade.

He had the rare fortune of studying difficult philosophical Texts, mostly in Sanskrit with some of the celebrated scholar-monks of India and going through all the available printed works on the Advaita School of Vedanta. Afterwards he turned his attention to the perusal of the unpublished manuscripts on Vedanta and studied more than six hundred of them from different libraries at Bombay, Poona, Baroda, Madras, Tanjore, Srirangam, Mysore, Sringeri, Broach, Nasik and Calcutta. Then he issued a series of publications in Hindi, Bengali, Sanskrit and English, embodying his Religio-Philosophical views formed from life-long study and meditation; of which the one under review is the latest and, we hope, not the last.

Sadhu Santinath, to our bewilderment, says that in the trance, he has attained after so many years of intense Sadhana, he has not been, however, blessed with the vision of Truth and hence jumps to the hasty conclusion that direct awareness of Truth in Samadhi is impossible. Sadhana, he says, has no metaphysical or ethical end and no metaphysical truth can be rationally established nor can it be intuited. He frankly confessed that he started his spiritual journey as a staunch believer but had unluckily to end it as an inveterate agnostic. His remarks about after-life which are no less astonishing, are as follows: "What next? I can't answer. I confess, the whence, the whither and the why of man, I do not know." So in this book, he plays the role of an "uncompromising critic," and attempts to prove the futility of all kinds of Sadhana advocated by various religious and philosophical systems of the East and the West, such as Buddhism, Jainism, Nyaya-Vaishesika, Sankhya and Yoga, Purva Mimansa, Vaisnavism and Vedanta as well as non-Indian Theistic Schools of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Christianity and Muhammedanism.

With due respect for the holy life of the author, the present reviewer feels constrained to opine that the author himself stands condemned by his scathing condemnation of all Sadhanas. The readers, I am sure, will agree with me in questioning the genuineness of the author's trance; for Samadhi that does not give one the vision of Truth is not the real Samadhi. Such a trance is no better than a swoon or an unconscious condition something like that under chloroform. The Gita clearly states that many practise Sadhana, but only a handful can realize Truth. The Upanishads also in the same strain declare that Truth reveals its real nature to those it listeth. It seems to be the very height of folly on the part of the author to challenge the validity of the spiritual realizations of Buddha, Shankar, Christ, Mohammed and such other world teachers, all of whom have proclaimed in no uncertain words their realization of truth as ultimate Reality.

The author however spares no pains to bring out some corrollaries of his main conclusion, as stated above. He is of opinion that there is no necessity in Sadhana of accepting a Guru (Spiritual Master) and he goes to the length of observing that there is "nothing new about the art of concentration to be learnt from an expert." Moreover he has questioned the authority of the religious scriptures of the world. The arguments he has advanced in this connection are too frail to require refutation.

Next the target of his attack is Ramkrishna Paramhansadev, whose synthesis of religions, in his opinion, is based only on an assumption and it is nothing more than a particular view among other existing views. The Rig-Veda proclaims in unmistakable terms that Truth is one, and seers describe It variously. In our opinion, Sri Ramkrishna's message may be, as our author says,

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of many systems of Spiritual Sadhana, but it is nonetheless directed to that supreme realization of Truth, and are as comprehensive and thorough in that regard as have not yet been evolved by any Teacher.

The book has, however, descriptive contents at the outset and an elaborate index at the end. The language of the book is lucid but loose, simple but shallow, clear but not convincing. It is an erratic and blasphemous work and hardly repays serious perusal.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

RAMALINGA SWAMIJI: *By T. V. G. Chetty. Published by the author c/o. Messrs. C. H. Ashe & Co., 22, Richmond Road, Bangalore, S. India. Pp. 177. Price Rs. 2.*

This book is an account of the life and writings of a *Swami* or saint of southern India. There are *two* Forewords to the book, and one Preface by the author. There is an index covering 15 pages, three appendices, and a long list of *errata*. The text contains plenty of Sanskrit words and references to Sanskrit authorities, which are explained, sometimes wrongly, in foot-notes. The foot-notes thus cover almost a third of the entire volume of the book.

Of the writers of the Forewords, one is a retired Dewan of Travancore, and the other is a Lieutenant-Colonel, whether military or medical, is not clear. But this latter gentleman writes from France and is apparently a European. He, therefore, as might be expected, is not inclined to believe in the miracles which must be there in the life of a Swami. "It is not to be expected," says he, "that the accounts of the miracles will prove acceptable to all readers." Another of his adverse remarks has produced the 3rd appendix of the author.

A feature of the book is the wrong transliteration of some Sanskrit words; the Sanskrit *a* almost invariably becomes *e*; thus, for *nakshatra*, we have nakshetra (p. 6 & 34); for *dakshina*, we have *dekshana* (p. 6), &c.

Some of the foot-notes make interesting reading, but it would have been prudent for the author to withhold them from the readers. In a foot-note on Dharma (religion), the author says that 'it is co-extensive with God' (p. 1). In another, he displays his etymological skill by deriving the word *guru* in four different ways—all meaning 'God Almighty' (p. 16). Sometimes a Sanskrit word is introduced in the text just for the pleasure of writing a foot-note on it(*cf.* p. 9).

The book has been written in English obviously for a larger circulation. But the Swamiji whose life we read here does not appear to have much following outside the Madras Presidency; and the book might well have been in one of the many vernaculars of southern India. Whatever else it may be, it is not a scientific biography. Perhaps the subject itself does not admit of such treatment.

U. C. BHATTACHARJEE

REVOLUTIONARY PORTUGAL (1910-1936): *By V. de Braganca-Cunha. Published by James Clarke & Co., Ltd., 5 Wardrobe Place, Carter Lane, London, E.C. 4, 1938. Pp. 282. Price 7s. 6d. net.*

In the Iberian Peninsula, Spain has been in the limelight for the last two years and more, on account of the war still raging on its own soil, a unique war, more international than civil. Portugal like Spain has a glorious past, and the author successfully conveys to the reader an impression of its past greatness. Since the beginning of the present century, however, the process of disorganization or disintegration has been at work; the King and the Crown Prince were put out of the way, and the forces of revolt proclaimed a republic in October 1910. But what has been the achievement of the republic? The ancient monarchy was insulted, the press was not made free, the nefarious Acts were still in the Statute book, the workers were not satisfied, the carbonarios were continuing their work of espionage and revenge; even the gentle Queen Amelia, devoted to humanitarian work, was not suffered to be proof against slanders and the government did not refrain from attacking the Church. The Revolutionaries, in course of more than a quarter of a century, have shown themselves thoroughly unfit for their task, by reason of their fascist mentality, imperfect political education, want of an alert intellect, and the maladministration that has followed has been inevitable under the circumstances.

The writer feels sick of the insecurity that reigns, and voices his protest against the powers that have usurped the authority in the State. He has weighed "the new State" in the balance and found it wanting. The book thus amounts to a censure on the present government of Portugal, which is helplessly weak in foreign relations, in the economic organization and in the enforcement of law and order. Mr. Braganca-Cunha prophetically declares: "The political complications which accumulate on Europe's head might result among other things in endangering the position of Portugal as the third colonial power in the world." Signs are not wanting to indicate that he may, in this, prove a true prophet.

It is not necessary to dilate here on the comparative excellence of republics or monarchies, and to pronounce a judgment at this time of the day on one form of government at the expense of the other, but one cannot help feeling sometimes that the writer is pressing for changes that cannot come about—all government, till the world is made *fundamentally* better, has to depend upon efficient espionage, press censorship, etc., only these must not lend a handle to popular discontent, and such work should be done on the responsibility of the trusted and chosen leaders of the people.

Mastery of detail and a vivid imagination, love of Portugal and faith in its people, are evident in the book, and the treatment of events and causes is not that of a cold, lifeless treatise, but it is instinct with the author's hopes and fears, emotions and impulses, and that makes the book all the more enjoyable in the reading.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

INDIAN FEDERATION: *By Bool Chand, Ph.D. (London.), Lecturer on History and Political Science, Hindu College, University of Delhi. Published by the Fabian Society, London, Fabian Tract, No. 245.*

The fundamental defects of the proposed Indian federal scheme are more effectively brought out in this tract in most of the publications on the subject. Dr. Bool Chand questions the very basis of the new constitution. In his view federalism is quite unsuitable as a form of Government for any progressively industrializing country, for "the basis of all political and economic development today is scientific planning, and scientific planning is impossible unless it is operated upon a uniform, general and national scale." Prof. Bool Chand's objection is not directed to a further division of administrative control in purely social and cultural matters. He is primarily concerned with the division of directing power in economic matters, which is a sure concomitant of the federal scheme of organization, but which in his view can cause "nothing but an obstacle in the way of social and economic adjustment." He points out in support of his view that "even in America, rightly thought of as the traditional home of federalism, the defects of the federal structure are receiving far more attention today than its virtues have ever done."

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The author is, of course, not blind to the "prospect of completely united India offered by the Government of India Act," his objection is to the way that union is to be affected and the intentions behind the whole scheme. The angry reception of the Simon Commission Report in India, the author thinks, convinced the British Government that India would not accept any constitution which did not concede at least partial responsibility at the Centre; but the British Government had no desire to accord responsible government to British India without ensuring that Government's conservative character, and this could be done only by bringing the autocratic Indian States into the Federation.

The author regards as invalid and wholly biased the findings of the Indian States Committee of 1928-29 that although the Indian States were fully sovereign as against the Government of India they could not claim either external or even internal sovereignty against the Paramount Power, which means the British Crown in isolation from the British Government of India. "Once these two propositions were established, it was naturally to the interest of the British Indian Government to seek to accomplish a union of the whole country by taking in Indian States as a part of All-India Federation on almost any terms. At the same time, the Indian States would be only anxious to join such a Federation, if possible on their own terms, for joining such a federation would ensure (1) a voice in the affairs of the Indian Government such as they have not possessed so far and (2) a comparatively larger measure of freedom from interference from the Paramount Power than had so far been the case."

The Tract then proceeds to discuss the various main anomalies and complexities in the organization of the legislative and executive authority of the federal scheme. For instance, it notices that "in any federation, there is a double citizenship, Federal and Provincial; the Federal Government acts not only for the associated Provinces but also directly for their citizens. But in the Indian Federation, the subjects of the Native States, although these States may accede to the federal scheme, would not be citizens of the federation; they would not be in the enjoyment of the same civic rights as those enjoyed by the citizens of the British Indian Provinces."

In the end, the author analyses at length, with great acuteness the attitudes of the people of British India and Indian States' Rulers towards the proposed federation. To British Indian opinion generally the scheme is wholly unacceptable, for it offers the possibility of an almost continuous control of the Federal Executive by the States representatives either by themselves or in coalition with some other small group. The attitude of the Indian Princes is still uncertain and unmade; the trouble is that the advantages which accrue to the Indian States from the federal scheme are in reality no advantages to them, although they certainly are a serious loss to British India. "The truth is that the Rulers are quite conscious that in a progressively industrialising State their position is very weak. As the State becomes more and more positivistic, the existence of feudal territorial autonomies becomes more and more anomalous. In the face of growing economic and political necessities, neither law nor rights, however well-founded and however well-reorganized by the Paramount Power, do really avail."

Dr. Bool Chand's argument is convincing throughout and strikes a new hope inasmuch as the author objects to the very idea of Federation. Life in the modern world has become and is tending still further to become so increasingly technical and complicated that the running of the State is bound to become more and more difficult unless there is a greater concentration of authority. This line of thought, the author thinks, seems completely to have escaped the constitutional advisers of the Indian National Congress, as is revealed by the adherence of the Congress Resolution to the idea of the federation in principle.

Prof. Bool Chand's is the first tract written by an Indian to have been published by the Fabian Society.

PREM NARAIN NIGUM

SANSKRIT

HAIMAPRAKASA MAHA-VYAKARANA *of Vinayavijaya-gani, Part I (Purvardha). Edited with Notes and Indices by Upadhyaya Ksemavijaya-gani. Sri-Ami-Soma Jaina-granthamala, No. 1. 57-59, Old Modi Street, Fort Bombay. 1937. Pp. 472+separate pp. of Introduction, Indices, etc. Price Rs. 8.*

An industrious and prolific writer of versatile talents, the great Jaina teacher Hemachandra occupies an important place in the history and literature of mediæval Jainism. Of his many useful compilations, his grammatical compendium, the *Siddha-Hemachandra*, which devotes its first seven chapters to Sanskrit grammar and the last to Prakrit, is a well-known and widely used work. Although it reshapes older materials, its practical arrangement and convenient terminology earned from Kielhorn the praise of its being "the best grammar of the Indian middle ages," and made it a popular work in Western India, necessitating a number of commentaries in later times.

The present commentary on the Sanskrit portion of Hemachandra's grammar, rearranged in the Prakriya form, was composed in the third decade of the 17th century by Vinayavijaya-gani, pupil of Kirtivijaya-gani. To his credit there is also a work called *Loka-prakasa* (published in the Devchand Lalbhai Jaina-pustakoddhara Series) and a learned commentary on the *Kalpa-sutra*. The present work is not only a commentary but also a detailed and exhaustive grammatical study in itself. The first part, which has so far been published, contains Samjna, Samdhi, Sabda-rupa, Avyaya, Stri-pratyaya, Karaka, Samasa and Taddhita, and thus covers some of the most important topics. It has been edited with great care, knowledge and industry by a learned Jaina scholar; and the typographical and other resources of the famous Nirnaya Sagara Press of Bombay have left nothing to be desired by way of neat printing and general get-up. It is unfortunate, however, that the list of misprints, corrected in the Errata, should run into double columns of four quarto pages. There is an introduction written in Gujarati, but in the interest of a wider public it would have been better if it had been presented in Sanskrit or English. The work augurs well for the new Jaina Series which it opens, and we hope that the rest of the work will be soon in the hands of interested Sanskritists.

S. K. De

BADARAYANA-SAMMATA-BRAHMA SUTRA BHASYA--NIRNAYA: *By Pandit Rajendranath Ghosh, Vedantabhusana, Pada I, Pp. 90. Published by Sj. Kshetrapal Ghosh of 6, Parsibagan Lane. Price Re. 1.*

This is a work of a novel kind—a comparative exegesis of the Vedanta Sutras of Vyasa, with a view to the determination of the position of the Sutrakara himself, amidst the various commentaries, with which the text of the sage, is encrusted over. Pandit Vedantabhusana, whose labours in the field of popularisation of Vedantic thought among the Bengali-reading public have been varied and spread over many years, attempts here a systemetic application of certain canons of interpretations well-known and time-

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honoured, but not employed before with the same degree of thoroughness or with a comparative view to the bhasyas of Shankara, Bhaskara, Ramanuja, Nimarka, Madhva, Shreekantha, Sreekara, Vallabha, Vijnanabhikshu and Baladeva, and by examining and tabulating the deviations to suit the doctrine of his own school, that each has been forced to arrive at the conclusion, that Shankara the exponent of Absolute monism comes nearest to the import of the author of the aphorisms. The treatise is written in Sanskrit, still the lingua franca of the world of Indian indigenous scholarship, as an invitation to the adherents of the different schools to peruse it and to verify where the works of the ten great masters stand under this examination. Pandit Vedantabhusana has been under the necessity of making the classical language a vehicle of modern historical spirit and methods of investigation and it is to be hoped that the adapted medium will commend itself to those accustomed to the classic idiom and manner of exposition. The learned writer proposes to examine the entire text of the Brahmasutras numbering 555 and in Shankara's treatment divided into 191 adhikaranas or sections, which will make his work a considerable Volume. For the wider public interested in Indian philosophy the presentment of the work in an English garb is desirable and may be expected from the Pandit, whose industry equals the close method and thoroughness of his treatment of absolute topics.

BATUK NATH BHATTACHARYA

BENGALI-ENGLISH

BANKIM-PRATIBHA: (*"Genius of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee"*). *Edited by Bimal Chandra Sinha. Price Rs. 3. To be had at Ranjan Publishing House, 25/2, Mohan Bagan Row, Calcutta. Pages 84+86 of the size of The Modern Review, with a portrait of Bankim Chandra.*

The Bengali section of this well got-up and neatly printed volume contains the papers read at the Bankim Chandra Centenary celebration at the Paikpara Raj Palace, Calcutta, together with some other material. Among the contributors are Rabindranath Tagore, Praphulla Chandra Ray, Hirendranath Datta, Jadunath Sarkar, Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, Brajendranath Banerji, Mankumari Basu, and Bimal Chandra Sinha. Some of the papers have a permanent value.

The English section contains Bankim Chandra's hitherto unpublished Letters on Hinduism and an English translation of parts of his novel *Devi Chaudhurani.* The editor says in his introduction that the Letters on Hinduism and the translation of *Devi Chaudhurani* have been printed as they are in the manuscripts, which the author left unfinished and unrevised. His Letters on Hinduism nevertheless are deserving of serious study. They evince powers of clear and deep thinking and lucid and forcible expression, and also show how well-read he was. He does not stand up for Hinduism as it is, as the following sentences will show:

"It is precisely popular delusions of this sort that have encrusted Hinduism with the rubbish of ages—with superstitions and absurdities which subvert its higher purposes; and which it is the duty of every true Hindu actively to assail and destroy. The noxious parasitic growth must be exterminated before Hinduism can hope further to carry on the education of the human race. Hinduism is in need of a reformation;—not an unprecedented necessity for an ancient religion. But reformed and purified, it may yet stand forth before the world as the noblest system of individual and social culture available to the Hindu even in this age of progress."

D.

BENGALI

CHANDIDAS-CHARIT: *Edited by Prof. Jogesh Chandra Ray, Vidyanidhi: Published from Prabasi Press, 120/2 Upper Circular Road Calcutta. 1344. B. S. Price Rs. 2/8. Pp. 235 of the size of The Modern Review.*

It is a long narrative poem, describing the life of the great Bengali poet Chandidas, who lived about a hundred years before the birth of Chaitanya Deb. The poem was composed by Krishnaprasad Sen, on the basis of a Sanskrit poem by his great-grandfather Udaynarayan Sen, and the Editor puts down the date of this Bengali work at somewhere near 1815 A.D. about 125 years ago. The manuscript on which the present publication is based is dated at about 1867. It is a remarkable production, not only in regard to its length, which is considerable, but also on account of the variety of material which is woven together round the life of its hero. Love, war, adventure, religious controversy—all are here, and the march of events as well as of the verses is vigorous. Judged by the amount of miscellaneous information on the many topics with which it deals, it is almost encyclopaedic in its scope, and in that it conforms to the general principle and practice of most Bengali poems of length.

I have said, it is a unique poem in many respects. It has a tendency to synthetise the different forms of religion—the Tantric, the Vaishnav, Islam, all faiths come to understand each other. Chandidas, the great figure in Bengali Vaishnav poetry, is here much more than a mere shadowy figure or literary convention; he is a great transmuting agency in real life. Even in the customary description of the world the book differs from the common run. The indications given regarding the dates also show a sort of recondite learning; the learned editor has been baffled in explaining or restoring the *Sivastaka* —the group of eight stanzas in praise of Siva which here appears in a corrupt form. There are many allusions to different episodes, and all of them have not yet been explained, *e.g.*, on p. 150 a form of austerities is described which makes for kingship. We refer to the minister of Karnat, jealous of the King's power, expressing his surprise at this item of information.

But it is not proper to confine one's attention merely to the reconditeness of the work. There are many passages of poetic excellence; they are not purple patches, nor is the vein cloying in its continuity. The episode of Kalyani, beautiful, brave and skilled in fighting, by itself is sufficient to establish the author of the book as a poet of rare merit. It is of a piece with the rest of the work, and, as I have said, the metre and the rhythm keep pace with the content. It may be expected that the reading public will come to appreciate *Chandidas-Charit* as a work of poetry, apart from its value in the examination of the basis of Chandidas's life.

PRIYARANJAN SEN

KURU-PANDAB: *By Rabindranath Tagore. Visvabharati Bookshop, 210, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Second Edition. Price Re. 1-8.*

From its very origin Bengali literature has been intimately connected with Sanskrit. Hence the older Bengali style was specially influenced by the Sanskrit language, from which Bengali borrowed a large vocabulary without any change. Students and others cannot fully master Bengali without mastering Sanskritized Bengali. The book under notice, narrating the Kurukshetra war, as described in the Mahabharata, was, therefore, written in the kind of Bengali which has a large proportion of Sanskrit words. It is used as a text-book in the upper classes of the school at Santiniketan. It

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is suitable for similar use in other Bengali schools. All, including non-Bengalis, who wish to master Bengali may with advantage study this book.

BANGLAR RISHI (OR RISHIS OF BENGAL): *By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. Presidency Library, Dacca. Price Re. 1-4.*

This book contains biographical sketches, with portraits, of "Rajarshi Rammohun Roy," "Maharshi Devendranath Tagore," "Brahmananda Keshub Chunder Sen," "Mahatma Bijayakrishna Goswami," and "Swami Vivekananda." These sketches are fit to serve as introductions to the larger biographies of these worthies.

BYAYAME BANGALI (OR BENGALIS IN ATHLETICS): *By Anil Chandra Ghosh, M.A. Presidency Library, Dacca. Price Re. 1.*

This book gives an account of some two dozen Bengali athletes and 'strong men,' with portraits. The list includes those who have won renown in wrestling, or ordinary athletics and gymnastics, or as bowmen, or in fencing and boxing, or in *lathi*-play. It has chapters devoted to physical culture for both men and women, and to drill and parade. It is a good handbook for physical culturists.

MAHAKABI-KRITTIBAS-BIRACHITA RAMAYAN, ADI-KANDA: *Edited by Sri Nalinikanta Bhattasali, M.A., Ph.D. Published by P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Hony. Secretary, Oriental Text Publication Committee, University of Dacca. Price Rs. 2-8.*

The story of the Ramayan has been told in verse in extenso by many old Bengali poets. Among them Krittibas is the most widely known and his work is the most extensively read. But the book which has been printed again and again by various publishers as the Ramayan of Krittibas is in great part not his work but that of others. The work under notice is an attempt at giving the public a re-constructed version of one of the first canto of his Ramayan. Dr. Bhattasali has very extensive knowledge of old manuscripts. He has attempted the re-construction of the first canto of this Ramayan with the help of ten manuscripts of the Ramayan of Krittibas and of other versions of the Ramayan. He has done his work with scrupulous care and great industry. His learned introduction alone covers 64 pages of the size of *The Modern Review*. He devoted more than two years to this task. The book was published more than two years ago, though it reached *The Modern Review* office only last month. It is stated in the introduction, written more than two years ago, that the editor has almost finished editing two more cantos of the work. It is to be hoped, he has by now approached the end of his labours, and the public may expect to see at no distant day a complete edition of the authentic Ramayan of Krittibas, as far as it is possible to restore it now. For the poet wrote his work about 520 years ago, but the oldest manuscript available at present is some three centuries old.

Both scholars and the general readers will find Dr. Bhattasali's edition profitable and pleasant reading.

KASHIRAM DAS—MAHABHARAT: *Edited by Sri Purna Chandra De, Kabibhushan, Kabyaratna, Udbhatsagar, B.A. Indian Publishing House, 22/1, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. In two volumes. Price of the complete work Rs. 7. Pp. 1576+68. With 101 illustrations in colours and 2 in monochrome, and a map of India of the age of the Mahabharat.*

The editor says in the introduction that he has devoted nine years of his life to the preparation of this work, which was composed some three centuries ago. He has had access to more than 900 manuscripts, but did his work with the help of some 50 or 60. He has given a biographical sketch of the poet Kashiram Das, and also a biographical sketch of the late Babu Chintamani Ghosh, founder and proprietor of the Indian Press.

This edition of the Bengali Mahabharat by Kashiram Das differs from the editions previously published in numerous readings and in that it contains 35 hitherto unpublished episodes. Difficult and rare words have been explained throughout at the bottom of the page. Where necessary for elucidation, verses from the original Sanskrit Mahabharat have been quoted. The editor has pointed out the differences, where they occur, between the narrations of events in the Sanskrit and this Bengali Mahabharat.

The type used is big, and the printing and paper excellent. The pictures, which do not claim to be works of art by well-known artists, have been neatly printed.

D.

ITALIAN

LA POLITICA FINANZIARIA BRITANNICA IN INDIA: *By Monindra M. Moulik. Nicola Zanichelli Editore. Bologna, 1938. Price 25lira.*

The present volume, which is a study of the financial condition of India under the British rule, was prepared by the author as a thesis for the Doctor's degree in political science of the University of Rome. Within the scope of the 238 pages of the book, the author has covered most of the important aspects of the British management of Indian finances and he comes to the conclusion, supported by facts and figures as well as by quotations from various well-known writers on India, that the many economic ills from which the country is suffering is due to the control of its destiny by the British Parliament and not on account of over population, primitive type of agriculture, frequency of famines and other causes as is asserted by interested parties. There are altogether nine chapters in the book. The first chapter is an effort to prove the British responsibility for the poverty of India. Then follow chapters on statutory guarantees and commercial safeguards, home charges, military and administrative expenses, public debt, customs and industries, railways, land revenue and agriculture, money and exchange. In the concluding chapter the author throws out certain suggestions for the development of Indian finance in the future. We congratulate the author for his clear and comprehensive, though succinct, survey of the economic condition of the Indian people, which he has done not only with emotion but also with enthusiasm.

P. N. ROY

BOOKS RECEIVED:

SAINT APPAR, HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: *By M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The South India Saiva Siddhanta Works, Publishing Society, Tinnevelly and Madras. Pages 96 and a portrait of Saint Appar. Price annas twelve.*

SAINT MANICKAVASAKAR: HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS: *By Prof. M. S. Purnalingam Pillai, B.A., L.T. Published by The Bibliotheca, Munnirpallam P.O. Tinnevelly District, South India. Pages 95.*

ASHRAMS, ANCIENT AND MODERN, THEIR AIMS AND IDEALS: *By Dr. Savarirayan Jesudason, F.R.C.S.E. Pages 58 and 12 plates. Price annas eight.*

UNPASSED UNTOUCHABILITY: *By P. Venkayya. Pages 60. An exhortation to abolish examinations and detentions of school-going children in India and to make attendance and study at a public school a sufficient qualification for promotion to next class automatically.*

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BRITISH POLITICS TODAY

By Prof. NARESH CHANDRA ROY, M.A., Ph.D.

When early in the present year Mr. Eden resigned his office of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and explained his position in the House of Commons and the country, a distinct section of the people and a conservative section at that was found inclined to support him. An opinion seemed to gain ground that Mr. Chamberlain was showing too much of deference to the dictators and lowering thereby the independent tradition of the country. The trend of speeches on different public platforms and the comments in the columns of the newspapers misled unwary people to think that the days of Mr. Chamberlain as Prime Minister were numbered. In India at that time it was taken for granted by many people that the existing government was on its last legs and Mr. Chamberlain's leadership of the Conservative Party and the National Government would soon be challenged both from within and without. For long of course nothing very spectacular happened. Mr. Eden continued to be in the wilderness and the National Government continued to sit tight in office. It is true for months before September its prestige was not very high. The policy of Mr. Chamberlain was also not spectacularly successful. An agreement with Italy was mooted but it could not be operated for long because of Italy's continued participation in the Spanish Civil War. But while the National Government could boast of no distinct success in the realm of foreign policy which alone loomed large before the public, it still held its own in the country. It even seemed to make good the setback which had been administered to it by the resignation of so popular a Minister as Mr. Eden.

Then in September was raised the issue of the Sudetan Germans in Czecho-Slovakia and along with it was, as a matter of fact, raised the question of the future of this country as a sovereign state in Central Europe. The way in which this subject was handled by the Government of Mr. Chamberlain was interpreted in India as definitely reflecting not only discredit but also shame upon this Government. Great Britain first of all appeared upon the Czecho-Slovak scene as a candid friend and a benevolent mediator but then suddenly it changed its role and became associated with its despoiler. This was a change of front which appeared to most people in India as amounting to a moral bankruptcy on the part of the Government, which, it was rather glibly assumed, would never be tolerated by the British people. Secondly, the reduction of Czecho-Slovakia to a position of virtual vassalage to Germany increased the strength and augmented the strategic position of the latter country to a degree which must be disquieting to the Western Powers. From this standpoint also it was thought in India that Mr. Chamberlain's policy was an abject failure and he would be held accountable to the bar of public opinion on this account. But none of these speculations so seriously indulged in India have come true in Great Britain. As a result of the great betrayal of September last, Mr. Chamberlain instead of losing one iota of his former influence has rather gained considerably in prestige and today he may be said to be securely entrenched in power.

Recently two bye-elections were held—one in Oxford and the other in Darford. The Government retained the first seat and lost the second to labour. The fact that the second seat was lost should not be regarded as a symptom of the general decline of prestige on the part of Mr. Chamberlain and his Government. It should be remembered that the general election was held as far back as 1935 and the Government is now in the fourth year of its life. This is an important fact to be reckoned with. A Government so long in office and power cannot but create a revulsion of feeling in some quarters. That has been a natural and inevitable concomitant of party government in Great Britain. Secondly, the constituency which has just elected Mrs. Adamson as a labour member to the House of Commons has never been reputed for its loyalty to any particular party affiliation. During the last one decade and a half it has wavered between different parties and has divided its attachment between labour and conservatism with strict impartiality. So although the election of Mrs. Adamson may be interpreted in some circles as the desertion of Mr. Chamberlain's Government by this constituency, its significance is not very far-reaching.

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The Oxford election however has a moral of its own. The city of Oxford has been, it is true, a conservative stronghold. So the return of Mr. Chamberlain's candidate by this city may be taken as inevitable and may be regarded as having no special significance of its own. But the circumstances of the election have given rather a special importance to this election and its result. The candidate of the National Government was Mr. Quinton Hogg, the son of Lord Hailsham who has just retired from the Cabinet. He is a young man without much of an influence of his own in the constituency. His strength lay only in his candidature on behalf of the National Government. His opponent on the other hand was no other than Mr. A. D. Lindsay, the Master of Balliol College, Oxford, and an ex-Vice-Chancellor of this University. Mr Lindsay has an academic reputation which is almost unrivalled in modern England. As the Master of Balliol, he has a prestige which not only extends over the whole country but has travelled beyond it as well. Some years back he paid a visit to India as a member of the Commission which enquired into the condition of the Christian Colleges in that country. He was invited also by the University of Calcutta to deliver a series of Readership Lectures on Plato, which by the way were very largely attended and created a very considerable interest in all intellectual circles. For long he has been a keen student of Karl Marx and has interpreted him in a well-known book. His sympathy for socialism has been well marked for years and for long he has also taken an enthusiastic interest in the labour party. His term as the Vice-Chancellor, which has just completed, has testified to the great business ability which he possesses and has won for him friendships in all circles and groups. Mr. Lindsay is in other words a great national figure. He also fought this election not as the candidate of the Labour Party but as an independent. This he did in order that he might secure for himself the support not only of the Labour Party but also of the Liberals and those Conservatives who have been alienated by the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain. It is significant that both the official labour and liberal candidates withdrew in his favour and there was a straight fight between the candidate whom Mr. Chamberlain set up and Mr. Lindsay who had the support of the labourites, the liberals and the conservative malcontents. What is more, the issue on which the candidates fought was a straight and clear one—more straight and clear than it ever is in an election. The question at issue was whether the foreign policy of Mr. Chamberlain should be condemned or supported. The verdict of the electors was unmistakably in favour of Mr. Chamberlain.

And the verdict declared by the Oxford electors will be the verdict of the nation when some time later there will be a general election. Mr. Chamberlain's majority may not be as great in the next Parliament as it is today. Some of the seats he will certainly lose but there can be no two opinions about this that he will still have a sufficient majority in the House to carry on the Government in his own lines.

How could we account for this confidence which Mr. Chamberlain still inspires in the country? This we can do only by studying several factors. First, it is important to remember that the policy which the National Government has pursued during the last few years is the only policy which any other Government would have followed in the circumstances. There can be no gainsaying the fact that the British Government is not militarily prepared for any war on a large scale. It has been the verdict of competent experts that German preparations have gone far enough to make it equal and possibly more than equal to Britain and France combined. So in case of a war it would have been out of the question to calculate the damage which would have been done to English interests as a result of German attacks. Now it may be asked if the National Government itself is not responsible for this state of unpreparedness. The general opinion in the country is that it may be partly responsible for this undesirable state of things but mostly not so. It has never been in the tradition of this country to support in peace time any large army. The people here had in all their history a soft corner only for their navy. But they have been uniformly unwilling to maintain a large army in peace time in all ages. Since the conclusion of the World War, this tradition was further strengthened by a new ideal which came to dominate the men's mind in a rather increasing manner. This was the ideal of peace at all hazards and in all circumstances. This ideal was engendered first by the horrors of the last war, secondly through the efforts of a large body of internationally-minded people who pinned their faith to the League of Nations and the Hague Court and lastly by the activities of the labour politicians who gave it out perhaps justly and always vigorously that all wars had their origin only in capitalistic greed and had therefore no interest for the labouring population. The English Governments had, in view

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of this attitude on the part of a large section of the people, to cut down their expenditure on the fighting services and keep them thereby in a state of hopeless inefficiency. It is true since 1935 a new policy has been in operation in this respect. But Germany had already gained an advance in this field which it is difficult if not impossible to overtake in the course of three years of efforts. The National Government is responsible for the sorry state of things only to the extent that it has tolerated slackness in the operation of the policy of rearmament during these three years. But beyond this the responsibility does not attach to it but to the whole country. It is only the members in the opposition in the House of Commons who lay the blame at the door of the Government in power. But all others including those who are very well informed as regards the foreign policy of this country and can speak with authority on this subject are inclined to exonerate the Government of Mr. Chamberlain from this responsibility. Dr. G. P. Gooch is a reputed historian and an experienced publicist with liberal inclinations. His knowledge of the foreign policy of this country and the circumstances in which it has been carried on during the last fifty years and more is unrivalled in these islands. He has in his many addresses brought home to audiences not convinced before that there was no alternative to the policy which the National Government has pursued of late regarding foreign affairs. When a great historian and publicist like Dr. Gooch makes an assertion like this, it is accepted without much demur by the general people. More so as Dr. Gooch has no party affiliations and is held in high esteem for his impartial treatment of public affairs.

Secondly, there is a definite school of thought in England—and this school has now the ear of the public—which regards the rise of Germany from the position of humiliation to which it had been condemned by the Treaty of Versailles, as inevitable. A great country and a great people, this school holds, may be defeated in a war and for the time being may be in a condition of helplessness but that is not the fate to which it can remain reconciled for long. It must try to rise and assert itself. It must make an effort and succeed in its effort to gain back its old position of influence and authority. Germany was occupying a position of leadership in Central Europe before the War and the Germans of today must efface the memories of the years since Versailles and get back this position. It is not only futile but unwise as well to do anything to stop this progress. It is not only not humiliating but it is actually statesmanlike to allow Germany to have a free hand in Central Europe. This is the point of view of men like Lord Lothian under whose inspiration the *Times* early in September suggested the cession of Sudeten German area to Germany. For the time being this suggestion was greeted with a howl of execretion no doubt. But gradually it was brought home to the people that if injustice was now being done to Czecho-Slovakia, far greater injustice had been done to Germany during one decade and a half after the Great War. What now looked like an injustice to Czecho-Slovakia was really a belated recompense, and that too on a very small scale, for the grievous wrongs done to Germany. As a result of the hammering of this point of view, the people of England in general do not speak any longer of the betrayal of the Czechs. They simply speak today of the justice that is being rendered to Germany. So in the eyes of the general people of this country Mr. Chamberlain has done nothing by his visits to Herr Hitler in September last, of which he or his country need be ashamed. On the contrary the agreement which he signed at Munich only tears up an unjust provision of the Treaty of Versailles and thereby prepares the ground for European appeasement.

Thirdly, it should not be ever forgotten in India that although the principle of leadership has been for some time past associated with the existing system of government and administration in Germany, it has been an effective force in British politics as well. The British people are not required to choose their leaders in the way that Americans choose their Presidents. English leaders are not chosen by that hazardous method of the ballot box. They come of themselves to the front as a result of the winnowing process of parliamentary life. Members are returned to the House of Commons. It is on its floor that leaders make their appearance and are automatically and spontaneously acclaimed as such by their fellows. None of the members are ever recognised as leaders until they have passed through years of hard work in that chamber and acquired long and varied experience of its life. It is not again by good speeches and by effective rejoinders alone that a member may acquire an ascendancy over his colleagues in the House. Capacity for ready speech and ability to meet the opponents squarely in the face are a part of the equipment of the future leaders no doubt. But more than that is necessary. Judgment and character are

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equally the requisities of leadership. True loyalty to party principles, clear appreciation of the needs of the nation are also the qualities which future leaders must be reputed to possess. It is only few of the parliamentarians who may combine in them these virtues. Some may show early promise, may acquire a transitory fame by making a few beautiful and attractive speeches or by making some effective replies to the opponents. But very soon they may turn out to be erratic and unreliable on important occasions. They may develop themes which may not be consistent with true party principles, or may make criticisms which may be wholly irresponsible. In spite of their brilliance therefore they are winnowed out of the front rank. They may continue to be effective gladiators in their individual capacity, but they cannot be the captains of their teams and the leaders of the nation.

Mr. Chamberlain entered Parliament rather late in life. He turned fifty when he first entered the portals of the House of Commons. But even at that comparatively late age he gradually made his mark not only as an effective speaker and a clear enunciator of complex problems of administration and finance but also as a man of cool judgment and mature opinion. He had the advantage also of being the son of Joseph and the half-brother of Austen Chamberlain. He did not require therefore much introduction to the public. But this was not his only capital. He added to it as years rolled on by faithful services to his party in the House and by the exhibition of real character on all critical and important occasions. During the five years of Conservative Government from 1925 to 1929, he was occupying the important but by no means a spectacular office of the Minister of Health. This office was regarded by many as the grave of even established reputation. But Mr. Chamberlain succeeded in making that office as well a footstool to higher reputation as a parliamentarian. The way he enunciated the Local Government Bill of 1929 and piloted it through the House elicited admiration and praise from all quarters. It was but inevitable that a man of so much ability and so much loyalty would rise to the highest position in the party and the Government which that party would form.

It is true that the leaders of the different parties have been for some time past formally elected in the party meetings. But this is, except on a few occasions, only a formal affair. Actually the leader is chosen as it has been pointed out in the House by the only sure method of the general recognition of his character and ability. Now Mr. Neville Chamberlain is the accredited leader of the Conservative Party. It is in the blood of the British nation to remain faithful to a leader once he is accepted as such by his fellows. The British mind moves slowly. The British people may not be really enthusiastic about a person only after a short experience of his activities. But once after a long experience of a man they accept him as their leader they are unwilling to throw him overboard. It is in their tradition and habit to listen to him, to act up to his advice and follow him in his movements. In this respect the British people differ fundamentally from the democrats of ancient Athens or the democrats of modern France. In ancient Athens people might today laud up a leader to the seventh heaven but tomorrow they might take offence at one or two of his activities and immediately hurl him down to the lowest depth. In France also there is much of Celtic fickleness noticeable in parliamentary life. But far otherwise is the tenor of life of the English people. Their mind being rather stolid, they are not given either to any paroxism of enthusiasm or to that of sudden condemnation. They do not think much for themselves and even if they form any opinion on any subject, they either conceal it or change it at their leader's behest.

This being the attitude of the British people it may be easily understood why the conservatives in this country would continue to support Mr. Chamberlain in the foreign policy which he has chalked out for the Government to follow. There may be here and there some dissentients. There may be even some resignations from the Government as there have been resignations of Mr. Eden and Duff Cooper. There may also be consistent denunciations of this policy from some quarters within the camp as there have been denunciations from Mr. Winston Churchill. But all these notwithstanding there can be no gainsaying the fact that Mr. Chamberlain has behind his back the support of over 95 per cent of the conservatives in the country.

It may however be said that the conservatives alone do not constitute the British nation. There are the liberal and the labourite voters who may now be more organised and in conjunction with the conservative malcontents may defeat the nominees of Mr. Chamberlain in the next general election. But such a hope is only a delusion. A contingency like this is unlikely to happen. It is true that the liberal and the labourite voters may together exceed the

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strength of the conservatives in the electorate. But there is little chance of the two groups working together. The Liberal party has for the last few years been broken into two. The Simonites are all but in name conservatives. They are in the same position today as the Unionist Liberals were forty years back. In one or two respects they may have maintained their identity still but it is only a question of time when they will be merged more completely in the conservative party. As for the independent liberals who in fact are making a desperate effort to keep flying the old banner of liberalism in this country, it may be safely said that their strength is not appreciable in the electorate. Theirs is in fact a dwindling number. It is true that recently Mr. Ramsay Muir, the old Liberal guard, has renewed the offer of liberal co-operation if the Labourites want to organise a popular front in conjunction with the independent liberals. But so far this offer has fallen flat. There has been no response from the labour headquarters. This indifference to liberal appeal on the part of the labour leaders may be explained and even justified by the fact that the co-operation with the Liberals will mean the abandonment of the socialist programme of the labour party. The Liberals may co-operate with the Labourites against the Conservatives but this on their own terms. They are as opposed to the complete labour programme as the conservatives. In fact today opposition to socialism is the battle cry as much of the conservatives as of the liberals of both shades. Recently in the local elections the liberals were found in the anti-socialist camp and if stray liberals supported the candidature of socialists immediately they were put down as black sheep in the otherwise uncorrupted fold. Even among many voters who before 1931 would have unhesitatingly supported the socialist candidates there is now considerable hesitation. They are in an undecided mood. They have not completely got over the anti-socialist contagion which coloured their views in 1931. There is no knowing if they will declare in favour of socialism or will still vote for the conservative candidates.

When the predominant opinion in the country is anti-socialist, the socialist cause could have any chance of triumph only if the leader of the party had the personality and magnetism of a Gladstone or even of a Lloyd George. If the socialists had a leader who could enthuse and inspire the electorate as Mr. Gladstone did in his Midlothian campaign, there was of course now an opportunity for Labour success, which may not recur in the immediate future. Such a leader could have exploited the pitfalls of Mr. Chamberlain's policy and could have revived the old moral fervour of the nation in a way that would have swept off the conservatives from the electoral stage. But neither Mr. Attlee nor for the matter of that any other stalwart of the Labour Party has that personality and that magnetism which alone could have carried it to electoral triumph. On the contrary it may be said that Mr. Chamberlain has greater weight as a leader of men than the accredited leader of the Labour Party. This is unfortunate but it is a fact. So the conservatives remain enthroned.

LONDON,
November 11, 1938

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HASTE

In great literature in general and Shakespeare in particular

By BERTRAM GODWIN STEINHOFF

MONTAIGNE, whose Essays show him up as the hastiest of all writers, wrote: 'Authors have no excuse for haste—who hastens them?' In the many autobiographical notices of himself, scattered through his pages, he confesses to haste. But it is this very element of haste that gives to his Essays their peculiar excellence, which they would never have possessed, had he been continually revising and polishing his periods. 'Who compels an author to write?' is a question that might be answered in various ways. But the query—'who hastens them?'—is more intriguing. For then you are up against Horace's—

> Nonumque prematur in annum
>
> *Hor. Art. Poet. 388.*

and

> Definet in piscem mulier formosa superne
>
> *Ibid. 4.*

And the Jesuit Father Sirmond advised a young friend not to publish anything till he reached the age of fifty.

But apart from the question whether authors have any good excuse for haste, it is certain that many of the greatest works of literature bear the most unmistakable signs of it. *Tristram Shandy* has it on almost every page; but haste is here transmuted to art; and Sterne might plead the excuse that, with a handicap of about thirty years, he had need of haste to catch up with Time. Gibbon said he could not abridge Tacitus, whose works, some critics say, are brief hasty notes. Burton's *Anatomy*, which Johnson and Lamb loved to read, is full of haste; and so the purist Macaulay condemned it (wrongly) as being little more than a mere off-scouring of the Bodleian. Pope generally wrote in haste, on stray bits of paper; but spent much time in polishing. And then there is the greatest of all—Shakespeare—the greatest intellect that has left a record of itself. Shakespeare cannot escape the charge of haste, though, in most of the instances, that apparent haste is dramatically correct. Much of his work seems to have been done as if he were writing against time; except Hamlet, of which, there is clear proof that he revised it, and made the most daring alterations, in respect both of matter and form. He is the one author of whom it may be said, 'Language was made for man, and not man for language.' He has broken every rule of grammar, syntax, and English usage (of his day). He has coined words for himself, and made his coinage pass muster as the current coin of the realm. He is something more than a mere writer of books. This master-intellect, and also craftsmaster so dominated, and domineered over language that he was able to turn and twist it whichever way he pleased; he fingered all the stops of the spirit; and language, in the use of which, lesser men find themselves tied down to rules and usages, in his hands became a mere vehicle of thought, and plastic as clay in the potter's hand. King of the realm of thought, no ordinary rules of grammar are applicable to him—there are no rules for rulers. No writer may dare to imitate him, save at his peril. He has made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable. He has ridden rough-shod over all rules and usages. Yet, strange to say, it is those very passages, where he has asserted this royal prerogative, that read the best. As Hamlet says of Ophelia: 'Hell itself she turns to prettiness.' Wherever he breaks a rule, that breakage itself becomes a rule. His handling of language is not more different from all other writers than it is different from that of his own contemporaries. No ordinary rules are applicable to a writer, who, in the plenitude of his power, abrogated the whole lot of them, whenever he thought fit. Milton, his equal as a master of thought and language, was the first to remark this (*Vide* his lines in *L'allegro*, and his studied Sonnet 'On Shakespeare 1630.').

How did Shakespeare achieve this? The only answer seems to be this: He first thought out all things for himself, more deeply than other men, and meditated long and intensely on every presentation of his environment, so that his soul, in silent communion with Nature, became a part of Nature herself, and the vehicle he employed for the expression of his Art, partook also of the qualities of Nature, in whose manifestations we see many apparent irregularities

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and deformities, but not one of them, if closely considered, mar her work, or detract from her universally acknowledged perfection of workmanship. Helmholtz, as a scientist, said some rash things about the human eye being a bad specimen of workmanship, from an optician's point of view. He was certainly wrong. For the human eye is so skilfully adapted to its circumstances, that no camera-maker could ever make the like. And to Shakespeare alone it was given to so completely identify himself with each one of the multitudinous characters of his dramas, in each particular situation in which that character was placed (or rather, in which he chose to place him) that he set down exactly what each one of them, so situated, would naturally speak. In short, he fused Nature and Art into one harmonious whole. In this respect his works are not like those of other men. They are something more than merely great works of Art. Sure of this god-like faculty, he coined his own words, made all the 'parts of speech' interchangeable, without detriment to his rhythm, began sentences without ending them, and broke every rule of grammar—the grammar of words—whenever it suited his purpose, or the exigencies of drama. His thought, and the emotions engendered by his thought moved with such rapidity, that not only his pen, but language itself lagged behind. Hence the peculiarities of his 'style'; if that tame word 'style' can be applied to the work of so consummate a master of thought and language. Hence also what often appear to be 'lapses,' irregularities, and haste in the swift movement, and wide compass of his thought. In none of the works of any other writer—except Milton—does there appear so vast a conception of plan. And, as if in deliberate confirmation of these remarks, it is to be noted that none of these apparent indications of haste are to be found in his non-dramatic works—his *Sonnets*, his *Venus and Adonis*, and *The Rape of Lucrece*. In his works ugly and repellant things appear, just as they do in the works of Nature—ugly hairy insects and crawling things, and crooked trees—side by side with the terrible, and devastating, as in *Hamlet*, and *King Lear*, and the soft and beautiful, as in *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*—all of these also often in the same piece.

Viewed in this light there are no lapses, or halting passages in Shakespeare, except the most obvious ones, which might at once be set down to the copyist, or the printer. Had he lived longer, or had he cared to revise his works, and publish an authentic edition under his own hand, it is very doubtful whether he would have altered a line, except to make it more *dramatically true*, as distinguished from the argot of the grammarians. Speech and writing existed long before the grammarians. Herbert Spencer boasted that he did not know a single rule of grammar; and defied the grammarians to point out any flaw in his writings.

This paper would not be complete without a few quotations taken almost at random, bearing, however, in mind, when viewing his works *in the bulk*, as they now appear in the best editions, Shakespeare cannot wholly escape the charge of haste.

> Rashly—
> And praised be rashness for it, let us know
> Our indiscretions sometimes serve us well,
> When our deep plots do pall.
>
> *Hamlet*. V. II. 6.

'Rashly' is here left standing high and dry. The sentence is not carried on; but yet nothing could be more dramatically forcible, and also correct.

> Few words, but, to effect, more than all yet;
> That when we have found the King—in which your pain
> That way, I'll this—he that first lights on him
> Holla the other.
>
> Kent. In *Lear*. III. II. 52.

> No, you unnatural hags,
> I'll have such revenges on you both,
> That all the world shall—I'll do such things—
> What they are yet I know not—but they shall be
> The terrors of the earth.
>
> *Ibid*. II. IV. 278.

Here whole sentences are massed together, and left incomplete; but nothing could be more expressive of the thoughts and emotions of the speakers, in the circumstances in which they found themselves.

As a daring instance of a noun used as a verb, take this :

> My face I'll grime with filth,
> Blanket my loins, *elf* my hair in knots.
>
> *Ibid*. II. III. 10.

Stranger still, but none the less correct, for the sudden breaking off, is :

> Me, poor man—my library
> Was dukedom large enough: of temporal royalties
> He thinks me now incapable.
>
> *The Tempest*. I. II. 109.

The whole dialogue between Prospero and Miranda is full of these sudden turns of thought and expression, the main ideas, however, being unerringly carried on to their com-

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pletion. Grammar and syntax are thrown to the winds in the following:

> The dead man's knell
> Is there scarce asked for who !
>
> *Macbeth.* IV. III. 120.

Equally domineering is his coining of words like 'laggardise', 'recordation', and hundreds more, his double negatives, double comparatives, and double superlatives—too numerous to be quoted.

But it is only in the bulk and viewed in large masses that his works give, sometimes, the impression of haste. In single passages it may always be put down to dramatic propriety. His grammar, in his highest moods, was not the grammar of the schools, but the grammar of thought and the ideas. Hence his frequent use of 'singular' verbs as predicates to apparently 'plural' subjects, but 'singular' in idea. All these curious constructions and grammatical 'irregularities' cannot be put down to haste. In his works, haste, as above stated, appears only 'in the bulk', and not in 'single passages.' In confirmation of this view might be quoted Professor Dowden's remarks on *The Taming of the Shrew* :

> 'The question of authorship is difficult, but there can be little doubt that here we have an instance of the hasty revision by Shakespeare of an older play, with certain additions which are characteristically his own.'

These remarks may be applied to other plays also, or to certain parts of them. For Shakespeare too, being human, is not *always* at his best.

But his handling of language remains one of the wonders of literature. No other writer has dared to attempt the like. Was he careless of verbal accuracy ? How much of it is haste ? How much is 'lapses'? It is dangerous for the mere grammarian of words and sentences to point the finger at any of the passages in the works of a genius so consummate, a master-mind so comprehensive, that could project itself into all ages, into all countries, into every variety of circumstance, and feel itself at home, alike in the old world of Greek and Roman History and myth, and the magic world of the creative imagination, as in the familiar scenes of England and English history—and yet there is no evidence that he ever travelled out of England : Stratford-on-Avon to London, and back, is, perhaps, the whole extent of his travels.

In his handling of language, and the material he commandeered from every quarter of the globe, he is like Prospero, in the last Act of *The Tempest*, in those remarkable lines, which, not unlikely, he meant to be a self-portraiture of himself, in the evolution of his Art:

> Ye elves of hills, brooks, standing lakes, and groves;
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> You demi-puppets, that
> By moonshine do the green sour ringlets make
> Whereof the ewe not bites;
>
> * * * * * * * *
>
> By whose aid—
> Weak masters though ye be—I have bedimmed
> The noontide sun, called forth the mutinous winds,
> And 'twixt the green sea and the azured vault
> Set roaring war : to the dread rattling thunder
> Have I given fire, and rifted Jove's stout oak
> With his own bolt : * * *
>
> * * * * * * * *

King of the realm of thought, he asserted his dominion over language, and wherever, as he deemed fit, he departed from its ordinary forms, he majestically conferred upon it the sanction of established usage. His vocabulary of 17,000 words is itself a phenomenon. But the use he made of this colossal vocabulary is one of the chief wonders of the world—the Works of Shakespeare.

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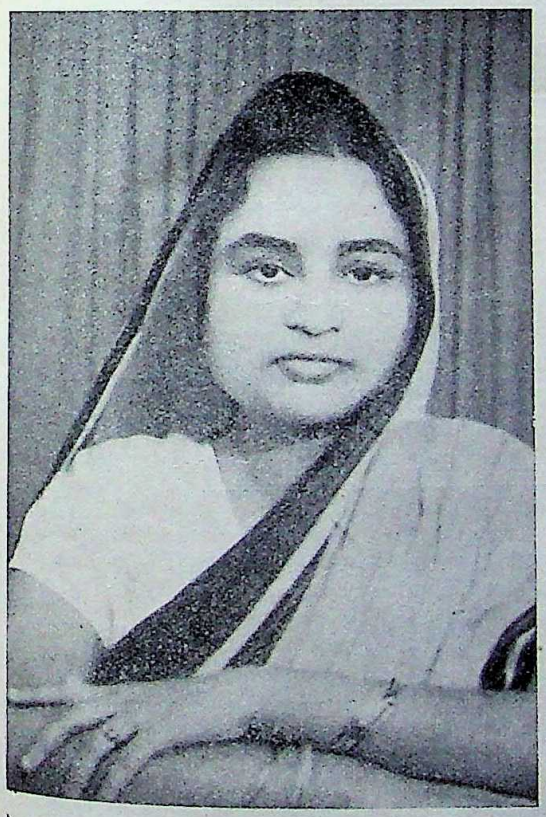
INDIAN WOMANHOOD

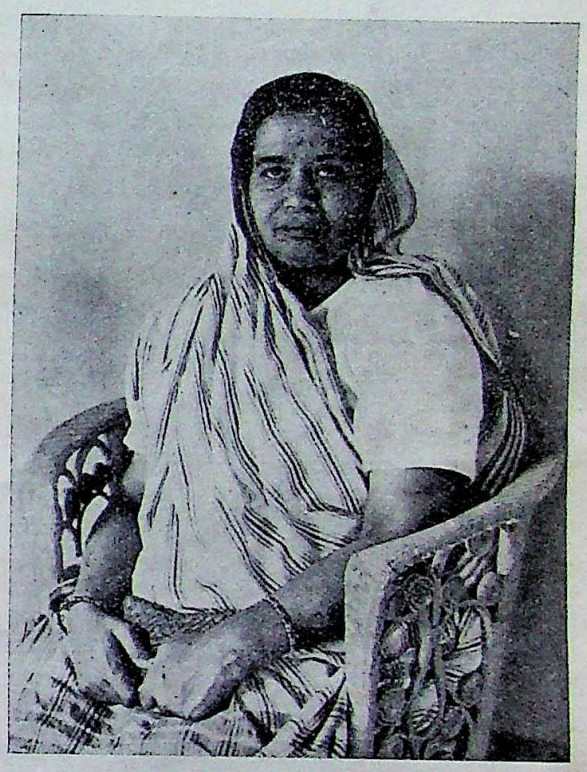
RIMATI PRAMILA BASU, five years after her arriage, had passed the Matriculation Exmination of the Calcutta University in the First ivision as a private candidate in 1932. Then e passed the I.Sc. and B.Sc. Examinations ith Distinction. This year she has come out ccessful with a Second Class in Botany in the I.Sc. Examination of the Calcutta University. e is the first Bengalee lady student of the lcutta University to pass the Degree



Srimati Pramila Basu

xamination in the Master of Science with such gh distinction in Botany. As a married lady e had to struggle hard to prosecute her studies ter looking to her household duties.

SRIMATI LILABATI DESAI has been elected as e President of the Ahmedabad People's Co-operative Bank, Limited. She took a prominent part in the last Civil Disobedience movement and underwent six months' rigorous imprisonment as the first Dictator in 1932. She is also



Srimati Lilavati Desai

connected with various institutions for the upliftment of women.

Srimati Bindubasini Devi, B.A., B.T., obtained a first class first in Bengali in the M.A. Examination of the Calcutta University in 1938. Srimati Sati Gupta stood sixth in the first class. Srimati Himani Gupta, Srimati Kamala Das, Srimati Chitra Sen and Srimati Bharati Mukerjee passed in the second class.

A Muhammedan lady Rezia Sultana Ahmed obtained a first class first in Persian.

Srimati Jyotirmoyee Basu also obtained a first class first in Ancient Indian History and

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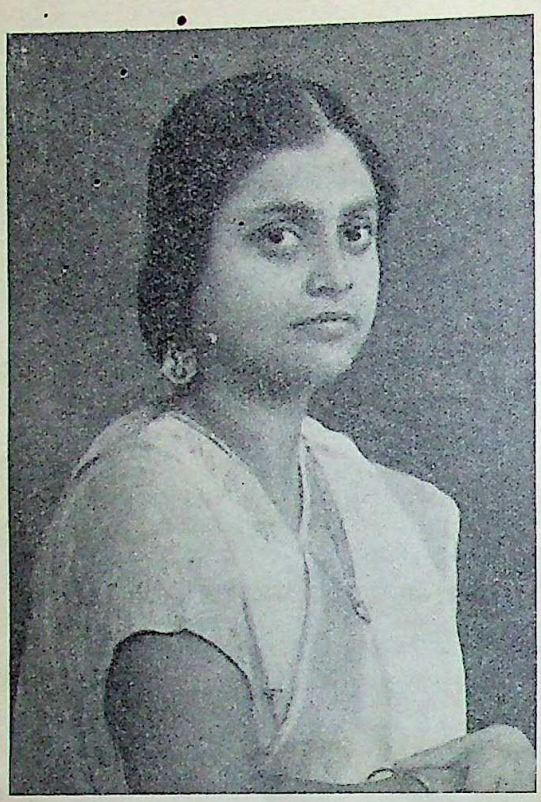


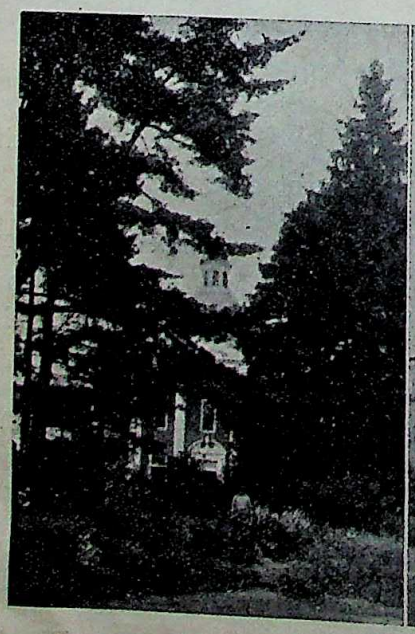
Srimati Supriti Majumdar

Srimati Aloka Banerjee passed the same examination in the second class. In English, Srimati Saraju Roy, Srimati Hemaprova Sen, Srimati Lina Sen and Miss Laila Khan passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division. Srimati Juthika Pain and Srimati Renuka Sen passed in the second division and Srimati Ena Ghosh in the third division in Philosophy.

Four ladies passed the M.Sc. examination of the Calcutta University this year: Srimati Asima Mukerjee got a first class in Chemistry; Srimati Ava Mitra and Suhasini Dutt passed in the second division in Mathematics, and Pramila Basu in the second division in Botany.

SRIMATI SUPRITI MAJUMDAR, daughter of the late Professor Abhoykumar Majumdar, obtained the M.A. degree in Bengali literature and language from the Calcutta University, this year.

SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS



The Student building where the plenary sessions of the Congress were held

Main building of Vassar college, the venue of the Congress

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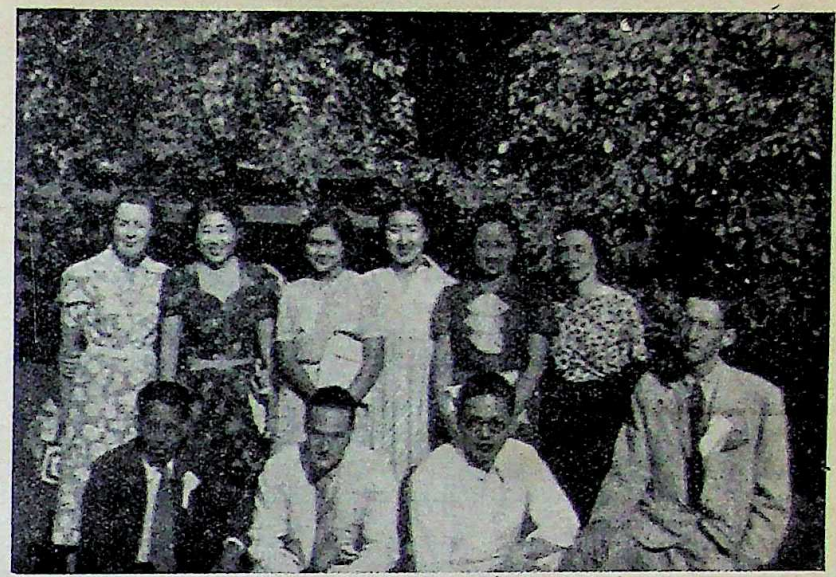
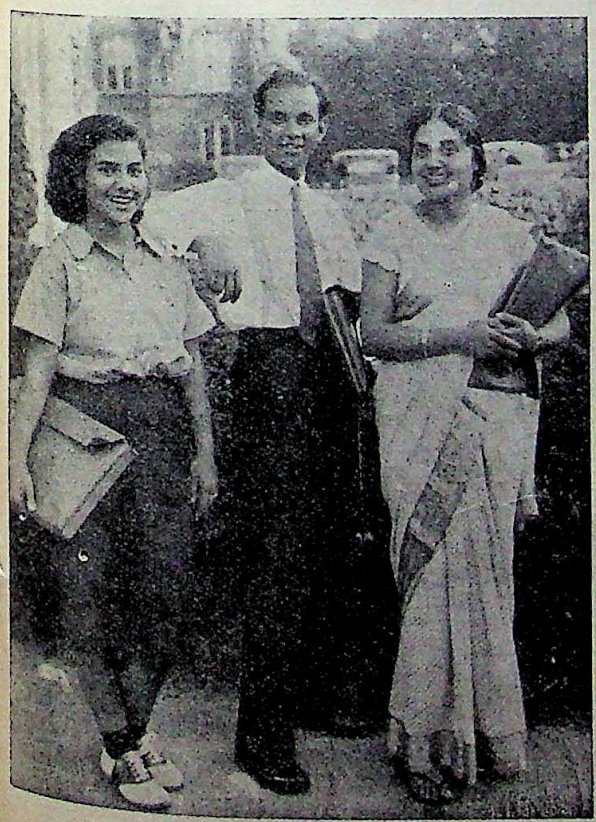
SECOND WORLD YOUTH CONGRESS

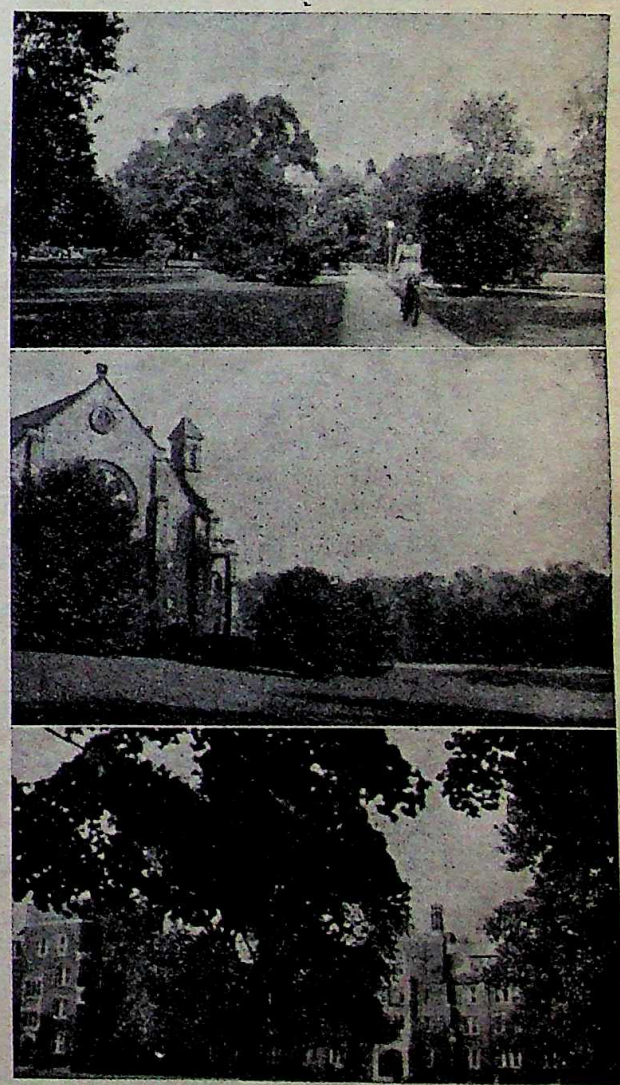


A group of delegates representing different countries of the East and the West

A comprehensive account of the Second World Youth Congress was published in *The Modern Review* for November, 1938. The Congress, which was held at Vassar College, Paughkeepsie, New York, from August 16 to August 24, was attended by five hundred delegates and observers from fifty-three countries of the world. The Indian delegation was composed of eight members, Mr. M. Iftikar, Mr. Ysuf Meherally, Mr. Arun Bose, Miss Renu Roy, Mr. Tarapada Basu, Mr. A. K. Abbas, Mr. Krishnalal Shridharani and Mr. Satya N. Mukerji. Mr. Ysuf Meherally presented India's report.



Delegates to the Second World Youth Conference
Left to right: Margaritta Robles (Spain), Tarapada Basu and Renu Roy



Vassar college, where the Second World Youth Conference was held

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COMMENT & CRITICISM

MAHOMEDANS AND THE ARMY

Mr. Jinnah in justifying his support to the Army Recruitment Bill in the Council of State, said that he did it in the interest of the Mahomedans, who form 60 to 70 per cent of the Indian army. One is surprised as to how the president of the Muslim League arrived at these figures. The percentage of men according to religion in the Indian army is as follows :—

	Infantry	Cavalry
Hindus (Including Sikhs and Gurkhas). ..	66.954	61.92
Mahomedans	29.974	38.08
Burmans	3.072	..

At the sitting of the Council of State on the 13th September, Mr. Syed Husain said, "Muslim is a soldier not because he belongs to a certain blood, but because of his religion. Every Muslim whatever his sect acts in the same manner."

Now if one looks into the facts and figures of the Indian army the accuracy of Mr. Syed Husain's statement could be easily challenged. As regards the Mahomedans in the army, they are practically all recruited from Northern India and especially from the Punjab. Before the last great war there used to be companies of Madrasi Mahomedans in the Carnatic regiments, and Deccani Mahomedans in the Mahratta regiments. After the war enlistment of Mahomedans to these regiments was stopped, the Carnatic regiments being disbanded, and only Hindu Marathas from Konkan and Deccan are now enlisted in the Mahratta regiments.

As regards the Mahomedans that are recruited from Northern India, the vast majority of them come from the Punjab, and the rest from the Delhi province, Rajputana and the N.-W. Frontier. Other provinces do not provide any Mahomedan soldiers for the Indian army.

I am afraid the army authorities who know something of the fighting qualities of the different classes in India, do not fully agree with Mr. Syed's dictum. The Mahomedans that are recruited from the Punjab, are practically all from the following classes only: Awans, Tiwanas, Ghakkars, Janjuas, and Chibs, who proudly call themselves Rajputs and Jats, magnificent men, styled "P. Ms." by the army officers. I remember sepoy Rahm Dad, a Chib from Jammu, saying with a feeling of pride, "Sab, Kashmirda Maharajah sadi komda hai," "The Maharajah of Kashmir belongs to my caste." No other class of Mahomedans in the Punjab is recruited for the army.

The Mahomedans from the Delhi province and Rajputana who are enlisted in the army are either Ranghars or Kaimkhanis, who would feel insulted if the denomination Mussalman Rajput is not used in their case. The Pathans recruited from the N.-W. F. are also selected from particular classes only, *viz.*, Afridis, Orakzais, Bangash, and Khataks.

Thus the army authorities hold a different view from that held by Mr. Syed. Although the Hindus are recruited to the army from the provinces of, the Punjab, United Provinces, Bihar, Delhi, Rajputana, Bomaby, Madras and Nepal, recruitment of Mahomedans is confined to the Punjab, Delhi province, Rajputana and N.-W. F. Province. Under these circumstances one wonders what Mr. Syed Mahomed Husain, actually meant by saying ". . . we are more competent than you are, etc. . . ." in his reply to the statement of Mr. Kumar Shankar Ray Chowdhury.

V. M. KAIKINI

CORRUPTION AND THE PUBLIC SERVICES—A NOTE

[*The Modern Review*, October 1938, Page 473.] The Remedies suggested for eradicating corruption only touch the fringe of the problem. Sufficient contact between the officials and the people can be obtained by raising the standard of self-respect among the governed and by reducing the emoluments of the Public services. In the moffussil, the public servant in a town is the person with the highest income. There is tendency in such cases on the part of officials to become inaccessible and look down upon the people. Paying surprise visits, formation of agencies to detect corruption will help little unless there is in the background honest, self-respecting, economically independent people who will stand upright. The repellent reserve of superior officers can only be shaken off among the governed consisting of people of the same intellectal, economic, political status as the officials. The disparity in pay among officials also must be reduced. Otherwise it is impossible to eradicate the insidious form of corruption among the superior class of public servants who refuse to shoulder or who passively resist shouldering the gentlemanly obligations due from them to their inferiors in relation to their dealings with them. This can be said to be a silent incentive to corruption among the lower officials.

In Russia, where there is greater equality, where the officials are drawn from the people, the officials are subjected to two cleansing processes or Chistka. These are referred to by Sidney & Beatrice Webb in their book *Soviet Communism—a new civilization*, pages 475 and 509, 1st volume.

The workers can be present and the technical and administrative staffs have to be present during this process. Every questionable act, which the officials may have done, any indiscreet conversation and any part of his public life may be hauled up into the light of publicity. Any one can be present and ask questions.

This institution gives a sense of power to every citizen. It lessons the tendency on the part of the personnel to be corrunt or tyrannical.

This is only possible in a society where all persons, officials or non-officials, are of equal status. In India racial and other considerations have weight, and such a cleansing process may not be possible. Subjecting a member of the I.C.S. to this cleansing process may be a sight for the gods. If corruption has to be eradicated, some modified method will have to be adopted.

Relaxation of the rules of evidence, admission of hearsay in departmental enquiries, a stern punishment for screening offenders by brother officials, punishment for persistent suspicious behaviour, refusal to prosecute newspapers, relaxation of laws of libel, etc. with regard to such publication may go a long way to eradicate corruption, if backed by a vigilant public opinion.

K. L. KUDVA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Plight of Modern Cities

Twenty-two years ago Rabindranath Tagore visited Japan. The travel-diary which was written in 1916, is now translated from the original Bengali by Indira Devi Chowdhurani and published in *The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*. The following is Tagore's reflections on modern and commercialised cities, specially with reference to Calcutta :

The goddess of commerce is hard, and the lotus of beauty that springs from man's idealism does not bloom beneath her feet. She does not look at men, she wants only things, and the machine is her own special mount. When our boat was coming up the Ganges, signs of her shameless cruelty were evident on both banks of the river. It is because her heart knows no tenderness that she has been able so lightly to deface the lovely banks of the Ganges in Bengal.

I consider it to be an inestimable privilege to have been born before the iron flood of ugliness hastened to drown both sides of the river near Calcutta, from Garden Reach to Hooghly. Then the landing places of the Ganges, like cool arms of the village, still used to hold the river to their breast in a familiar embrace; and the factory ferry-boats still used to go from one landing to another, carrying each one back to his home in the evening. No hard and ugly barrier had yet been built between the flow of the country's heart on the one side, and the flow of this country river on the other.

In those days there was nothing yet to prevent one from seeing the real aspect of Bengal round about Calcutta. Hence, though Calcutta is a modern city, it had not, like a young *koil*, occupied the whole of its foster-mother's nest to the exclusion of everything else. But in course of time, the appearance of the country gradually became hidden beneath the growth of commercial civilization. Now Calcutta is banishing the real Bengal from its outskirts; in the struggle between time and place it is the green loveliness of the place that was defaced by the fierce figure of time that spread out its iron nails and claws, and belched forth its black breath.

Once upon a time men used to say that the goddess Lakshmi dwells in trade. Then they saw the goddess revealed not only in her splendour, but also in her beauty. Because in those days man was not yet separated from trade, there was a communion of spirit between the weaver and his loom, the smith's hand and the smith's hammer, the artisan and his work of art. So the heart of man used to express itself through trade in varied forms of richness and beauty. How else could Lakshmi have got her lotus-throne ?

But ever since the machine became its vehicle, trade has become godless. If one compares modern Manchester with ancient Venice, the difference will become apparent. In the splendour and beauty of Venice, man had revealed himself; in Manchester man has stultified himself on all sides and revealed his machine. Therefore, wherever this machine-ridden trade has gone, it has spread a pestilence of greed throughout the world with its soot and ugliness and cruelty. It has given rise to no end of struggling and fighting, it has polluted society with falsehood, and made the earth slippery with bloodshed. The goddess of plenty has changed into the dread goddess Kali; her serving ladle has now become a scimitar for drawing blood, and her sweet smile has turned into wild laughter.

The Future of Religion

In the course of his article on the future of religion J. D. Beresford observes in *The Aryan Path*:

The first "sign of the times" is provided by Mr. Aldous Huxley's recent book *Ends and Means*, which has a very special significance for our present purpose. Mr. Huxley represents a type of mind that is characteristic of many thinkers in the world today. The type, as such, is that of a man of very wide reading who has sufficient imagination and power of reason to save him from any form of specialisation, whether in philosophy or science. These gifts give such a man the ability for that detachment which is absolutely essential for those whose aim is the search for truth; a detachment that has always been clearly evident in Mr. Huxley's writing. Now, in *Ends and Means*, he has reached a satge at which he finds in this "non-attachment" one of the paths to wisdom. It is a path that corresponds to meditation in the East. Both lead to a realization of the evanescence and unreality of the phenomenal world regarded objectively, and thence to the recognition of the animating principle responsible for the objective appearance. This is a stage that will infallibly be reached by any thinker who has the courage and independence of mind to refuse the adoption of any specific formalised belief.

Another exemplar of this type is Mr. Gerald Heard who in his last book, *The Third Morality*, arrives at the same position as that of Mr. Huxley. In the first half of this book, he gives a scientific and historical, as opposed to philosophical, account of the way he has come, tracing the development of worldthought through the stages of anthropomorphism and mechanomorphism to the uneasy conditions, political and religious, of the present day. The difference of training, experience and natural tendency between these two thinkers is very marked, yet we find them arriving at that conclusion which is, I maintain, the only possible one for any thinker who strives to keep his mind as nearly as may be, free from prejudice. This conclusion is that all matter as we know it through the senses is a presentation of something other than matter, a conclusion that is the beginning of wisdom.

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The All-India Language

Is it necessary for the building up of a nation that there should be an uniformity of language? According to Prof. Madhav T. Patwardhan, this national unity appears to be of the same kind as the German unity which the German Imperial Government tried to force upon Poland and upon Alsace-Lorraine. He writes in the *Triveni*:

The question of a *lingua franca* for India is no longer one of mere academic interest. The Congress has made up its mind about it; and an attempt is being made in the non-Hindustani-speaking Provinces, on the strength of the Congress majority in the Councils, to force its decision down the throats of the people. This move to impose Hindustani on all students at the secondary stage is being stoutly opposed in the South, particularly in the Tamil district. One Editor of *Triveni*, Mr. K. Ramakotiswara Rau, who is not a non-Congressman, admits that there are people "who are genuinely apprehensive that a new language like Hindustani is likely to affect adversely the growth of their mother-tongue." If these apprehensions are genuine, they ought to be sympathetically considered and removed, with arguments and authoritative assurances. But when Mahatma Gandhi thinks otherwise why should his followers adopt a conciliatory policy towards Hindu doubters in particular? In the *Harijan* for September 10, 1938, Mahatma Gandhi says, "The cry of 'mother-tongue in danger' is either ignorant or hypocritical. And where it is sincere, it speaks little for the patriotism of those who will grudge our children an hour per day for Hindustani." But Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, who, I trust, is neither ignorant, nor hypocritical, nor unpatriotic, in his editorial note (p. 284 of the September number of *The Modern Review*) remarks "that the logical and natural outcome of making Hindustani the State language of India under Congress rule would or should be to make it the cultural language too, of those Universities in India of which English is at present the cultural language." "If what we have said be correct," he proceeds to observe, "the development of the Hindustani language would receive a very great impetus, and at the same time *the development of other provincial languages would be arrested*, for no language, no literature can attain its full stature if it be not the medium of the highest education and culture."

That is how some public-spirited men are genuinely apprehensive about the language policy of the Congress. The Editor of *The Modern Review* thinks that the Congress has not yet placed all its 'linguistic' cards on the table. While on one hand an attempt is being made to teach Hindustani compulsorily at the secondary stage, there is, on the other, no authoritative *ministerial* statement of policy as to what is to be the position of the regional language in administration and in education. It is often said that Hindustani is to occupy the place now held by English, and it is argued that under the domination of Hindustani Indian languages and literatures will continue to grow just as they have grown under the domination of English! But if Indian languages and literatures have grown during the last eighty or ninety years, the spread of education and contact with Western thought—causes other than that of the political ascendancy of English—have contributed to this growth, which would have been considerably greater if there had not been this domination by English. And then, if English has to a certain extent affected adversely the growth of Indian languages and literatures, the rise of Hindustani to the same position is much more likely to affect similarly all the other Indian languages. English has never been looked upon as the national language; and opposition to it and preference for a provincial language could never be construed as want of patriotism. But with the recognition of Hindustani as the *Rashtrabhasha*, who can take objection to a person like Mr. Jamnalal Bajaj, for instance, if he refuses to speak publicly the language of the Province in which he has made his home? I have heard of a Maharashtriya member of the Hindi-Prachana Sangha who addresses Marathi-speaking audiences in Hindi, and confesses without any qualm of conscience that he cannot speak his mother-tongue! He who for such conduct under the regime of English would certainly be cried down as a traitor may now be hailed as a nationalist.

The Co-operative Movement in India

Economists are of opinion that co-operation to be successful must be started not in isolated toy-organisations, but comprehensively, covering the whole field of economic activities. The *National Reconstruction* writes editorially:

The Co-operative Movement in India has not been a full success; this is frankly admitted by many now. The word Movement is really a misnomer when applied to it. A movement is that which is live, and through its own life can bring in a new order of things.

The Co-operative Movement, so called, was started in India in 1904 with the passing of the Co-operative Societies Act. That Act was the outcome of the recommendations of the Famine Commission of 1901, and as the Royal Agricultural Commission observes, was not 'the outcome of a popular demand, but was essentially the act of a Government . . . to ameliorate the condition of the people, and to give it effect, a government department had to be established.' This Act was strictly limited to credit. In 1912, a second Act was passed, which permitted the extension of Co-operation to non-credit activities also. But it has always been, uptil now, a department of the Government. It has grown in number during the 34 years of its life. It has grown in volume also, both in membership as well as in working capital. But it has not grown into the life of the people; it does not shape or control, by even a small measure, the economic life of the Indian people. It is no movement in any real sense of the term.

As regards the question of developing the habit of thrift the same journal observes:

Co-operation has helped to develop the habit of thrift in the people. This claim perhaps is true, but only so far as it goes. For one thing, Co-operation has not touched in many provinces more than a small fraction of the people. The Bengal Banking Enquiry Committee found that co-operative societies were formed only "in one village out of five in the province, while the proportion of agriculturalist families benefited is only about 1 in 15." Secondly, while thrift is a good quality helping contented sufficiency, it is not the main problem of our economic life. The income of our rural ryot leaves very little surplus to save. It is absolutely inadequate (according to the Banking Enquiry Committee) to make possible any improvement in his standard of living. "In the estimation of the Committee (the Bengal report said), there is very little room for improve-

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ment in the standard of living *unless means are devised to improve the productiveness of the soil and to bring to the producer a greater share of the value of the crops than the harvest price that he now commands.*" The portion italicised by us puts the economic problem in a nutshell. And Co-operation has failed to do practically anything to substantially improve the income of our agriculturist. A few production and sale societies were started, in insignificant proportion to the credit societies, which, except in rare instances, were never allowed to thrive. As a result, in spite of co-opreative credit societies rural indebtedness has been increasing, reaching a figure almost beyond redemption.

Economic Planning for India

Industries Ministers from the Congress-administered provinces met in conference in Delhi, early in October last, under the presidency of Subhas Chandra Bose, to discuss economic planning on a nation-wide scale and also development and co-ordination of industrial resources in India. The following extract is made from a synopsis of his speech appearing in the *Financial Times*:

Rastrapati Subhas Chandra Bose, who presided, in his opening speech indicated the lines on which constructive effort could be directed, like the establishment of a national planning commission, regional distribution, technical research and training and starting of "mother" industries.

Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, emphasized that Congressmen today had not only to strive for liberty but had also to devote a portion of their thought and energy to problems of national reconstruction.

National reconstruction would be possible only with the aid of science and scientists. There was at present a lot of loose talk about schemes for bringing about industrial recovery in the country, but to his mind the principal problem was not industrial recovery but industrialization.

India was still in a pre-industrial stage of evolution. No industrial advancement was possible until they had passed through the throes of an industrial revolution.

"I am afraid," said Mr. Bose after a pause, "that it has to be a forced march in this country. In the world as it is constituted today a community which resists industrialization has little chance of surviving international competition."

Detailing the problems the conference had to consider he made the following points: arrangement for a proper economic survey of each Province; co-ordination between cottage industries and large scale industries, to prevent overlapping: the advisability of having a regional distribution of industries; rules regarding technical training in India and abroad for Indian students; provision for technical research and the advisability of appointing a committee of experts to give further advice on the problems of industrialization.

"It is our aim to see that every man, woman and child is better clothed, better housed, better educated and has sufficient leisure for recreation and for cultural activity. If this aim is to be realized the quantity of industrial products has to be increased considerably, necessary works have to be organized and a large proportion of the village population has to be diverted to industrial occupation."

India had similar resources to those of the United States or Russia. What was wanted was a systematic and organized exploitation of the resources in the interests of the nation.

There was no conflict between cottage industries and large scale industries. Such a conflict, if any, arose out of misunderstanding. He was a firm believer in the need for developing India's cottage industries, though he held that they had also to reconcile themselves to industrialization.

George Russell and Indian Thought

George William Russell, better known as AE, was greatly influenced by Hindu philosophy. Swami Jagadiswarananda writes in *Prabuddha Bharata*:

George William Russell, popularly known to the world by his pen-name, AE, was the greatest poet of Ireland. He was also a good artist, a great patriot and, above all, a dynamic mystic of rare calibre. A many-sided personality though he was, the mystic in him was the dominant note of his character. What characterizes his mysticism most is its surprising similarty to Indian thought and, as such, a study of his views is made in the following paragraphs in the light of Vedanta.

George Russell was born in April, 1867, at Largan and educated at Rathmines school, Dublin. He studied art for some time in a school but his academic education did not proceed far like that of Tagore and other celebrities of our time. When his student career was cut short, he entered an accountant's office, but in 1897 he joined the Irish Agricultural Movement and became a successful organizer of Agricultural Societies. From 1904 to 1923 he was the worthy editor of *The Irish Homestead*, an organ of the Agricultural Co-operative Movement. In 1923, he became the able editor of *The Irish Statesman*, in which capacity his mighty pen did much to direct the new literature on national lines. In Celtic Renaissance and in the Revival of Gaelic language and literature he has left a permanent mark in Ireland. In the last decade of his life he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature from the Dublin University in 1929 and passed away in July, 1935.

As a mystic AE has much in common with Hindu thinkers and shares many of their ideas and conceptions of soul, God and universe. "In thought, ideas and visions," writes Mr. Mahesh Chandra, M.A. in his *Study of Modern Irish Literature*, "AE is so like a Hindu seer that it is difficult to keep in mind the fact while studying his works that he is an Irishman. Even there are poems which use Sanskrit words and phrases and the impression created is that of reading splendid transcriptions of Hindu philosophical books or hymns."

George Russell had deep love and longing for the Orient and Oriental wisdom. He had a soft corner in his heart particularly for India and her spiritual wealth. Mr. Frank O'Connar, the Irish author, who delivered the grave-side oration at the funeral of his departed friend, struck a true note when he said that AE saw the light in the East and longed for the East. AE believed firmly like Tindall and Rolland, Emerson and Keyserling and a host of other Western savants that spiritual light has always come from the East and will again come from the East. In a letter written on the 17th October, 1922, he pays his loving tribute to India as follows: "I have watched with interest so far as I could, the economic and spiritual movements in India, a country which I regard as a kind of spiritual Fatherland and whose influence on the thought of the world must, I think,

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grow greater because in no literature there is such a reservoir of divine truth as in the Indian."

Improvement of Cattle

The Indian Veterinary Journal writes editorially:

It is a well-known fact that our country has got a number of excellent indigenous breeds of cattle which had been evolved solely with an eye to their utility. It is also an equally well-known fact that these breeds of cattle have been gradually deteriorating, chiefly from want of care and attention to their *breeding and feeding*. It is further agreed that there is bound to be definite and rapid all round improvement when once these two defects are removed. This aspect of the matter has been forcibly brought out by experiments which were recently conducted and which have been recorded by Col. Olver, till lately the Animal Husbandry Expert with the Government of India, in the following words:

"Within the last 20 years, simply by proper feeding and management, combined with *strictly controlled breeding* (Italics ours), the average milk-yield of several herds of pure-bred indigenous cows in India has been raised from 5.3 lbs. to 16.8 lbs. per diem. With more forcing methods such as special hand-feeding, very frequent milking, and very high feeding, which are commonly employed by pedigree breeders of dairy cattle in other countries to obtain records, there is little doubt that still higher yields could have been obtained."

The real remedy for the improvement of the live-stock is to be looked for in better feeding and more careful management of our own live-stock.

This object cannot possibly be achieved by the opening of a couple of breeding farms in a presidency and trying to evolve a pure strain of cattle under conditions greatly foreign to their native habitat. There are a number of breeders in the various parts of the country whose knowledge of things pertaining to Animal Husbandry is not negligible. They may not be well versed in the three R's and they may not be educated according to the modern concepts. But their knowledge of practical cattle-breeding is something extraordinary. It is the accumulated experience of generations of practical farming and practical Animal Husbandry. They know exactly what the ryots need; they study the conditions of the market very accurately and they try to meet those requirements in their own limited way. If latterly they have become apathetic to their profession of cattle-breeding and indifferent to their occupation of cattle-rearing, it is not because they have no interest in their work. It is because of the grinding poverty in the country-side, of the encroachment on pasture lands, and of the absence of patronage and encouragement from the Government. And, therefore, unless these causes are remedied, there is very little chance of our inducing these people to take a live interest in their work.

The Government must arrange for taking a comprehensive census of the real cattle-breeders in the various parts of the country. These people must be approached by the Government and induced to take an active interest in their work by the grant of liberal subsidies either in cash or in kind, as, for instance, by the offer of Grantee farms solely intended for cattle-breeding on the lines of what is being done in the Punjab, or by the grant of free pasturage in the forest areas. Simultaneously, better facilities for the transport of fodder and cattle from place to place should be provided. If the above plans be adopted, we are quite confident that the whole country-side will all at the same time be electrified into action with a comparatively less cost to the Government than the maintenance of a number of farms at an enormous expenditure.

An International University

The following is an extract from the editorial notes of *The Young Men of India, Burma and Ceylon*:

The football party from the Student Hostel in Calcutta who made their pilgrimage to Santiniketan, and there had an interview with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, were able to see for themselves the fruition of a dream which the Poet described to another student audience of the Y. M. C. A. in 1920. It was in London at the old Shakespeare Hut, the original home of the Indian Students' Hostel, that Dr. Tagore made his appeal for the creation of a centre of indigenous culture in India. The chair was occupied by the Minister of Education, Dr. H. A. L. Fisher, and there were notable people in the audience. But for one of the least of these what remains in the memory after all these years is a striking simile used by the Poet when speaking of the languages of India. There was a time, he reminded us, when European culture, still in the bud, was concentrated, so to speak, in a point—the Latin language; only when the petals of its distinct vernaculars unfolded was the beauty of the flower revealed. And so it would be with India, he said, when her vernacular literature and her characteristic art revived.

But more lasting than any "flower of perfect speech" was the seed the Poet planted of a great idea. He appealed for the establishment of a new type of Indian university, "which should revive the splendid memories of Taxila and Nalanda, where students flocked from the four corners of Asia—a university which should be racy of the soil, which should be self-supporting in the sense that it maintained its own life by the work of its own hands; students and teachers sharing in a common life, contributing to the life of the surrounding villages and to the solution of India's problems as they present themselves in the neighbourhood, building their spiritual life on the foundation of India's great past, and welcoming, as on the white carpet of Akbar, the spiritual contributions of every culture in the world."

That was in 1920, and the idea has borne fruit in Visva-Bharati, the international university founded by Dr. Tagore which our footballers saw at Santiniketan.

A POEM

Early winter spreads her filmy veil
over midnight stars,
and the call comes from the deep,
"Man, bring out your lamp."
The forests are bare of flowers,
the birds have ceased to sing,
the riverside grass has shed its blossoms.
Come, Dipali, waken hidden flames
out of the desolate dark,
and offer symphony of praise to eternal light.
The stars are dimmed,
the night is disconsolate,
and the call comes from the deep,
"Man, bring out your lamp."

RABINDRANATH TAGORE
in the *Visva-Bharati News*

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The statue and monument of Kemal Ataturk in Angora

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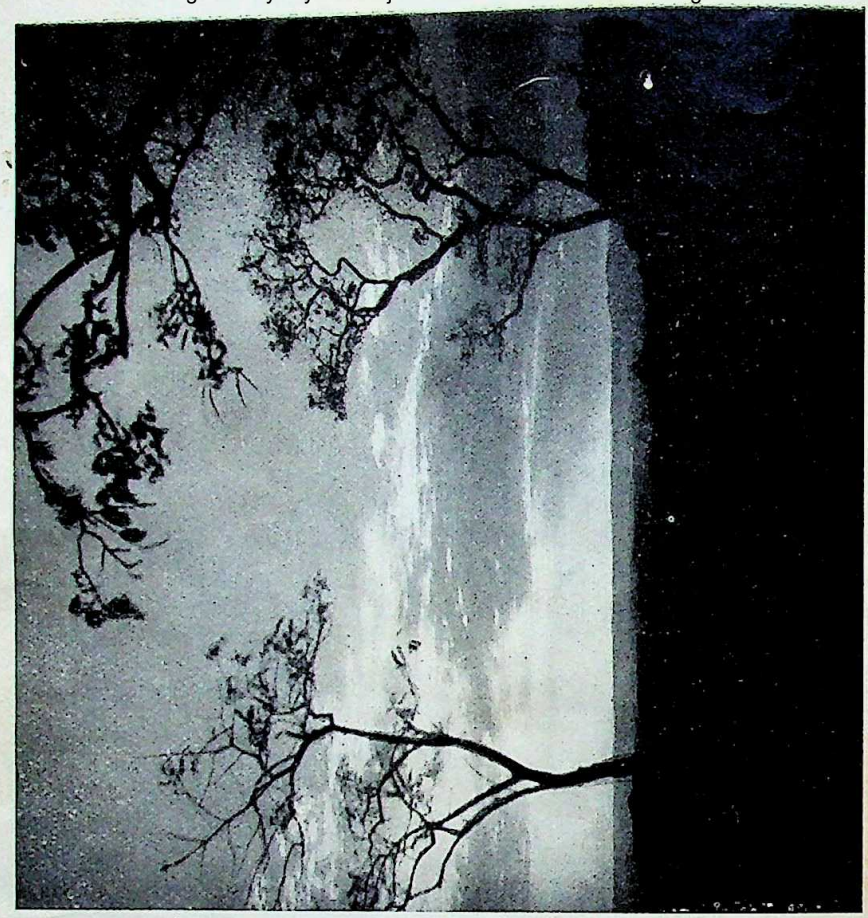

The Dawn

The lake of lotus

Photographs By Kamakshiprasad Chatterjee

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

China Stronger than Ever ?

Has China any chance in her conflict with Japan ? Writing in the *Christian Science Monitor*, Randall Gould says that from now on the Chinese will have things far more their own way. Extracts from the article are made here from a condensed version published in the *News Review*.

The Japanese army conveniently prefers not to know that from now on China is a great bog into which the Japanese wade at their peril.

They recognize that the next phase of war must be fought on China's terms, not Japan's; for while Japan could operate with reasonable ease and efficiency along the coasts with aid of her navy and with heavily mechanised units utilising China's new communications media (chiefly highways and railroads together with the ancient canals), the hinterland is a different story.

China is in this new phase merely falling back on her own essentially agrarian structure; what has happened thus far has deprived her only of the coastal industries, which were rather luxuries than necessities in any event. At no time did China ever have single points which meant to her what such cities as Osaka mean to Japan, or Manchester to England. That has been one of the most exasperating phases of the campaign, to the Japanese the great sprawling Chinese monster was nowhere vulnerable for a death blow.

What is more, the Chinese actually appear to have gathered fresh strength under stress. New armies have been built up, a system developed for supplying fresh men in ever-increasing numbers, inland industries are starting, which means less need to import, while many small munitions plants are turning out the true sinews of Chinese military resistance, even though China must still look abroad for big guns and airplanes.

Some of the hitherto neglected interior provinces are experiencing a boom and undergoing rapid development of communications and natural resources such as never would have occurred within many years under other circumstances. What is more, China is fighting "on the cheap"—throwing into action a man power five or six times that of Japan and making Japan spend from three to five dollars for every one China lays out.

A Mad New World

Our civilisation is in a curious predicament; peace, prosperity and plenty are in our grasp, yet we seem bent on destruction—writes C. E. M. Joad in *The Living Age*. Thanks to science, he observes, all the age-old enemies of man have been conquered—all except one, the enemy which is human nature itself. Human power has increased but human wisdom has stood still, so that while science has given us powers fit for the gods we bring to their use the mentality of savages, of madmen.

Look at that airplane humming across the summer sky. The knowledge of mathematics, of dynamics and mechanics, of electricity and internal combustion, the ingenuity in the application of that knowledge, the skill in the working of woods and metals that have gone into its making are such as to suggest that its inventors were supermen; the intrepidity and courage which were shown by the early flying men were the qualities of heroes.

Think now of the benefits which the airplane might have conferred upon mankind; of how it might have brought all the countries of the world to John Smith's back door and made Bagdad as accessible as Balham.

Now think of the purposes for which the airplane has been and seems increasingly likely again to be used. To drop bombs that shatter and choke and burn and poison and dismember defenseless people, so that modern war has become, in the words of a lady novelist, 'a running away with one's children and a not being able to run fast enough.' In a word, the supermen made the airplane and the savage has got hold of it.

Consider the case of machines. Machines were invented in order to relieve mankind of dull and drudging work. The ordinary citizen nourishes a dream wherein after three or four hours' machine-minding a day he will have produced enough and to spare, after which he will, presumably, have nothing to do but enjoy himself. But two things have combined to prevent the realization of this dream.

In the first place, the new leisure which the inventor of machinery has made available for men, instead of being distributed evenly among us all, is concentrated in the form of unemployment upon a certain number who do not want it, while the rest of us work as hard or nearly as hard as we worked before.

In the second place, instead of using machines as our servants, we have grown so dependent upon them that they have become our masters. We cannot now perform the simplest operation of life without their assistance.

Potentially we are masters of the world, yet we are on the verge of committing mass suicide through sheer inability to control the powers that science has given us.

Mind, I am not saying that we are any worse than we ever were; merely that we have a need to be very much better—much better because we are so much more powerful.

Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R.

The following extracts are made from a report on Social Insurance in the U. S. S. R., 1933-1937, published in the *International Labour Review* :

Scope

The new Soviet Constitution of 5 December 1936 includes among the basic rights of the citizen "the right

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to material security in old age as well as in the event of sickness and loss of capacity to work." This right, according to Article 120 of the Constitution, "is ensured by the wide development of social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State, free medical aid, and the provision of a wide network of health resorts for the use of the toilers."

The class of insured persons coincides to all intents and purposes with that of wage-earners. The increase in the insured population during the years 1929-1937 merely reflects the extremely rapid rise in the number of employed persons in the Soviet Union during the first two quinquennial stages of the industrialisation of the country.

The size of the insured population from 1929 to 1936 is shown below:

	Thousands		Thousands
1929	.. 10,932	1933	.. 22,156
1930	.. 13,659	1934	.. 23,935
1931	.. 17,658	1935	.. 24,949
1932	.. 22,385	1936	.. 25,633

In 1937 the number of insured persons again rose by over a million to about 26,700,000.

Financial Resources

The financial resources of the insurance scheme are derived from contributions in proportion to wages. These contributions are paid by the undertakings, institutions, businesses, or individuals, employing workers, and no part of the contribution may be charged to the worker or deducted from his wages. As all undertakings, institutions, and businesses, employing paid labour are State property, the Soviet scheme is described in the Constitution of 1936 as "social insurance of workers and employees at the expense of the State."

The right to benefit does not depend on payment of the contribution. Section 179 of the Labour Code expressly states that failure to pay the contribution may in no case deprive a worker of insurance benefit.

Another important feature of the Soviet scheme is the inclusive nature of the contribution. The undertaking pays a single inclusive contribution for its workers which covers all the risks mentioned in the legislation. Until 1937 these risks were the following: temporary incapacity resulting from an accident, an occupational disease, or illness other than an occupational disease, or pregnancy or confinement, together with permanent incapacity, old age, and death.

Benefits

The transfer of the administration of social insurance to the trade unions made it possible to inaugurate a new benefit policy increasingly adapted to the economic plans of the Government.

The most important of the insurance benefits provided directly by the trade union organizations are undoubtedly those granted in connection with *temporary incapacity*. The rates of these benefits depend on a number of factors: the nature of the work performed, membership of a trade union, period of service, and membership of a shock brigade. Thus, for example, a worker who is a trade unionist and employed in a State undertaking, and who has completed at least three years' work including an unbroken period of two years in the same undertaking, is entitled to benefit equal to full wages from the first day of incapacity. If the worker has been employed without interruption in the same undertaking between one to two years, he receives two-thirds of his wages during the first twenty days of incapacity, and full wages from the twenty-first day of absence. A non-trade-unionist worker receives only half his wages during the first thirty days of incapacity and two-thirds of his wages during the rest of his absence.

Expenditure on *pregnancy and confinement benefits*, which are assessed in the same way as benefits for temporary incapacity, shows both an absolute and a relative increase. Between 1933 and 1936 this expenditure increased progressively; in 1933 it was 5.8 per cent. of the insurance expenditure met directly by the trade unions, and in 1936 it was 9.8 per cent. In the 1937 budget, these benefits were estimated at 16.3 per cent. of the total, and in the 1938 budget at 16.8 per cent. *Benefits for children of insured persons* underwent a similar increase. These benefits include layette and nursing allowances, maintenance in pioneer camps and sanatoria for children, assistance outside school, and relief for parents who are momentarily in need. Between 1933 and 1936, expenditure for such purposes varied between 6 and 7 per cent of the insurance benefits paid directly by the trade unions. In the 1937 budget, it amounted to 10.5 per cent, and in the 1938 budget to 11.1 per cent.

Trotsky Judges Russia

Josef Tejkal discusses the economy of Soviet Russia in the *Krestanska Revue* (Prague), basing his criticism on Trotsky's "Revolution Betrayed".

The new economic development has increased the production and permits of a higher standard of life, but this amelioration, which is clearly in evidence among the leading classes, is completely absent in the lowest strata. They build little and badly for the workers, but money is spent lavishly over Soviet palaces, grand theatres and such other structures, which are there only to dazzle the eyes. A similar state of affairs is obtained in regard to industries of transport, provisions, clothing, etc.

In order to raise the economic level and increase production, the ordinary methods of improving wages, *e.g.* piece-work wages, have been introduced. Whoever earns more rubles can, therefore, obtain better commodities of life. This leads to the social stratification of the workers. The Stakhanov workers, who succeed so well in their execution and economy of material by means of their more economic methods of work, form, as it were, the aristocracy among the workers. Among them there are, of course, some who accomplish more work through socialistic motives, but most of them only care for more earnings. There are workers who earn more than 2,000 rubles, while workers of a lower category scarcely get 100 rubles a month. According to Trotsky this type of production excludes real equality and the present Soviet system has widely overstepped the permissible measure of inequality . . . The workers defend themselves, by means of acts of sabotage, against the Stakhanov movement and one has often the impression of a small civil war.

This social stratification is found also in agriculture. Ninety per cent of the agricultural concerns are collective farms, the rest are Soviet farms. But the most of the collective farms draw their income from a private 'supplementary' landed property and not from the common economy . . . Again, a part of the soil is allowed by them to be worked on leases, which reminds one of the old serfdom. The bureaucracy is afraid of removing these injustices.

To a small extent, there exists also private economy, which is allowed or tolerated in the cases of intellectual

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workers, specialists and the privileged classes of labour. It can be said, in brief, that property is acquired by the state, but its income is distributed according to a bourgeois standard. This gives rise to a new social structure and a privileged class.

If the Soviet Union represents the realisation of Socialism and the most developed form of Communism, as it is constantly emphasised, why are there, then, if there is a society devoid of all classes, all the organisations of such an energetic political power, a dictatorship and persecutions? Stalin, of course, does not speak of a bureaucracy or of a ruling class, but of socialistic 'cells.' He asserts that they are so strong as not be swept away even by a new civil war. But this cult of 'cells' is in reality only a cult of bureaucracy, of stewardship and of the technical aristocracy.

The Marxian theorists may assert that it is a transition period, but the question is how to prevent the authorities in the society from becoming the masters. . . And yet Lenin presumes that a proletarian dictatorship is a dictatorship of the majority for the suppression of a privileged minority!

TRS. DR. V. V. GOKHALE

Good out of Communism

Vincent McNabb observes in *Blackfriars*:

The good that can come, *yet may not come*, from Communism is the conviction that "if any man will not work, neither let him eat."

A second great good which may come of Communism is a lively sense of each individual's duty towards the groups of which he is an individual, *e. g.*, to the family, the city, the mother-land, the Brotherhood of Mankind.

We cannot give to Bolshevists the credit of discovering this fundamental social principle. It was already known to the Greek philosophers and mediæval Scholastics as the principle of General Justice.

But this science of the Greek pagan philosophers, and of the mediæval Christian philosophers was little better than a science. In other words, it was a thought if not a conviction when it ought to have been a life.

Communists are determined that this social science which gives us the doctrine of General Justice shall be a life.

But it can never be sufficiently emphasized that "heresy is a truth in isolation," and the greater the principle from which the truth is isolated the greater the heresy. Communism as we see it in practice, if not in programme or principle, by denying God has isolated the two truths from their fundamental principle.

D'Annunzio, the Real Inventor of Fascism

Gabriele D'Annunzio, the eminent soldier-poet of Italy who died early this year, was the real inventor of Fascism, according to an article published in the *Parade*.

The war of 1914-1918 left in its wake, to a certain extent everywhere, and especially in Italy and Germany, a new category of white-collar proletarians, who were an exceedingly troubled wreckage in a society in which capitalism and the world of the working man seemed equally hostile to them.

In Italy the greatness of our Middle Ages, in which all is disorder and life, was necessarily incomprehensible to their limited capacity. By a strange paradox, it was Gabriele D'Annunzio, whose lyric richness had been so splendid, who became the poet and the prophet of all these pathetic misfits. It was he who was the real inventor of fascism.

Literary glory never seemed to D'Annunzio a prey quite worthy of his talons; and that is the secret of his conduct after the war; even before the war, although he was one of the most famous Europeans, he always envied men of action; but, unfortunately, to act meant, to him, not to act for an ideal—as it did to a Mazzini and a Garibaldi. D'Annunzio was a pathological left-over from the Renaissance, lost in the wave of democracy which swept over Europe from 1890 to 1920. The psychological confusion of the after-war must have seemed to him his great opportunity. Moreover, in the Renaissance itself (his books prove it) he never lifted his eyes to a Michelangelo, nor even to a Machiavelli; his man was Caesar Borgia, with his ferocious individualism.

When in 1919, D'Annunzio seized Fiume, what drove him on was not the idea of preserving the Italian character of the unfortunate Adriatic city (whose occupation by the French immediately after the armistice constitutes the greatest psychological blunder France has been guilty of in her dealings with Italy); what he thought of, and immediately, was a coup aimed at the whole of Italy; for him, Fiume was to be merely a springboard.

D'Annunzio was too intelligent and too subtle to believe in this adulterated wine of the heritage of Rome. But he took advantage of all these springs of action, because he felt that they were more within the imaginative grasp of the *petite bourgeoisie*, embittered by the after-war, and it was from this class that he recruited his volunteers. It was he who, at Fiume, invented that "Roman salute," which has now become also the "German salute," and which he, overlooking its implications, copied from some statue or fresco, forgetting that, in Rome, the *cives* greeted each other by shaking hands, and that only slaves made the sign which has been adopted by the subjects of Mussolini and Hitler.

It was D'Annunzio who invented those dialogues with the crowd, which fascism later on found so useful at the *Piazza di Venezia* at Rome.

"To whom shall Fiume belong?" D'Annunzio called down from the capitol balcony.

And the mob of volunteers who had invaded Fiume thundered from below:

"To us!"

And the poet-dictator:

"And Italy?"

And the mob, once more:

"A noi!" (To us!)

This "to us" gave the key to the real love of D'Annunzio for the fatherland, a love of possession, not a love of devotion and sacrifice.

The fascist conquest of Italy, which came three years later, was nothing, after all, but a gigantic repetition of the mad and romantic enterprise of Fiume—the same following up of D'Annunzio's brilliant pioneering.

Spain under Franco

The following account of Nationalist Spain is reproduced here from *The Living Age*.

In a comparatively short time a totalitarian structure of surprising completeness has been evolved. The distinctions between Legislature and Executive, between Government and Party, and between military and civilian have been blurred.

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Nationalist Spain is a dictatorship. General Franco, the dictator, is head of the State, head of the Government, head of the only political party and Commander-in-Chief of the land, air and sea forces. He is responsible for the conduct of policy, administration and war. This accumulation of powers in his hands insures that the relations between Government, Party and armed forces shall be harmonious and that no troublesome problems shall be allowed to arise until the war has been won. The Generalissimo is the corner-stone of the new State.

Since February, General Franco has presided over a Cabinet on the European pattern, consisting of eleven Ministers, each of whom is responsible for a State Department. The Junta Tecnica, the pioneer body of law-givers that laid the foundations of the State, has gone forever. The vast sum of its empirical legislation is at the disposal of the new Ministry; and it is to be expected that any further changes will take place without affecting the basic structure of government as it exists today. The new Cabinet was formed after careful consideration of the varied elements that have given their support to the Nationalist movement.

The Cabinet follows its course without any direct consultation of the people. There is only one channel for the expression of public opinion, and that lies through the *Falanga Espanola Tradicionalista*. The *F. E. T.* was formed nearly a year ago by the fusion of the Falange and the Requetes, the Fascists and Traditionalists of pre-war days.

Any body of opinion which lies outside the *F. E. T.* has no means of public expression. There is little possibility of disagreement between the Government and the *F. E. T.*, since the same men are at the head of both. The supreme authority in the Party is the National Council. General Franco is its President, Senor Cuesta its General Secretary. The Council meets to pronounce on the fundamental bases of the movement and on any question submitted to it by the head of the State. It has no power for effective opposition, because the fifty Councillors are appointed by General Franco and can be removed by him at will.

Modern German Art

The following review of Modern German Art appears in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*.

For centuries Munich under the care of the Wittelsbachs was a home for artists of all kinds and from all countries. Its renown as an artistic world-centre was founded by the astute and highly gifted King of Bavaria, Ludwig I, who developed his capital into the "Athens on the Isar" during his reign, 1825-48. He filled the city with art museums and buildings of high architectural merit, and gave every encouragement to artists to reside and work there. The results exceeded all expectations, and for nearly a century Munich stood at the summit of its artistic glory. An eminent band of artists, including noted painters and sculptors, collected here. Among them were Lenbach, Kaulbach, Leibl, von Poloty, Ramberg and Diez—to mention a few. Each had his school, his followers and his pupils. *Colorismus* and *Naturalismus* were terms for friendly argument and discussion, not only among the artists themselves but by the whole population, which gradually developed artistic tastes and knowledge to a remarkable degree. Joyous picnics in the surrounding mountains, river parties on the rafts of timber being floated down the river in summer, and in winter the highly artistic carnival balls—arranged and decorated by leading artists and always patronized by the Royal Family without the slightest formality—these were harmless recreations in which they indulged. Their influence gradually percolated throughout the entire population, and instead of this artistic community being influenced by its surroundings, it transmitted to the city that peculiar, indefinable atmosphere which was its great charm. At the anual Salon held at the "Glass Palace," the leading artists of Europe exhibited—among them Rousseau, Dupre, Daubigny, Millet, Corot, Stevens and Courbet.

Then came the War followed by revolution. The artistic edifice, so carefully constructed and jealously guarded by the dynasty, crumbled as the latter disappeared from the scene. Years of degeneration followed, but a a chosen few still remained and the atmosphere still slumbered amongst the old-fashioned "Burghers," who had little sympathy with the new ideas and cults. The political upheaval followed; sternly combating all traditions, discounting all individuality and emphasising new principles in its laudable but too violent procedure to rid Art of all the evil influences and excrescences which had established themselves during this era of depression. The little good remaining perished with the bad or hid itself as far away as possible from the turmoil. Having completed the cure, the new Government began the reconstruction of the country's art edifice, applying the same methods which it had adapted in other directions. A large and imposing building—"The House of German Art"—was erected, in which the first exhibition was opened last year. Simplicity and lack of inspiration and initiative ruled throughout. It was obvious that the exhibitors were either wanting in enterprise or had failed to grasp what was expected of them. The tone was throughout sombre, even depressing, and the remaining nucleus of well-known and influential artists held rigidly aloof. It was clearly demonstrated that the very rigid precepts and attempts to formulate artistic production by hard and fast rules were not likely to be a success and that a considerable relaxation was urgently necessary. This has taken place to some extent in this year's Exhibition, marking a considerable improvement on the last. Several artists of note have again submitted their works; here and there bright colours and careful execution show that the more venturesome spirits have emerged from their retirement, and that the original plans for education have been considerably altered. The Art Pageant, also a yearly event costing several million marks, has been instituted with the intention of re-awakening amongst the Munich populace their love for all things artistic, and of advertising the city as the centre of Art in Germany. But whilst admitting that it was both beautiful and effective as propaganda, it was more generally regarded as an imposing and interesting spectacle than as a return of those more simple processions of other days which relied entirely on their artistic merit to appeal. These two years of experiment and attempts to revive the old traditions or to create a new school of art conforming to the principles upon which the Government is based, would appear to indicate that the initial steps are not likely to produce the desired results.

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JAGADISH CHANDRA BOSE AND HIS INSTITUTE

By RABINDRANATH TAGORE

When by some fortunate chance I came into an intimate contact with Sir Jagadish he was in the prime of his youth and I was very nearly of his age. At that moment his mind seemed entranced with a vision of the living creatures' fundamental kinship with the world of the unconscious. He was busy in employing his marvellous inventiveness in coaxing mute Nature to yield her hidden language. The response which he received through skilful questionings revealed to him glimpses of the mystery of an existence that concealed its meaning underneath a contradiction of its appearance. I had the rare privilege of sharing the daily delight of his constant surprises. I believe, poets inherit the primeval age in their temperament when things in their infant simplicity revealed a common feature. Somehow these lovers of *Maya* feel the joy of their being spread all over the creation which makes them indulge in seeking the analogy of the living in things that appear lifeless. Such an attitude of mind may not in all cases be based upon any definite belief, animistic or pantheistic, it may be merely a makebelieve, as we notice in children's play which owes its origin to the lurking tendency in our sub-conscious mind to ascribe life-energy to all activities in the natural world. I was made familiar from my boyhood with the Upanishad which in its primitive intuition proclaims that whatever there is in this world vibrates with life, the life that is one in the infinite.

This might have been the reason of the eager enthusiasm with which I expected that the idea of the boundless community of life in the world was on the verge of a final sanction from the logic of scientific verification. Being allowed to follow the Master's footsteps in the privacy of his pursuit, even though as a mere picker of his casual hints, I had my daily feast of wonders. At this early stage of his adventure when obstacles were powerfully numerous and jealousy largely predominated over appreciation, friendly companionship and sympathy must have had some needful value for him even from one who to maintain intellectual communion with him lacked special competency. Yet I can proudly claim to have helped him in some of his immediate needs and occasional hours of despondency in those days of an inadequate recognition and feeble support that he received from the public.

In the background of that distant memory of mine I find not the slightest gleam of a vision of the enormous success that could before long combine scientific renown with a vast material means adequate enough to build this Institute, one of the very few richly endowed mediums in India for bestowing the benediction of science upon his countrymen. In fact, it makes me laugh at myself today to read in some of my old letters my effort to encourage him with the likelihood of filling the gaps in his funds when my own resources were precariously limited to persuading friends who were foolish enough to have faith in me. Still it is comically sweet to think of the proud magnificence in my assurance fitfully accompanied by contribution absurdly poor compared to the ceaseless flow of tribute that later on he could attract by his own magnetic personality and also by the general confidence he widely aroused in his genius. But I repeat again, it was sweet to have dreamed impracticable dreams and to have done however little it was possible, as it proves a courage of joy in the faith in greatness which itself is a bounteous gift to one's own mind.

However, ill equipped as I was by the deficiency in my training and by the poet's idiosyncrasy to be a fit companion to a man of science at a luminous period of his self-revelation, I was still accepted as his close friend, and possibly because of the contrariety in our natural vocations, I was able to offer some stimulation to his urge of fulfilment. Not having the necessary amount of vanity in my constitution, it had been the subject of constant wonder in my mind.

Since then time passed quickly, maturing the fruits of our expectation. During this period of his fast growing triumph I was modest enough to feel less and less the urgency of my comradeship in his journey towards the goal, which was no longer arduous or beset with uncertainty. And yet I can rightfully claim the credit for strengthening in some measure his trust in his own destiny by adding to it my own unwavering faith, at that painfully hesitant moment of fortune during the dubious

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dawn of his career when even persons of meagre resources might have some important use.

Victory is the inalienable claim of all genuine power having the might of attraction that naturally exploits all kindred elements on its path and moulds them into an image of glory. And such an image is this Institute, which represents the Master's lifelong endeavour taking a permanent shape in the form of a centre for the inspiration of similar endeavours.

However, the early association of mine with the Master's first great challenge of genius to his fate whose path at that time did not run smooth, belongs for me to a remote period of a history in which I feel myself hazily indistinct. And this made me seriously waver to accept the invitation for taking an honoured seat at a ceremonial meeting in this institution. The presumptuousness of youth made me absurdly proud to imagine that my companionship was growing into an organic part in the history that was being evolved before my eyes and in that belief I did try to hearten the hero, which was a part of my vanity. But foolish youth does not last for ever and I have had time to come to realise my limitation. Anyhow it is quite obvious that I am a mere poet carrying on my *sadhana* in the temple of language, the most capricious deity, who is apt to ignore her responsibility to logic, often losing herself in the nebulous region of fantasy. Our oriental custom is to bring proper gifts to sacred shrines, but my gift of words for this occasion cannot but be out of place among the records of memorable proceedings of a learned society.

Fortunately there are some few men among us who can claim fellowship with the aristocracy in the realm of science, and can be expected to make splendid this ceremony with the wealth of their thoughts. I can only bless this institution from that obscure distance where the multitude of the uncared-for generations of this country have helplessly drifted to the pitiless toil of primitive land-tilling. I offer my salutation to the illustrious founder of this Institute, humbly sitting by those who are deprived of a sufficiency of that knowledge which only can save them from the desolating menace of scientific devilry and from the continual drainage of the resources of life, and I appeal to this Institute to bring our call to Science herself to rescue the world from the clutches of the marauders who betray her noble mission into an unmitigated savagery.

WORLD AFFAIRS

THE PASSING away of Kemal Ataturk is a tragic event of first magnitude to all people in the East. Turkey had just but celebrated the fifteenth anniversary of the Republic on the 1st of November last and its creator had been spared, it appeared, only to witness the celebration. The shadow of death was already on him, and on the 10th of November he departed. The whole of the East mourns his death and recalls with pride and gratitude his achievements. Seldom it is given to a man to lead a country to revolt and to lead it from rebellion to revolution. Still more seldom does it fall to a man to lead the country on from that revolution to reconstruction. And Kemal must have been a darling of fortune to be marked for the two great roles. But he must have been a genius as well to fulfil this great destiny with such daring and success. A King like Amanullah lost his kingdom in attempting to follow only a fraction of the Gazi's example; and there is real truth in the words of the Turkish youths in mourning who declare the dead to be the 'most loved ruler of all time.' For, he was a ruler—a ruler of men in spite of his most sincere republicanism and endeavours to steer Turkey clear of the dictatorship, he himself embodied, into the safer and calmer waters of democracy and parliamentarism. To force out the puppet Ottoman Sultans from the Turkish throne, to abolish the Khilafate to substitute a code of civil law, on the model of Code Napoleon, for the sacred law of Islam, to suppress the religious orders and disestablish the church, to prohibit by law polygamy, to emancipate women from the harem, to forbid the wearing of the *fez* and turban, to set up a drastic system of taxation, to compel to read the Islamic prayer, including the call to prayer to the mosque, in Turkish, to banish the Arab words from Turkish language and from the Turkish names so that Ghazi Mustafa Kemal

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becomes Kemal Ataturk, Ismet Pasha, his collaborator and now successor, becomes Ismet Ineunu, and lastly, to introduce the Roman alphabet for the Arabic script in the Turkish language—these required the driving power of a masterful man, a Dictator in the truest sense, and Kemal had to accept the responsibilities thereof. This meant a suppression of inelastic forces, at times by a method of terror which the soldier statesman would not shrink from, as in July 1925, when a conspiracy against his life was unearthed, or, a little later, when the Kurds were put down, or in 1930 when an agitation for the revival of the Khilafate was smashed by the arrest of about a thousand religious leaders. His iron hand wiped out all trace of obscurantism; but the people looked so much to the hand to guide them and drive them, that an Opposition which he attempted to create, would not actually take shape and Turkey was ruled by one-party with the President of the Republic as the dictator. The trial of a dictatorship arrives when death removes the strong man from the arena, and that trial the departed great is standing now, as his successor Ismet Ineunu, who fought by his side in the Anatolian days, acted as the leader of the Turkish Delegation through the fateful days of the Lausanne treaty, and later parted company with his chief on political grounds, is now called on to occupy the Presidential seat at Ankara. His will be a great mission to carry on—a great tradition to continue. For, as has been aptly pointed out by an Indian Muslim, the character of a people was the object of Ataturk's experiment. He discarded things and ideas which had gone to make up the very tone and temper of the Turkish people. And this revolutionary experiment has been now handed over to his successor.

Balkan States

It is a critical period in the life of Turkey and other peoples of the Near East and Balkan Europe Nations are passing through times which will test them hard and break them cruelly if they are found wanting. "The one thing I want to emphasize is," said Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on his arrival in Bombay on November 17, "that the world today is witnessing a revolutionary change. The map of the world is being written and rewritten." In this remaking of the maps the Mediterranean world and the Balkan and Danubian states are vitally interested. The position of Turkey is not for the moment jeopardised. Kemal by a wise method of friendliness with neighbours, Russia, France and Italy in particular in the early days, and latter with Britain as well, kept his country out of the European tangle. Ably the Turk secured for it its right of fortifications at the Dardanelles, and control the Bosphorous gate of the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. All this was gained by peaceful negotiations a year back, and set the only instance of its kind in the method of revision of peace treaties. He again was instrumental in bringing back Bulgaria into the friendly orbit of the Balkan peoples some months ago and thus ending a chapter of silent hostility that the last war left as a legacy. Alive again to the danger that threatened nations, Turkey inaugurated a Ten-Year Plan of economic reconstruction which is designed to place the rather backward Anatolian land in the map of the modern world. While in this undertaking Kemal had to look for loans from Britain—of course the foreign loan would not any more mean foreign interference in the affairs of the state,—a trade agreement with Germany on barter principle was entered —and no one was estranged. This was particularly a delicate task in view of the Italian ambitions in the Mediterranean, in the Dodacanese islands particularly, and the German and British economic advance in the Balkan states as also because of the British anxiety in the Eastern Mediterranean and in Palestine.

A wise foresight has drawn the Balkan peoples nearer, and Turkey and Greece are friends and the Balkan states are trying generally to move together. "The little states are scurrying to put themselves on the right side of Germany," concludes 'Spotlight' in a survey of their position after Munich in the November issue of the *World Review*. "They have been forced to." Hungary, for example, tried to suppress National Socialism, and even as the Regent Admiral Horthy paid a visit to the home of Nazi doctrine on the eve of the great crisis, Bela de Imredy, the Premier (the Government is about to fall?) co-operated with others in welcoming Bulgaria to the Little Entente fold and repeating the Entente assurances to Czechoslovakia. Yet there was the claim again put forward for the return of Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia to Hungary. The bargain was delayed and partially gained this month (November) through of course the friendly help of the Italian and German dictators, and as Kassa and the other towns are entered by the Hungarians the Regent gratefully thanked the benefactors for this. Of course Hungary has not been allowed to gain all, so as to effect a

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junction with Poland that the two desired. It would bar Berlin's road, now newly opened, through Prague to the East, and Hitler cannot allow Hungary to be posted there.

In Yugoslavia, it is known, the people were in sympathy with the Czecho-Slovaks; but the Prince Regent Paul and the Prime Minister Dr. Milan Stoyadinovitch, a democrat who suppressed all opposition criticism in the press, successfully piloted his country through all troubles by the simple device of cultivating the friendliness of the dictators who were set on destroying democracies. The Little Entente was continued, Hungarian and Bulgarian jealousies were counteracted when the neighbour on the other side, Italy, in the anxious days of the Abyssinian sanctions, was set on wooing the Yugoslav to friendliness. 'Italy had to call off her hounds in Bulgaria and Hungary' at that time, and Yugoslavia's stock went up in the Balkan circle and Little Entente. As the Nazi triumph began, Stoyadinovitch as well as Prince Paul knew the game that was to be played though their people bitterly disliked this. The policy has, however, been vindicated now and the Premier goes to the poll as a democrat so strong that he can proudly and triumphantly declare that he was not going to yield an inch of Yugoslavia's territory to any power. The best security for a democrat, Stoyadinovitch proves, today is not to put your trust in democracies. That is his policy too. "It is based on the conviction, born at the time of the Rhineland seizure, that France and England, at the decisive moment, would retreat before Germany, that small states would be left in the lurch, as was Abyssinia. Therefore, make friends with Germany and Italy, while keeping the line open to Paris and London."

And now that the London-Paris line may prove only another extension of the Rome-Berlin 'axis', naturally the Balkan and Danubian powers are anxious to know if their independent growth and existence can be guaranteed by any powers in Europe. For, the Nazi hegemony in trade and commerce is bound to be transformed and consolidated into a political 'sphere of influence' as France and Britain go more and more pro-Fascist. King Boris of Bulgaria went back to Sofia after he had visited France and Britain before the crisis, Germany, in the midst of it, and Yugoslavia later. He is keeping his counsels to himself. Carol of Rumania, a King and Dictator himself, could not suffer long the pro-Nazi, pro-Fascist and anti-Jewish policy of Goga; and he even is said to have promised passage to Soviet in case of a Nazi attack on Czecho-Slovakia. Carol, after Munich, is now in Britain and France anxious to gain support for Rumanian industry and commerce, 'capable of forming a counterbalance against the excessive German ambitions for economic advance' as *Le Petit Parisien* puts it. Rumanian oil and Ukrainian corn are, it is known, the two necessities for the Great Germany of Hitler, and as practically Czechoslovakia is liquidated and the Magyars fall in a line with Germany, Rumania and Ukrainia know they are open to the danger. Carol would be at Berlin too before his return. Inevitably, the little states of south-eastern Europe are veering away from France, which had practically been their centre of diplomatic gravity in the post-war period of European history. Poland, the former pivot of French diplomacy, was the first to leave and act most unscrupulously with all—the Baltic States, France, Czecho-Slovakia, and now again with Germany in that they it is reviving its Soviet friendship. They feel that domination of Berlin would mean a German *Mitteleuropa*—a virtual end of their independent role; and unless they gather round Soviet Russia in a democratic front they must look to Britain and France, which too are likely to disappoint them at the final hour. In fact, they will disappoint even now. For, they are already anxious to accommodate themselves to the Nazi ambitions.

France After Munich

M. Daladier and the Radicals in France are definitely moving to the right, and the Socialists will only refuse to fall in with them against the Communists. The *Front Populaire* is shrunken into a shadow if it is still alive. M. Daladier and M. Reynaud's policy is centred on rearmament and finance. The French Naval Commission proposes to build up a navy equal to that of any other Continental European power. (Apparently Italy is meant). But this is an ambitious project. For, already France realises the necessity of being put on a better footing as regards the air-arm of her defences. But all this requires a reorganisation of finance over which for the last few years many French ministers have made shipwreck of their political ambition and career. This has been put down by the press to the *Front Populaire's* 'extravagant' social programme. But now that the *Front* is weakened and, reaction is in saddle, a recovery drive is being attempted by M. Rynaud, the French Minister. Aided by a plenary power for the purpose, limited to

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November 30, not less than 33 decrees were announced by the Cabinet recently.

One of them provides for the revaluation of the gold stock of the Bank of France at the rate of 170 francs to the pound. Gold at present is valued at about 110 francs to the pound.

Another decree provides for the credit of £570,000 in aid of French agriculture by appropriation to special accounts of a hundred million francs repayable in ten years to be devoted to agriculture at home and in the colonies by way of bonuses, subsidies or loans.

The decree stipulates that agricultural production should be rationalized by agreements to be reached between parties concerned.

The revaluation of the Bank of France's gold reserve at 170 francs will yield a profit of about £170,000,000.

The Government contemplate a three-year-plan of financial and economic recovery.

Decrees provide that the principle of a forty-hour week shall be retained but for a period of three years a 5½ day week shall be worked and each employer is entitled to employ workers up to a 54 hour week while further extensions of hours will be subject to the approval of the Ministry of Labour.

Increased Wages

Increased wages will be paid for extra hours and a special ten per cent tax will be imposed on extra profits to the employers.

Workers refusing to work extra hours in national defence works will be dismissed immediately and will be debarred for six months from receiving unemployment pay.

Other decrees impose a special emergency national contribution of two per cent on all professional incomes and an increase by an unstated amount in the rates of income-tax and taxes on securities and stamp duties. The wages tax is also raised from 7.56 to 8 per cent.

The French National Lottery has been abolished as from January 1, 1940.

Inland letter postal rates have been raised from 65 to 90 centimes and telephone calls from 65 to 85 centimes.

Certain indirect taxes including those on coffee, petrol, sugar, tobacco and wine are to be readjusted.

Total taxes to be paid by any tax-payer will in no case exceed 40 per cent of his income.

A more strict watch is to be kept on foreigners in France. Restrictions are to be imposed on the acquisition of French nationality and the watch on the frontiers is to be tightened.

Criticism from the Socialist side and Trade Unionist quarters were mainly directed against the virtual giving up of the 40 hours week. It was one of their hard earned gains in social legislation, and 26,000 of the Engineering workers have gone on a strike at Valenciennes. (Which threatens to develop into a one day national strike; requiring semi-military requisitions against it—a foretaste of French Fascism possibly?) But longer working hours may make it easier for M. Daladier to defend the franc, and 'Back to Work' is the formula of his recovery plan. France must work, work more and more, increase industrial production, if the budget is to be balanced (this would call for an economy of 2,000 to 3,000 million francs), monetary stability attained and re-armament for security proceeded with. Meanwhile, in obedience to the spirit of Munich, Spanish Republicans are no longer objects of sympathy, they are abandoned to 'non-intervention.' And though the Saarbrucken speech of the Fuehrer showed no recognition of France's 'change of front', patiently the country waits behind Britain for an hour when the great dictators will be pleased to admit her into a Four Power Agreewent as foreshadowed in the Munich settlement. Much expectation is centred on Mr. Chamberlain's visit to be followed by that of Herr von Ribbentrop.

British Pacts

The chances for a Four Power pact are, however, at the moment not very bright. The Anglo-Italian agreement has, after the delay of months, come into effect—much to the relief of Mr. Chamberlain. This of course means that the question of Italian volunteers in Spain is not to be raised. For, while there has been withdrawal of some by Il Duce, fresh volunteers have been poured in. Evidently, withdrawal in the dictatorial dictionary means nothing more than replacement, just as non-intervention means to keep out others from intervention. While, therefore, British approach to Fascism is appreciated by Mussolini, Hitler and his party are not yet prepared to accept their bona fide. They consider that Mr. Churchill's broadcast against dictators must cease. If the British people resent this as intrusion into the internal affairs of their state, Mr. Chamberlain must see how best he can disabuse or disillusion their mind of all these conceptions when Nazism is out to rid Europe —and necessarily Britain too—of those degenerating doctrines of democracy or Bolshevism.

The way to Anglo-German understanding is further blocked if after the Munich entente Britain still busies herself with the armament programme that, according to the Nazi argument, is the right and monopoly of the Germans who alone know their use and know the value of war as a great civilizing process. Great Britain has further forfeited the goodwill of Germany by Mr. Malcom Macdonald's authorised assurance that the colonies were not to be handed over. "We do not beg but we demand," reminded the Nazis. And when Hitler demands Chamberlain cannot refuse.

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Anglo-German Trade Pact

Objection from Germany originated with the Anglo-American Trade Agreement. Negotiations for it went on for a long time and it has been hailed as a great success of diplomacy and as a new opening for co-operation, long desired for, between the two English-speaking people.

Not only does it greatly strengthen the commercial ties between the contracting parties but in a lesser degree it effects economic arrangements throughout the Empire.

The agreement is based on the most favoured nation treatment and will run for three years from January 1, 1939 after which it will be subject to 6 months' notice. Stripped of diplomatic terminology the agreement shows that the United States is Britain's largest foreign customer, British exports to America reaching £40,000,000 in 1936, while in the reverse direction British imports were larger than from any other country. Greater part of reductions range between 30 to 40 per cent. Reductions have been secured covering a bulk of the British textiles (cotton, wool and linen). The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent.

While British imports from the United States consists mainly of raw materials, Britain's exports are mainly manufactured goods headed by textiles exceeding £10 millions in value and followed by whisky of which 5 millions pounds worth is filtered in the United States from the British Isles. The remainder consists of a large variety of products of which the chief is machinery worth £900,000, £17,000,000 worth out of the £40,000,000 exports to America are duty free. This will be stabilized on 9½ millions worth, while on dutiable goods—now 23 millions—reductions will be granted on 11 million and the existing duty stabilized on six million. Whisky figures among the most important stablized existing duties.

Tariff Concessions

The United States tariff concessions number 600.

Contrary to general anticipation there will be no reduction in the British duty on motor cars but Britain will not increase the duty on cars of over 25 horse-power. The other British concessions provide that the present preference of about two shillings per lb. on empire tobacco will not be increased. Britain will maintian the existing free entry of raw cotton and maize. Wheat, certain kinds of fruit and soft wood figure among the United Kingdom concessions in regard to the reduction in duty. The general level of reductions in the United States manufactured goods will be from 20 to 15 per cent. Colonies will reap the same general benefits and assume the same general obligitions as the United Kingdom. The existing duty—free entry of practically the whole colonial empire exports into the United States will continue. In this connection the British preference of motor cars by certain colonies, principally Malaya, will be reduced from 20 to 15 per cent. Provision has been made for the termination of the agreement, if the pound dollar rate of exchange radically alters and may be modified, should some other country obtain major benefit of any particular concession. Provision has also been made against dumping and export subsidies.

The reduction in British guaranteed preferences range up to 10 per cent and affect the United Kingdom trade to the extent of over two million sterling. The main items are chemicals, tinplate, iron, steel and manufactures.

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The political rather than the economic aspects of the British-American trade pact are stressed in the New York papers. Pointing out that "the real significance" of the pact goes far beyond its probable trade benefits, *The New York Times* says that the treaty marks a closer union between the two most powerful democracies at a particularly decisive moment in the world's history. It increases the hope of more effective co-operation among all democracies in the defence of peace and order.

The paper urges world democracies to form a strong democratic union, while America's trade policy should be the establishment of a vast area of free trade thrown open to those nations, and only to those nations who are ready to show respect to international law and to the dignity of human life.

Such compliments are really now embarrassing to Mr. Chamberlain, nicknamed as he has been by some French journals—Mr. J'aime-Berlin. He has covered so much of the path to Fascism in his dislike of Soviet company and possible accession of strength to the popular side as against the ruling classes that talk of co-operation among all democracies can no longer be to his taste as it is no longer to his advantage. On the contrary, it puts him in a bad light with his real allies, the Nazis and Fascists. They do not favour any trade relation between Britain and America, specially as the Nazis themselves are making headway in South America with their own programme which is likely to meet with resistance from the U. S. A.

Jew-Baiting

British relation with Germany has been further retarded by the wave of indignation that has swept over all civilised country by the recent barbarous persecution of the Jews. A Jewish youth in Paris had foolishly thought of revenging his people by the murder of a German diplomat, Herr Von Rath of the German Embassy. This served as the signal for the most cowardly attack on the Jews throughout Germany and the Reich stepped in only to tighten the last screw when organised hooliganism had done its worst.

Dr. Goebbels, the Nazi Minister for Propaganda, declared that the outbreak was a spontaneous demonstration on the part of the German people. "I could not tell policemen

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to shoot at Germans who committed the assaults because I inwardly sympathised with them," he told foreign press correspondents in Berlin. The German Government, he threatened, would reply to the shooting outrage in a "legal but hard way". The 'legal' form which Nazi ruthlessness against Jews in Germany takes is in the shape of an order upon the Jews in Germany to pay a thousand million marks as compensation. A law has been promulgated forbidding Jews to carry any kind of arms including even the most primitive weapons of defence, such as knuckle-dusters, steel-rods, rubber truncheons and pocket knives with fixed blades. This law applies to foreign Jews as well. All Jewish theatres, cinemas, newspapers and schools have been banned and Jews have been prohibited from entering Aryan places of entertainment and, Jewish children from Aryan schools. From the New Year Jews are not to be allowed to engage in retail, export and independent handicraft business and will not be permitted to hold any managerial post whatsoever. All damage "caused through the indigation of the people" in the recent riots is to be made good by Jewish business men. Compensation from Insurance Companies is to be confiscated.

This Aryanism sent a thrill of horror through the degenerate Aryans, the Anglo-Saxons of Britain and U.S.A. and Mr. Roosevelt has recalled his Ambassador from Berlin who is to be absent thus from Germany indefinitely. The Nazis replied by repeating the same method and recalling their Ambassador from Washington. The ghoulish pleasure of Goebbels is responded to by the British press with digust and abhorrence, and, it is rumoured that Berlin may ask its London ambassador to return as well. Thus is being ruined through an unfortunate crime in Paris the fond dream of Mr. Chamberlain of effecting the Four Power Agreement and Fascist appeasement. Of course, the British Premier will not be discouraged by this temporary set back. He will bind Britain to Fascism, only he will have to wait more and pay a higher price.

Jews and Palestine

The Jews are really in a sad plight. Germany is bent on fleecing those who cannot escape out of that Nazi hell. The refugees by thousands have no place to go to; the dream of a National Home for the Jews is all but shattered. It never took note of the fact that the country is the Arab's now; and that they mean to hold that to the last. The Report of the Woodhead Commission and the Government resolution on it were available this month. At last it is admitted that "partition" is dead. The new proposal is for a Round Table Conference in London in which the Jews and Arabs are to be invited to evolve a scheme. This is foredoomed to failure as Husseini, the rebel Grand Mufti, is barred from attending it. Nor is it welcome to the Arab world, or the Islamic world, who has come to take an interest in the fate of their fellow-brothers in Palestine. On the other hand, Imperialism cannot forget the oil-line that passes through Haifa, the air line to the East across which the land lies, the Suez canal almost at the door of which Palestine can keep watch and the big trade and financial interests that have developed in Palestine, during these years of Mandate.

So the Wandering Jew waits without knowing where to wander to—to British Guiana, Tanganyika, Uganda or Kenya ?

G. H.

November 22, 1938

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for December, 1938 (current issue), page 675, col. 2, last line

For June 28, 1930 *read* June 28, 1938

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INDIANS ABROAD

Indians in Burma

Replying to a question Sir Girija Shankar Bajpai said in the Indian Assembly on November 17, "The Government have no information regarding the condition of Indian refugees who have come back to India from Burma. The number of Indians still left in Burma must be over a million. With the return of conditions to normal, the personal, commercial and agricultural interests of the Indians will be safe as they used to be before the recent riots."

A considerable volume of opinion on the Eastern coast is highly exercised over what has happened in Burma. Most of the sufferers from the anti-Indian riots come from the poorer section; and there is a feeling abroad everywhere that their cause, their life and property, has not received adequate consideration from the Burma Government or their servants. Shiploads of Indians returned during the last two months and a pathetic despair has overwhelmed them. Yet one has to remember that only yesterday Burma was one with us, a partner in the Indian Empire.

The Burma riots call for a bit of self-examination on the part of the Indian emigrants too. Did we do our duty by the Burmans? We all leave our shores for bread; but the shore that offers us this primary need of life—and offers bountifully to some—has certainly first claim on our gratitude and service. A regrettable spirit of exploitation, however, creeps in sometimes, and then the whole atmosphere is poisoned as it has been in the case of Burma.

Ceylon Franchise

Ceylon, our another neighbour, figured in another question in the Assembly on the same day. Indian rural labourers were sought to be shut out from the right of representation. This led to protests, and, a Bill to amend the Ceylon Village Communities Ordinance proposes now, to circumvent the difficulties, to disenfranchise all estate labourers, Indians and Sinhalese. This is not discrimination, but worse; it is negation of all principles of responsible government. The Government of India, Sir G. S. Bajpai informed the Assembly, have addressed His Majesty's Government on the subject of the amended ordinance which has been reserved for His Majesty's assent.

Indian Labour in Ceylon

The Annual Report for 1937 of the Agent of the Government of India in Ceylon, published October 13, gives a resume of the events in regard to the Indian labour and its questions in Ceylon. It is an excellent document, as summed up by the *United Press*, and, extracts from it are presented here as offering best account of the position :

The Need for Indian Labour

The year 1937 was one of general economic improvement, both in the planting industries and in the general trade of the island.

On a request being made by the Ceylon Government to the Government of India for immigration labour the latter held that they would not feel justified in permitting the reopening of recruitment to Ceylon unless they received satisfactory assurances in respect of two outstanding questions, namely, (1) the restoration of wages in mid and low country estates to the levels which prevailed between May, 1931, and February, 1932, and (2) the grant of franchise for village committee to Indian estate labourer settled in Ceylon.

No settlement has yet been reached and no licences are being issued to recruit labour from India to Ceylon estates.

The question of the restoration of the cut in wages, it was stated, would be referred to the Regional Wages Boards for determination; and at the end of the year the necessary information was being collected to be placed before the Wages Boards.

Village Communities Ordinance

The draft of the Village Communities Amendment Ordinance was published in March 1937. The Village Communities Ordinance of 1924 excluded from its operation Europeans and Burghers as well as Indian estate labourers who were deemed to be "excepted persons," the draft Amendment Bill, one of the objects of which was to extend the franchise to all adults of both sexes extended the franchise to Europeans and Burghers, but maintained the exclusion of the Indian estate labourers on the ground that the Indian estate labourers derive little benefit from the activities of village committees.

The Indian community was unanimous in demanding that the Indian estate labourers who had a permanent and abiding interest in Ceylon should be granted the village committee vote in common with the adults of other communities in the Island. An amendment to extend the franchise to all "excepted persons" who own not less than 5 acres of land in a village area on which land tax is payable was accepted in the State Council. This did not satisfy the Indian claims because the practical effect of the proposals would be to enfranchise the great majority of Europeans and Burghers and leave almost the entire Indian estate labour population without votes, because few Indian estate labourers, except perhaps a handful of Kanganies, possess 5 acres of land in Ceylon.

The Bill was passed by the State Council by a majority on the 10th December 1937 but has been reserved by His Excellency the Governor of Ceylon for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.

Threatening of Eviction

A matter which exercised the minds of the Indian public in the Ceylon to some extent during the year was the case of certain Indian residents and lessees of the "Portswood Vegetable Gardens," Kandapola, who were served with notices to quit the plots of lands, cultivated by them for a number of years. Representations were

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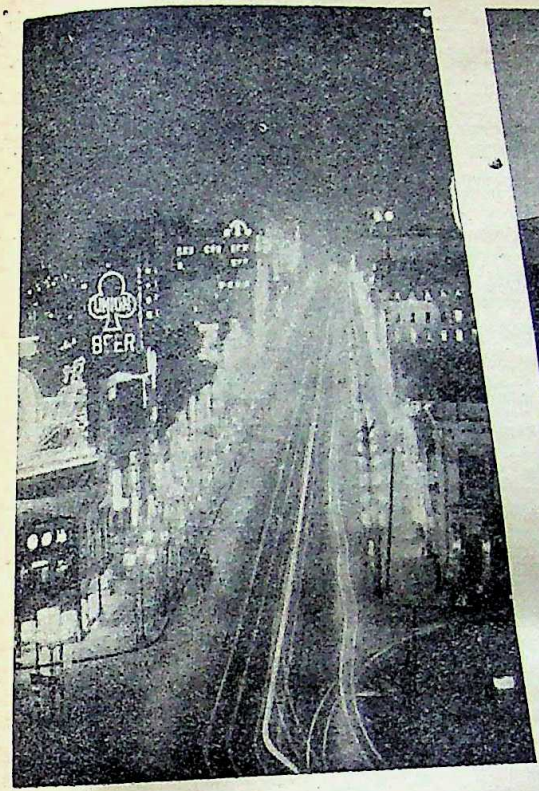

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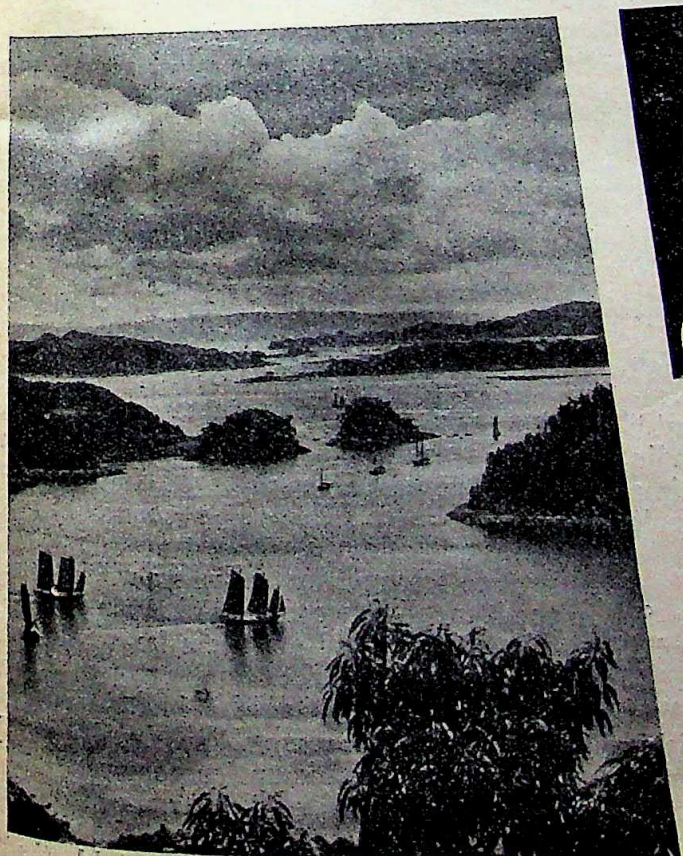

Nowhere else can you find an ideal vacation-land such as Japan, where West and East blend in perfect harmony; where the old is preserved intact by everything New in civilization, and unrivalled land—and sea-scapes.

BOARD OF TOURIST INDUSTRY, JAPANESE GOVERNMENT RAILWAYS

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made to the Minister for Agriculture and the matter is still under consideration. The notices expired on the 31st December 1937, but no action to enforce them has been taken.

THEIR TOTAL NUMBER

During the year there were 51,427 arrivals and 39,747 departures (besides 10,322 repatriates) of Indian labourers. The total number of Indian estate labourers at the end of 1937 was 677,897 (211,631 men, 204,364 women and 261,902 children).

INDEBTEDNESS PROBLEM

Indebtedness is perhaps the most perplexing problem connected with the life of the Indian labourers in Ceylon.

In almost all cases the Kangany on the bontique-keeper is the creditor and most debts are due to the purchases necessities or perhaps minor luxuries in anticipation of wages.

THE WAY OUT

The only way to put an end to this pernicious system, the Agent suggests, is for the Superintendent of the estate to discourage all the attempts by the Kangany to get the labourer under a financial obligation to him and for the employers to discourage the Kanganies from making advances to labourers.

A hopeful sign is that there was during the year a small increase in the number of co-operative stores and co-operative thrift societies on estates.

As many as 1,371 cases were dealt with the Agency on representations made by labourers—a fact which shows the readiness of the labourers to avail themselves of the assitance rendered by the Agency. In all cases of irregularity in the working of the Labour Ordinance, protests by the Agency set matters right, and there was no instance in which any irregularity once pointed out recurred on the same estate.

IN MALAYA

An official delegation from Malaya is soon to visit Delhi to arrive at a settlement of the question of the Indian emigration: "It has been agreed between the two Governments that a delegation from Malaya should visit India during this cold weather," said Sir G. S. Bajpai in reply to Mr. S. Satyamurthi on the 17th November. "The Government of India are already in touch with the Madras Government."

Question: Will the Government of India send for their Agent from Malaya at the time the delegation is received and will they consult the Emigration Committee of this house?

Answer: That is the intention.

Replying to other questions, Sir G. S. Bajpai said that the Government of India considered that the consultation envisaged with the Government of Madras and the Standing Emigration Committee of the Indian Legislature should suffice to bring into focus representative Indian opinion. They would, of course, be willing to examine views that may be communicated to them by other responsible quarters. The exact date of the delegation's arrival was under consideration.

The Central Indian Association of Malaya has addressed a memorandum to the Madras Government in which its minimum demands are outlined. The following, according to *the Statesman* (November, 14.) summary, include the important ones:

(1) A high officer of the Government of Madras should be present at the forthcoming negotiations; (2) there should be controlled emigration from India; (3) purely economic principles should govern the future course of Indian emigration to Malaya; (4) "some form of a written agreement is essential to which both the Governments should be signatories. This agreement may usefully follow the lines of international labour treaties dealing with the recruitment etc. of workers. (5) "The principle of fixation of quotas should form an essential part of the agreement;" (6) "the principle of selection of emigrants to be recruited is to be recognized"; (7) "the principle of having the entire emigration under the immediate control of the Madras Government needs sympathetic examination"; (8) "broadly speaking, there should be a basic wage operating as a minimum throughout Malaya with a small sliding scale which will enable the labourers to share in the prosperity of the industry" concerned; (9) "the entire question of wages to be adjusted by an independent wages board and not by the Indian Immigration Committee which is over-weighted in favour of the employers"; (10) "the ban on assisted immigration should not be lifted pending the conclusion of an agreement between the parties."

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

In addition to the above points of immediate labour interest, the Association suggests that in any settlement arrived at between the Governments of India and Malaya, assurances from the latter must be obtained on other questions affecting the Indian community in that Colony generally. Included in this category are educational facilities for Indian children; recognition of Malayan citizenship for those who have cut off connexions with India; recognition of the principle of nomination to legislative and public bodies of Indians proper but not Sinhalese and Jaffna Tamils as was the case in several recent instances to represent the Indian community; and the non-enforcement of the Banishment Enactment in the Malay States against British Indian subjects.

IN RHODESIA

As a tourist Mr. Roma Nath Das's name is well known in this side of India. Cycling through Rhodesia Mr. Das found himself in hopeless condition very often. Indian settlements are few and far between; writes Mr. Das in the Bengali Press, and, as he would knock at the door of the white settlers he would be sent to the pit—with the apology that he was taken to be Muslim, if he introduced himself as a Hindu, *vice versa*, "I am simply an Indian and, I don't care a damn for your religion" was his national reply. This only meant that "You are a communist." And, the doors were closed—any way Mr. Das was told that the position is worse in South Africa where he was proceeding.

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A Royal Commission inquiring into the question of immigration in Rhodesia as well as Nyasaland; and, Mr. C. F. Andrews' statement in the Press some months ago is worth recalling in this connection :

Among the questions, he says, which will be decided by the Royal Commission, two, affecting Indian interests vitally, will be (1) whether these three colonial areas shall be united together, in future and form one "Dominion," similar to that of South Africa, and (2) whether the Indians will be entirely excluded from these as immigrants ?

Rev. Andrews goes on to say, "at the present time there is already in existence a very severe restriction on Indian Immigration. Only a very few are allowed to enter. The total number of Indians in these large areas of Africa hardly comes to over three thousand five hundred persons in all. But while this restriction has been accepted in the past, and Indians in large numbers have never wished hitherto to enter these areas, we cannot be at all certain about the future. We must not on any account let our case go by default in the same way that it has already been abandoned in the colder region of South Africa.

The Europeans in these colonies are very few in number, as contrasted with the African population; and for the African's sake as well for India's sake we must protest against this vast portion of tropical and semi-tropical Africa being put under the sole dominion of the European. For if it once becomes a "dominion," a small number of Europeans will then have the power given them of prohibiting immigration and also of taking away all franchise rights from any who are not European."

In Kenya

In Kenya the question of the White Highlands is there to the insult and injury of Indians. The proposal for a Jewish immigration arrangement was also examined and its danger to Indian interests explained in an earlier issue. An "Immigration Advisory Board" was announced to in October, and the *Kenya Daily Mail* points out the significance as well as the dangerous possibilities of the measure for Indians :

In our view it will be highly dangerous for the Indian community to have such a Board in existence without adequate and effective Indian representation thereon to protect and safeguard Indian interests. The appointment of this Board involves an issue of great importance to the Indian community and we would request the political and commercial organizations of the community such as Congress, Federated Chambers and Indian Elected Members Organisation to approach the Government with a view to seek information about their intention behind this move and secure adequate and effective representation on it. This must be done without delay as it appears to us that the Board is already in the process of formation.

Transvaal Black Law

The following summary of the evidence of the Agent-General for Africa, is recently available :

Mr. Rama Rau, Agent-General for India in the Union, pleaded before the Asiatic Land Laws Commission in Johannesburg, for the right of Indians to own property in the Transvaal. The refusal of ownership rights tended to lead to slum conditions and the evil of rack-renting, he said.

He suggested that the Commission recommend that Asiatics be given the elementary right to own land, right held by any permanent, intelligent section of the population of the country.

In the Transvaal, trade was almost the sole occupation open to an Indian, and thus threatened with the loss of his trading liscence, he was placed in a terrible dilemma.

The law affecting Indian rights—Law 3 of 1885—apart from prohibiting the acquisition of fixed property in general by Asiatics, empowered the Government to grant the right of ownership, should not have been granted. The Government in that respect had failed to carry out the intention of the law.

The refusal of ownership and rights tended to lead to slum conditions. No tenant would willingly spend money on the repair of another man's property, and that factor in turn rendered ameliorative social measures ineffective.

Purchases Through Wives

Speaking of marriages between Indians and Malayans and Indians and Europeans, by which the Indian could acquire property through his wife, Mr. Rama Rau said the number of properties bought by Indians through Malay wives was very small.

Since 1932, out of 122,215 deeds if transfer of fixed property, only 188 were in the name of Malay persons, and while the total value of the property concerned was £104,223, the value of the property acquired by Malayans was £98,143. Those figures included purchases by Malay men and wives of Malayans.

It followed that the number of properties acquired by Indians through Malay wives was small.

If as had often been stated, Indians marriage Malay wives with the ulterior motive of purchasing fixed property, one would naturally expect to find a rapid increase in such marriages.

Since 1932 when the law regarding the acquisition of property by Asiatics was considerably tightened up, this was not the case. The tendency was for the number of these marriages to decrease, because the disproportion between Indian men and women in the Transvaal was gradually disappearing.

It had been clearly proved, Mr. Rama Rau concluded, that where property had been purchased in the past, whether legally or illegally, it had mainly been for occupation only, with a view to trading.—*Reuter.*

In Tanganyika

Tanganyika has come to the fore as a result of the German claim for the restoration of the colonies. Indian settlers, who number 23,422 according to the 1931 census, were energetically protesting against this as that would virtually mean an end of their business there—exactly as it happened in Abyssinia. Mr. Macdonald's declaration this week that the return of the colonies was not being considered, would set at rest their doubts and anxieties—of course if any one can any more put any faith in any such declaration from Mr. Chamberlain's Government.

G. H.

November 19, 1938

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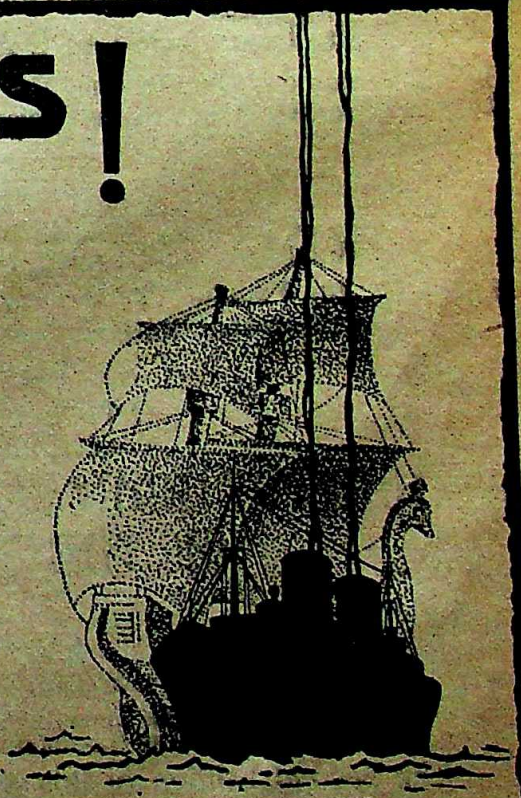

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